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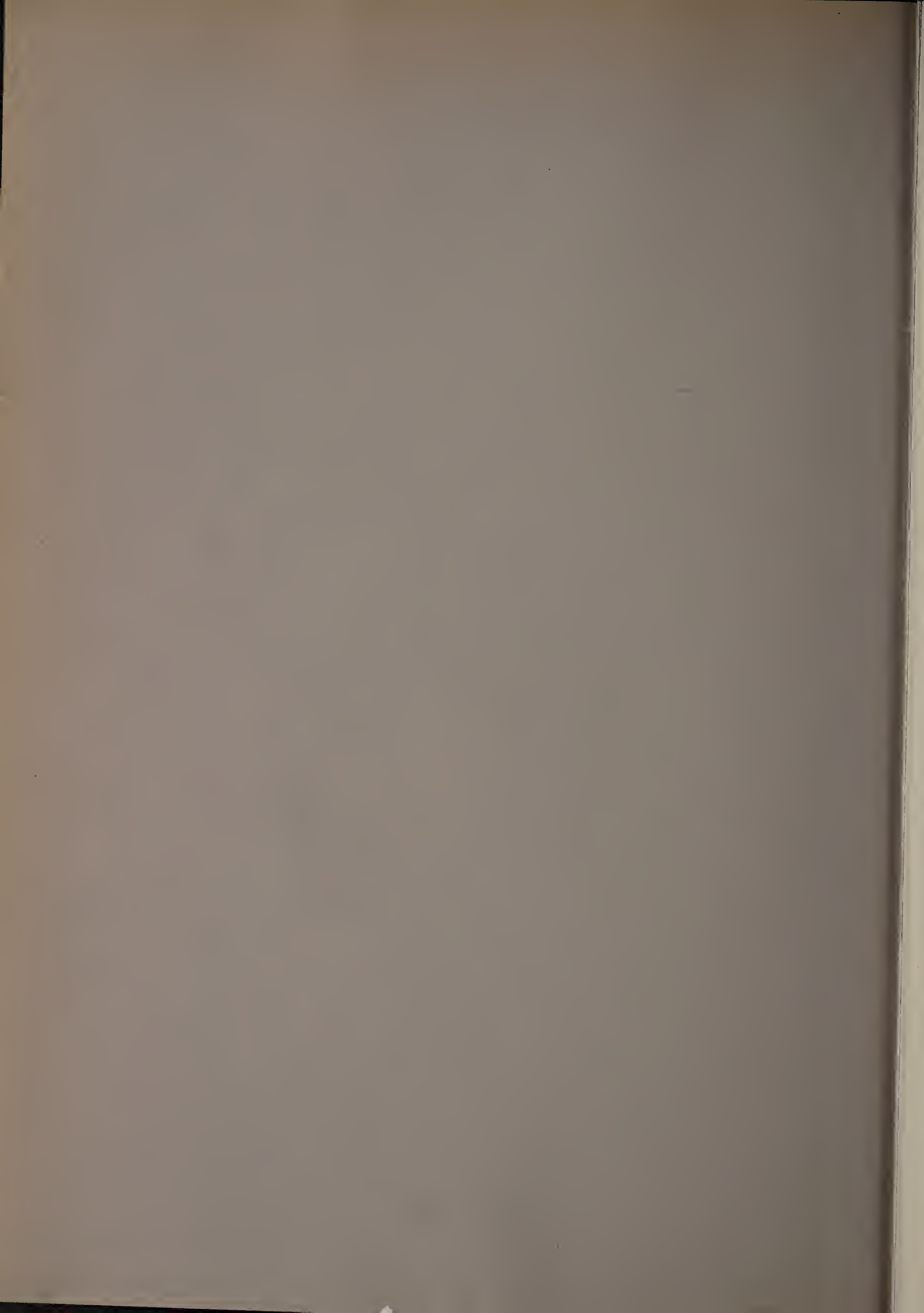
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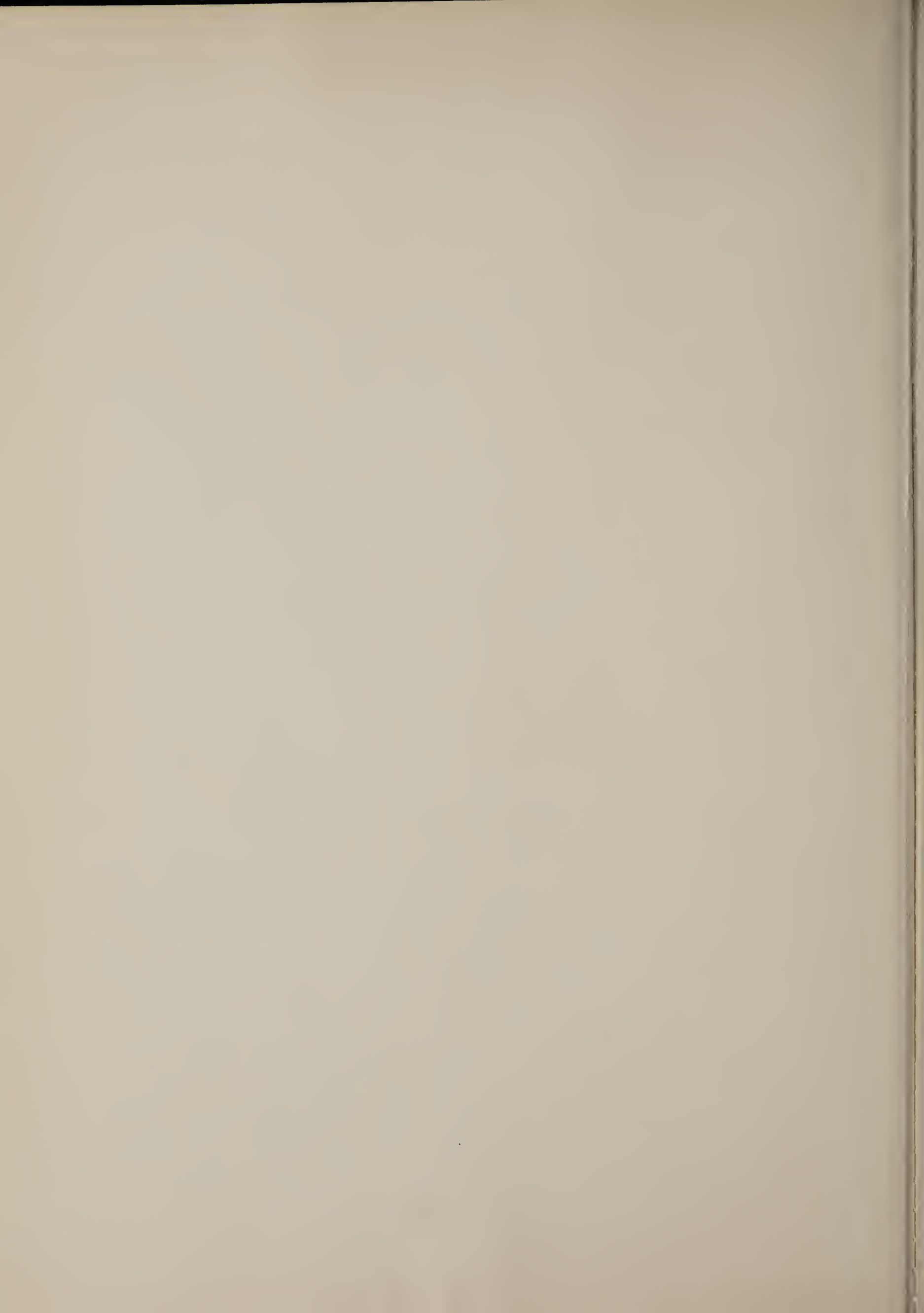
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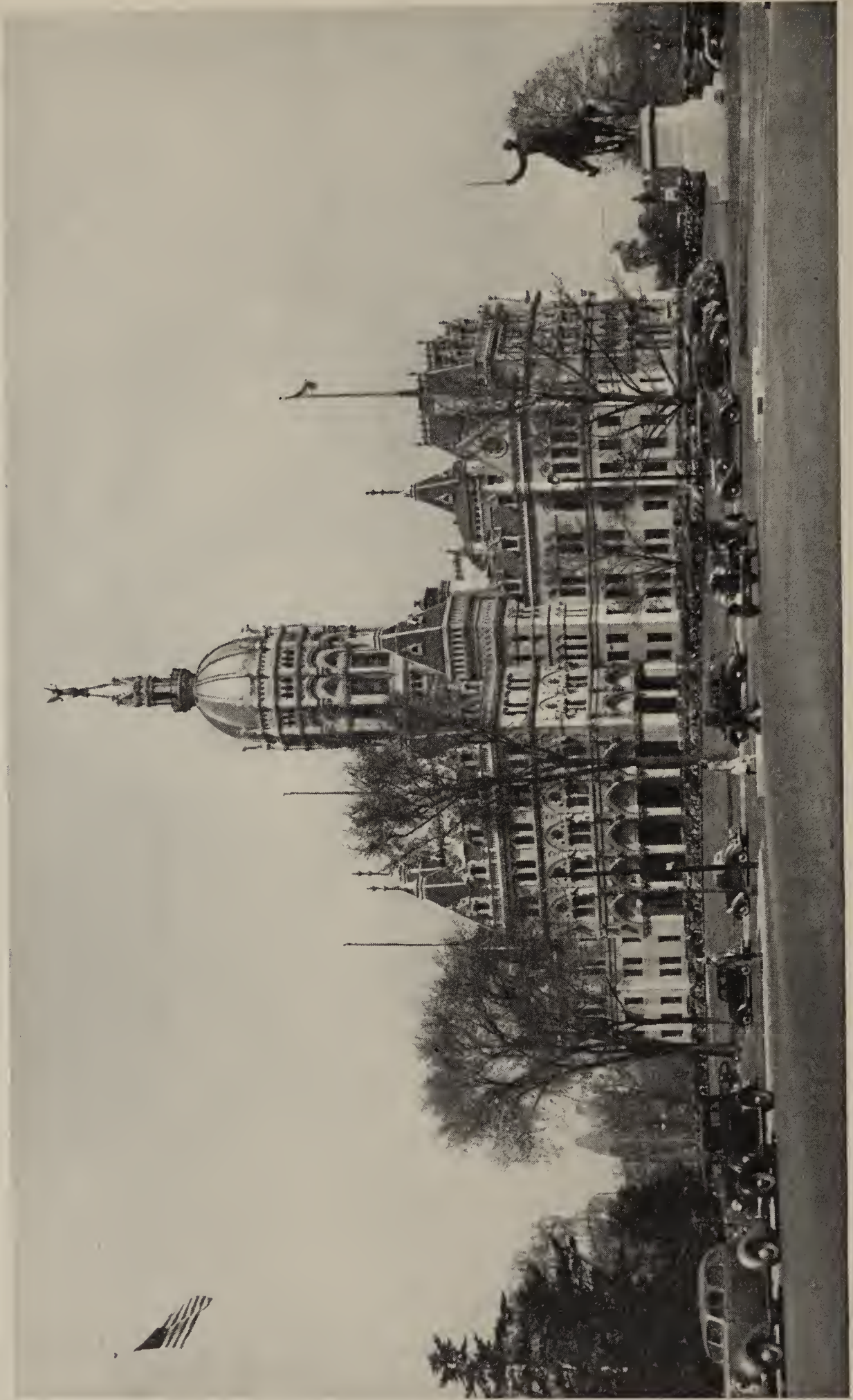


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BURPEE'S
THE STORY OF
CONNECTICUT



STATE CAPITOL, HARTFORD

BURPEE'S THE STORY OF CONNECTICUT

By

Charles W. Burpee

*Author "History of Hartford County,"
"A Century in Hartford"; former editor
of several Connecticut newspapers.*

VOLUME I

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FOREWORD

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HERE are now histories of nearly all of Connecticut's counties, together with the rich heritage of the "Colonial Records," many monographs, general and special documents relating to public and private life, and files of newspapers and magazines, aside from abbreviated general histories of the Constitution State. It has been the purpose here, with the invaluable aid of The American Historical Company, Inc., and the earnest coöperation of individuals in the various sections of the Commonwealth, to draw from this and other rich material that which may stand as the human-interest "Story" of the whole. This implies, as in distinction from a series of locality histories, the blending of all, through the progress of years, while at the same time specializing individual sections as occasion may suggest to illustrate that character and disposition which have been general as well as constant.

If the immediate moment seems to be one of material change nationally and world-wise, herein is to be found dependable evidence that there have been other such periods, but always confirmation of faith in the original State motto: *Qui transtulit sustinet*.

CHARLES W. BURPEE.

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Introduction

Evolution of the Principles of Free Government — Athens to Virginia

In this present period of discussion and criticism of governmental forms, a brief survey of the origin of commonwealths and the fundamental changes in the progress of centuries is essential when and if history of modern times and of the "Constitution State" in particular is not to be merely chronological record. And it would seem well to bring this on, also briefly, to the principles evolved in the first English settlement in America, that of Virginia.

The disposition towards democracy in its broad sense was more marked through the centuries of Greece than in any other nation for centuries thereafter. At times there was almost attainment. Athens led, as she did in art, science and literature. But there always were the lurking evils which were to work the defeat of efforts then, and, in later years, in other nations, namely the evils of avarice, jealousy, discontent, centralization and of benevolent despotism turned malevolent.

Crude religion, the worship of a particular deity, had brought neighboring tribes together. These groups would form alliances, which act marked the beginning of union of states, Sparta leading in the Peloponnesian peninsula and Athens in the Hellenic peninsula as a whole. Government was by kings, then by nobles. After their warrings prior to the sixth century B. C., states had become "republics" on the basis of hereditary aristocracy, a kind of plutocracy. The increase in wealth for the ruling class developed inefficiency and thus oligarchy, or supreme power for a few persons or families. Local disputes furnished the opportunity for clever individuals, like modern "bosses," to gain power as "tyrants" (the word meaning "above the law"), who were independent monarchs without regard to heredity. They drew their support from the masses, the poor. The tyrant ruled, then, by consent of the governed, but, as Aristotle said, "for his own good."

In the processes of change came democracy which was rule by the demos, meaning the select "citizens" (of wealth), barring out slaves, freedmen and natives who lived in remote territory. Pericles, in his time in Athens, limited citizenship to those of Athenian origin. The poor had no say; in the "democracy" every citizen was given voice, but the term "citizen" should not be used with that glibness which characterizes some statements on the origin of rule by the people. The citizen was in a distinct class. The zeal of his patriotism obviously was due to the smallness of his state. A state might ally itself but never coalesce. Throughout the period the

states had their "constitutions" or pacts which few had had part in adopting, but which the leaders conjured with and for which the masses had a religious respect.

When by 454 B. C. allies of Athens had been reduced to the condition of subjects, it was mainly because they had come to proffer money instead of men for military service, and constitutions were forced upon them, more or less democratic. Then when some of them revolted and had to be forced back to their dependent status, Athens deprived them of autonomy, dictated constitutions for them, established in effect an empire, used the tribute to give employment to the unemployed and strengthened her defenses.

Between periods of recognizing man's right to have a voice in government came periods of contempt for the individual. The citizen who gave money to avoid military service often would find it necessary to mortgage his property. If the interest payments were not kept up, the man's property was seized and his status became that of a serf. In a succeeding period of inflation, such men were allowed, on conditions, to regain their property, the government to collect interest on mortgages and to reduce the value of currency. The poorer classes were provided with lands. In the slow-changing periods, democracy, plutocracy and oligarchy followed each other. But "constitution" continued to be the one fundamental word to near the end.

Pericles in the Fifth Century B. C. had faith that the people were wise enough to govern themselves, within limits. A supreme court of six thousand jurors was established by Solon to protect the constitution. This body also had legislative power distinct from that of the old Council of Five Hundred. On a theory of leveling the status of the people, jurors received the wages of a laboring man.

The regular Assembly was composed of all citizens over the age of eighteen who cared to attend. Measures considered by the Council of Five Hundred had to come before the Assembly. The magistrates numbered fourteen hundred; the leaders were selected by the Assembly; the others were chosen by lot. The generals were the leaders and the foremost general was the supreme head.

As has been said, most of the states were under the domination of Athens or less-intellectual Sparta. Those which were not went to the Spartan Assembly with their grievances and the Peloponnesian congress agreed to resort to war upon Athens. The Athenians for a time held Pericles responsible for this war and the plague which came with it, but nevertheless continued him in office, for he was a most fascinating orator, till he fell a victim to the plague in 429 B. C. Of him Thucydides was to write: "Pericles was able to control the multitude in a free spirit; he led rather than was led; he had need to say unpleasant things, but on the strength of his own high character could venture to oppose and even to anger them. When they were arrogant, his words humbled them and when they were depressed he could revive their confidence. Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen." Under Pericles the Greeks reached their highest point in governmental development.

There was, in theory and effect, comparing with the past, the voice of the people as never before. Yet, as in many republics since then, there was—and necessarily so in that stage of civilization—a tendency to centralization, a lurking

despotism which could and did change from the benevolent to the malevolent, and the consequent heavy taxes were an unendurable burden. Nor could wars of conquest prove to be a means to alleviate it. Wars begot wars.

A tanner named Cleon succeeded Pericles. Taxes had to be laid for the continuance of the Peloponnesian War. The rich were particularly bitter against Cleon for collecting them. At the same time the oligarchies of the league revolted. Rebellion in Athens seemed imminent, disasters followed fast, and by 404 B. C. the peace treaty of the Peloponnesian War provided for the destruction once again of the walls of Athens. Sparta alone saved Athenians from becoming slaves. The doors of democratic Greece were open to Carthaginians and Persians. Athens resorted to oligarchy, but only to return to democracy under a new constitution after sad experiences. Philip of Macedon was conquering all and preparing the way for Alexander, his son, to crush Persia and change the course of history.

Plato's idea as expressed in his *Republic* in the fourth century B. C. was, roughly, that philosophers should rule, warriors protect and the common people support all. There should be no family as such, no private property, since otherwise selfishness would be engendered. Justice should be exact, to assure that no harm should come to any citizen, no damage to property and no enslaving of captives.

Aristotle imbibed the principles of Plato, his teacher, but in his school proposed something more vigorous, more insistent, more dependent upon pure reason. The republic Plato had theorized was a sort of religious concept in contrast with the formulation or exercise of political economy.

With only flickers of former glory and independence, the course for another hundred years was toward annihilation. Ambition, greed, "evil communications that corrupt," destroyed ancient stamina and brought ruin. The world was not ripe for freedom. Nor was it to be for nearly two thousand years. Yet in those warring days of Pericles the principle, crude as it was, seemed assured.

In Rome, as in all other early nations at the beginning, there was the same stirring of religious impulse that there was in Greece. Tribes sent their delegates to an assembly to be ruled over by a priest-king. After King Tarquin there was a "republican" form, so called. Law became the principle rather than religion; the common herd became mere tools for war-leaders. Nor to the last could there be a higher principle than power with "bread and games" for the masses. Feed and amuse them with an iron hand—and use them—was the theory not yet discarded in the whole of the world of nations. Occasional flame of the godly and enlightened often has been snuffed out or turned by its holders back into the old courses. A year is but as a day in human history.

Among the German nations after the Roman occupancy there was almost self-government, preëminence of a family not warranting authority over the rest of the freemen in the different tribes; the king had to have the concurrence of his assembly. In time a feudal system implied dependence upon a minority and, thus, serfdom, twin status to slavery. New conception of property rights worked changes here and through Europe. In England one result was a parliament where cities were represented on a basis similar to that of the warrior-aristocracy. Through Europe the difficulty was that as guilds developed those gaining power treated their

fellows as their own membership had been treated in previous stages. Power silenced theory. Serfdom was broken up gradually in England, and the way was open for principles that led to the Magna Carta.

The word "republic" meant public good and consequent control not by an hereditary ruler, but by a privileged class, the aristocracy as in Venice and Genoa, or by all citizens. In the sixteenth century the Netherlands provinces, on revolting from Spain, adopted a republican form, as also did Switzerland on breaking from Germany. Other "republican" forms have developed since, all of an oligarchical or democratic character.

These are the chief features out of centuries of details to trace the origin of man's effort for constitutional government and freedom. Athens had nearly attained, only to fail through listening to false leaders and to surrender to Rome in the second century B. C., she cherishing the theory of the people's rights more than did the Romans in the same period. In her failure Greece passed along other principles no less to point the way for those who are in this path. "The fundamental thing is freedom," writes Professor Botsford of Columbia University, "freedom from despotism of kings and priests. Perfect freedom gives courage. . . . It is only the brave, free mind that dares think original thoughts, that dares invent. Their greatest contribution to civilization, accordingly, was political, religious and intellectual freedom. Liberty is worth little, however, unless it is self-controlled."

That is the principle which the founders of Connecticut were boldly to put into effect; it is the reason for the appellation "Constitution State."

England has cherished the germ of democracy since the days of Magna Carta. The monarch had had royal power, aristocracy its time-honored position, but in Parliament there was the Commons as well as the House of Lords, and the people's voice could be heard. The overbearing King James from Scotland, who was crowned in 1603, the first of the unhappy line of Stuarts, had not so nearly measured up to the standards of culturists and plebeians as had Elizabeth. His successor, in 1625, Charles I, who had played his personal diplomacy in Spain and thereby had added fuel to the flame of the war in the German states, had eventually married the Catholic daughter of the King of France. Personally more affable than James, he was to be more strong-headed, selfish and shortsighted. He was to declare himself head of the church by divine ordinance and appointment, the bishops to be merely his agents; in matter of religion the King was to be supreme. This is what drove the Separatists to Holland.

Charles had not realized that the Reformation and the establishment of the Church of England had stimulated new endeavor among Englishmen and had created a spirit of nationalism. Commerce had been widely extended following the attempts to find a sea-passage through the western hemisphere and since England's great victory over the Spanish Armada. Spain had been profiting by plundering the strange people she found in the ports she entered and England had gained wealth by capturing the booty-laden vessels. Sir Francis Drake had been the foremost mariner. Sir Walter Raleigh's dream had been that America could be colo-

nized; England's productive territory would not be large enough for her increasing population and the men returning from the recent wars. Industries were crowding in on agriculture, resulting in more demand for food and less with which to meet it.

Merchants already were associating to gain commercial footing on remote shores. It was as though a leaf had been taken from the book of the early Phœnicians; it was an epoch in history. Not that there was not similar history in other nations but in Holland it was more like that of England. Previously Henry VIII had broken from Spain with its papal bull giving it paramount right to the New World, and King Edward had encouraged the development of fisheries. The first parliamentary act referring to America, in 1547, had had to do with engaging Sebastian Cabot (son of John Cabot, the Venetian) to come as pilot to lead the way for fishermen to Newfoundland's shores. Fishermen are not good founders.

Efforts to gain footing on America's northern coast had failed. The southern coast had proved kinder. Elizabeth, Virgin Queen, had named the Carolina shores, reported by her seamen, Virginia. Disasters followed but did not deter Raleigh's two attempts in the 1580's to settle there; and likewise at Cape Cod and on the Maine coast where Pring and Weymouth had scouted in 1603 and 1605, to the encouragement of the wealthy Ferdinando Gorges and Lord Chief Justice John Popham.

System had now become essential. Early in the 1600's two commercial companies of knights, gentlemen, merchants and adventurers were organized, that of London and that of the "West" (of England). King James divided the territory between them, that of London, called the "First Colony of Virginia" south of the thirty-eighth parallel, and that of the "West," the "Second Colony of Virginia," north of the thirty-first parallel, the region between them to be possessed by the companies according to their development. They were to pay the crown one-fifth of the gold and silver they found and one-fifteenth of the copper. Hopefully the natives could be christianized.

For government there should be in each colony a general council in England, to be appointed exclusively by the King, and a resident council in each colony appointed by the general council, under control of the King who, further, had legislative control. He allowed them five per cent. on traffic with non-English people to benefit the colonies for twenty-one years.

The three vessels that sailed for present Virginia December 19, 1606, carried one hundred and five emigrants, only twelve of whom were laborers, a very few mechanics and no men with families.

The "first colony" established itself at Jamestown and the council chose a local president. Thus after successive attempts, by 1616, or two years before Raleigh, his great wealth exhausted, was beheaded because of King James's unreasonable suspicions and because of his failure to find gold in Orinoco, his dreams for colonizing seemed about to come true. For Virginia had begun to prosper, only, however, to suffer still another setback through the tyranny of resident Governor Argall and the wranglings in the home council. Men of the "patriot party" who were making a stand against royal high-handedness and irregularity succeeded in putting Sir George Yeardley in Argall's place and in liberalizing the regulations. It had been

revealed that in the previous twelve years eight thousand pounds had been spent and of the large numbers who had been sent over the seas only six hundred men, women and children were there now.

Governor Yeardley, in 1619, pursuant to his orders, called together the Assembly at James City, including delegates chosen in the eleven plantations, to present the new organic act of the London Company, granting a degree of freedom in the government. Henceforth there should be a House of Burgesses as part of the government, to be elected by the plantations. July 24, 1621, a written constitution was adopted, similar to the English constitution and the basis for the system in various other English provinces, "for the comfort and benefit of the people and the prevention of injustice, grievances and oppression." By it there was to be a Governor appointed by the Company in England, a General Assembly to include the members of the Council as appointed in England, and also two burgesses to be elected by the inhabitants in each plantation of the colony.

Legislation was subject to ratification by the company in England and likewise to veto there. In turn no orders of the Council should be operative until ratified by the Colony's Assembly. Trial by jury was assured.

This was the first form of coöperative government in America, the first indication of the maintenance of rights of English subjects. It was reminiscent of early Rome and the old German states. In 1622 the colony again had been cut down by wars and massacres; by 1624 it had become a crown colony and by 1649 it was well established as such. In 1769 Thomas Jefferson, a member of the House of Burgesses, was to deny the right of England to levy taxes and was to demand the right of self-taxation. In 1773 he was urging declaration of independence.

Important as was the achievement of gaining an elective privilege, though limited, the character of the Virginia Colony's proceedings differed from that of the New England Colonies. It was an effort of men of the aristocracy, worthy in its purpose to widen national opportunity and to provide profitable adventure in competition with the other Great Powers, but it lacked the unquenchable spirit of the founders of New England. The rank and file taken together, with certain notable exceptions, were adventurers in a supposed Utopia, unfit to cope with the unforeseen exigencies of tilling instead of gold-digging and the peril of swamp-fever and barbaric natives. Material rather than human gain was the object.

The New Englanders—their charter rights a mere vehicle—were rebelling against royal and clerical restraint and some of them, unconsciously at the moment, were carrying with them the germ of democracy.

CHAPTER I.

Why the English Came

Crises in the Old World at That Time—The Soil for the Germ of Democracy
—Hooker and His Associates.

The story of Connecticut and its place in world history begins with an historical epoch. It has been the purpose of the Introduction to the story to lead up to it by noting man's efforts toward free government through the ages preceding the early seventeenth century. For here was to be the epoch marked by man's establishing that, in the words of Thomas Hooker, the choice of magistrates belongs to the people "by God's own allowance," and that "they who have the power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them." Such is the basis of democracy, rule of and by the people—the demos.

If in the progress of time, if in a succession of epochs, the day should arrive when variations from that principle should become a debatable subject in this its homeland, no one could deny that the granting of such discussion is in itself consistent with people's freedom. Yet to certain who are

. . . . native here
And to the manner born, it is a custom
More honored in the breach than the observation.

And for the multitude who now approve the sentiment there never has been a period, either for descendants of the founders of the United States, or for native-born or adopted citizens, when desire was more manifest, among world savants as among instructors in schools and colleges and the people in general, to know this governmental germ from its inception.

It cannot be too strongly borne in upon the minds of the people of Connecticut in particular that the idea of the development of the germ in their commonwealth, in its true proportions, transcends in historical importance their inventive genius, their thrift, their native rigidity of custom, their adherence to tradition, their sometimes cynicism and their love for their obstinate soil. This must be the reason and guide for an immediate-present story of Connecticut, apart from but attendant upon chronology of town or of individual successes, made familiar in pageants and in excellent local and State histories periodically put forth.

Connecticut has been widely dubbed "The Constitution State." That is a broad title. It is too honorable a title to be accepted heedlessly and without discrimina-

tion and understanding of others' share as against long-time perversity. Therefore, following a period of the State's tercentennial celebrations in various towns, it is well to analyze the historic past with view to setting down more concretely how the soil was prepared for innovation, why the Englishmen came to New England, who and what these men were, what their background, and, withal, what the preceding efforts or achievements along the line of the governmental development of the human race. The year 1639 may be taken to mark the recorded beginning of the epoch man had striven for.

If Hooker and his associates felt no greater thrill in 1639 than they had felt on quitting their homeland, it is only evidence of the truism in history that the relative value of no epoch can be affirmed without comprehension of the relative value of each epoch that has preceded it; and that may not be possible till well on into the new epoch, itself unmeasurable for history-comparison perhaps till well on into the sexcentennial or more of the next epoch, possibly on its way to become a widespread era. No epoch creates an era in a day. Obviously one cannot affirm that American democracy in its highest sense is not an epoch like that of the Athenians rather than an era.

We have seen in the Introduction that, monarchy or hierarchy prevailing by physical force, in boundaries of seas, lands or rivers, by devotion to territory, fondness for tradition or tribal avarice, the increasingly restless Europe in its eruptive progress could know no peace. If Christ's assignment of power to his apostle Peter was literal and not literary, there was for long much of the fate of the biblical new bottles into which old wine was poured. There had been the carrying of the sword which was met by the sword. The raging of the heathen, though some were wearing courtly dress, was indiscriminate. The ages indeed were dark and may still be murky.

To supplement, then, that part of the Introduction relative to England which has to do with the progress of the germ of democracy to Connecticut, let it be noted that it was a comparatively short step to King John and the Magna Carta. The knights and barons at Runnymede in 1215 were some degrees above the yeoman, but the King was conscious that they were nearby. He signed the charter; certain grades of men at last had more to do with government. None the less the stories of the long subsequent exploits of Robin Hood in behalf of the lowly aroused responsive appeal so late as the days of the New England colonization. Royal unconcern on the one hand and emphatically the printing of the Scriptures on the other were hastening the hour for the development in another hemisphere. For the Anglo-Saxons a spirit of nationalism was being created, to develop into a power in world history. The Bible was the people's book.

It was the Pope's disgust over the divorcing by a King (Henry VIII) of his Spanish wife that had precipitated the Reformation and the creation of the Church of England. The thread of reform led on in ways devious, but agreeable to the "Puritans," or critics of the Church of England. And thereby to the founding of New England.

On the death of James I in 1625, Charles I came to the throne, "a charming and engaging prince; all England hailed him joyously." Within a year his struggle

with Parliament had begun—portent of civil war, triumph of Cromwell and the Puritans, execution of Charles and concealment of the judges in Connecticut.

Charles had played fast and loose with the Romish contenders in Europe. The powerful Laud was now his mainstay. Advancing him from one high church office to another and including the chancellorship of Oxford (the center of high-church loyalty), he was to make him Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 and always, in effect, his Prime Minister.

Laud's conception was that of the raising of the Church of England to a standard like that of Rome, to the end that they should naturally coalesce. A very large percentage of British subjects had been of puritanical disposition since about 1559, carrying with them freedom of conscience and popular rights as opposed to ritualism, thus and then the only soil in the world for the germ of democracy as it has been traced in the Introduction. He redoubled his energies to counteract the work of the Reformation, introducing more splendor of service, more Sunday rollicking, more fleshpot supremacy than in the days of adapted papacy. It was as though he would be head of a Catholic church gone wild. He was following his conscience; he was independent of Romish influence. And he was a remarkable administrator up to the day of his execution in 1645. Of him King James's prophecy, at the time the would-be prelate was recommended for appointment to the see of Saint Asaph, was about to come true. It was: "He hath a restless spirit which cannot see when things are well but loves to toss and change and bring matters to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain. Take him with you, but by my soul you will repent it."

And thus, but for Laud the make-up of New England's founders might have been buccaneers.

Protestants turned, as Canning said, "to the New World to redress the balance of the Old." Emigration was to increase till the civil war came and Cromwell led the Puritan hosts. In large proportion the people who were departing, often by way of sympathetic Holland, were of the professional and middle classes, men of affairs and of experience, some of large estate, clergymen of profound learning, efficient lawyers, Oxford students, deep-thinking farmers, carpenters, mechanics, the sinews of the realm, and with them women of equally brave spirit. There were men like Hooker, Winthrop, Ludlow, Haynes, the Goodwins, Bradford, Winslow, Williams, Davenport, Endicott, Eaton. But it would be in error to say that all were Puritans or Separatists; among them were no small number who fled from strife or earnestly sought opportunity for financial benefit. This portion, though non-conformists in the main, might prove a thorn in the flesh for the religionists, but they were both eager of heart and in their adventure were welcomed companions.

Previous colonization in America had been prompted by the ever-constant desire of the English to profit by opening up new territory. In this, government was acquiescent and helpful by giving official authority in the way of grants in available parts of the globe. Under papal regulations, universally accepted by the powers, discovery did not presume possession unless the new territory was occupied within a reasonable length of time, and this applied to parts of a continent. In northern

America John Cabot's discoveries in 1497 were the basis of England's claim, the rights of the roving Norsemen of 825 having passed from world record.

Settlement by the English had been contemplated but not achieved as early as 1579 when Queen Elizabeth granted 1,200,000 acres to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who re-deeded to George Peckham and his son in 1583. By the wording of that grant the territory covered was from Narragansett Bay to the Hammonasset River in Guilford. The boundaries were in the shape of a parallelogram, including practically all of present eastern Connecticut. For Gilbert himself any newly discovered land was granted with executive and legislative authority over territory within two hundred leagues of the settlement. Gilbert's step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, associated with Gilbert in a great fishing enterprise, which undertaking—after Gilbert had obtained possession of Newfoundland in 1583 in the presence of the Spanish, after he had become eager about the supposed mineral wealth and after he had been victorious over mutinies and shipwreck—ended in the loss of his own life with his last ship. No New England possession, with the universal requirement of six-years' occupancy, was established. It was then that Raleigh began his exploration to the Carolinas as told in the Introduction.*

To get the true explanation of the laudatory words the Indians applied to the Connecticut Valley, one has to review the infinities of time prior to man's appearance on the globe, as indicated by the strata of upheaved rocks and the inscriptions left upon them during the glacial age. There we read, in modern interpretation, that the Connecticut River, for example, flowed practically its present course to the Sound, the slowly moving ice having dug the channel through the softer rock near Middletown, while the channel of the Farmington River, once flowing through to New Haven, was blocked by the silt of the grinding ice south of Farmington to make its long-winding course back northward again and find outlet into the Connecticut at Windsor. To the upheavals of the crust after the molten era we owe much of the State's picturesqueness and to glacial grindings much of its fertility. The four rivers, Thames, Connecticut, Naugatuck and Housatonic (combining), find their way across the State from springs beyond the northern boundary. Within its 4,965 square miles, averaging ninety-five by fifty-seven miles, forty-sixth State in area, and with 245 miles of island-studded shore line, and with Bear Mountain in the Green Mountain range at Salisbury with an altitude of 2,355 feet, 145 square miles are water, inclusive of that which is in over a thousand lakes. The Indians' "Smile of God" could be applied to more than the Connecticut valley.

By reason of the turmoil at home, England's official connection with the colonies of both Rhode Island and Connecticut was irregular, fatefully so in the light of later-day history-molding in the latter instance. Too great emphasis in an analytical history of the United States could not be placed upon it, as will herein be attested.

* The very earliest suggestions are pre-Columbus charts showing the supposed voyages of the Norsemen in 1001 to 1019. The Swedes and Norwegians penetrated to Minnesota about 1350, as recently discovered runic stones would indicate. The pre-Columbus charts supposedly are those shown by Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella before 1491. Back still farther, incidentally, Claudius Ptolemy of Egypt, 139 A. D. indicated the Azores in educational charts first published in Rome in 1482. Maps of 1527 show the North American coast.

Early failures notably proved blessings for those concerned in governmental development. Almost miraculously, and certainly not without tribulations, it proved to be a matter of the survival of the fittest. King James, King Charles and Laud worked unwittingly. The "West" Company, which James had chartered in 1606 with the London or Virginia Company and was commonly known as the Plymouth Company because its commercially inclined promoters were from that part of England, had fallen into disfavor even exceeding that of the Virginia Company. The reason was that Sir Ferdinando Gorges in particular and others associated with him were palpably striving to fatten their purses by exploiting the profitable fisheries rather than to establish homesteads on colonial land. Gorges himself was openly accused of this in Parliament by no less a personage than Sir Edward Coke, the eminent jurist and one-time Lord Chief Justice.

The King was already about to revoke the Virginia charter with its experiences recounted in the Introduction, but he gave his consent, November 3, 1620, to a reorganization of the Plymouth Company as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing New England in America"—for the territory between the fortieth and the forty-eighth parallels, north latitude, and extending to the Pacific—absolute property and full legislative and governmental power, fisheries included, and a duty to be imposed on all sea tonnage. Of the forty grantees, some were members of the royal household, all were among the wealthiest and prominent of the nobility, Gorges among them, as also the Earl of Warwick, one of the most influential.

But from the viewpoint of Parliament there was little improvement over the conditions under the old charter. Settlement privileges were sold to sundry, a grant was given for a ten-mile tract near present Boston and in general there was confusion evidenced finally, after another reorganization in 1628-29, by the remnants of the New Hampshire grants.

Now in this year, 1620, New England colonization was to assume a wholly new character. Religionists were about to enter into it, at first with mild spirit of freedom in worship, but soon with a declaration of man's rights and eventually of national independence, such as history never had known.

Tyranny of King and bishops, disciplining of clergy, suppression of thought had left the Puritans, as Hallam said, "the depositaries of the sacred fire of liberty." Puritans, advocating a simpler form of faith, had been increasing in number since the reign of Elizabeth and the spread of corruption. They believed in the Established Church and that reform should come from within. The "Separatists" believed that reformers should come out of the church and that church and state should be separate and distinct—somewhat as Connecticut was to think two centuries later when Congregationalism was in the ascendancy. In 1602 a group of Separatists chose the cultured John Robinson to be minister and, for ruling elder, William Brewster, at whose home in Scrooby the dissenters met and whence, with increasing numbers, they finally succeeded in fleeing to freer Holland in 1608. Edward Winslow, a friend of Pastor Robinson's, to serve several terms as Governor of Plymouth Colony and to die when on a mission to Bermuda for Cromwell, expressed it that the Separatists were not for separation because of corruption

specifically or a communion of worthy and unworthy but because they favored the method of the primitive churches, after the manner of Luther and Calvin; especially they did not wish to be classed with the Brownists who took their name from Robert Browne, the promoter of that sect and were of a less intelligent type.

While the new charter was being written for the New England colonists, these Holland refugees, true to their Anglo-Saxon nativity but not to the English church as controlled, were looking toward the wilds of America as a place where they could develop. They had conferred with the States General for a location on the Hudson of today but could get no inducement. Favored by friends in the old London Company and borrowing scanty funds, they decided upon a northern part of Virginia, remote from the settlements. Robinson remained in Holland to care for the main flock. Sailing by way of Plymouth to say good-bye to well-wishers, the two vessels ran into fierce storms. One put back, but the hundred in the *Mayflower*, led by John Carver, who had obtained the Virginia rights in London, and by Elder William Brewster, proceeded for sixty-three bitter days.

Well out of their course, they put in to the first bit of land they saw, which was the sandy tip of Cape Cod. The ground was deep with snow, the whole party exhausted. Scouts made their way through blinding storms to a sheltered bay opposite the cape, located for them by the Indians, whither the ship and passengers were brought, December 16, 1620. Before landing, as they had no charter right, they drew up a compact which was like a plantation covenant for each "to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose," all to be of one communion, and "to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony." Thus it was an independent organization with form of a church covenant—fortuitous but a landmark in the progress of democracy.

Carver was chosen Governor. At his death four months later, after experiences which had taken an exceptionally heavy toll, William Bradford succeeded him, and the up-hill struggle—under adverse circumstances but with romance that is precious in American annals—to meet the financial obligations was begun and carried through. The Indians who surrounded them, Captain Myles Standish, veteran in the wars of Holland for freedom, met firmly and won their friendship. They shared joyously in New England's first Thanksgiving which continued for a week. All of the Pilgrims had had the good training of industry to earn their living. Brewster himself had become a printer by trade, Bradford was a silk weaver as well as a diarist. In the new country they became masters of the soil. A charter was sent over to them by the Council of New England a few months after their arrival.

The Colony was reinforced by other Pilgrims from Holland. A form of promotion of interests not unlike that of the present day was employed. In 1622 Governor Bradford published in England a paper-covered booklet about the "safe arrival" of "certain English Adventurers, both merchants and others," "their joyful building of, and comfortable planting themselves" in the well-defined "town of New Plimouth," also a "relation of several discoveries since made by some of the same English planters in those parts."

Winslow two years later wrote a similar pamphlet entitled *Good Newes From New England*—showing the “wondrous goodness of God, in their preservation and continuance, being delivered from apparent death and dangers, together with a relation of such religious and social laws and customs as are in practice among the Indians adjoining to them at this day; as also what commodities are there to be raised for the maintenance of that and other plantations in the said country.” These were eagerly read in uneasy England. The chief portion of the Pilgrims left in Holland and others with them soon came over.

Peculiarly, a royal flirtation about these times (1621) had distinct effect upon history and the development of freedom. Spain was generally considered the champion of Catholicism. Her interference in the German State of Palatinate (of which King James’s son-in-law was Elector) was precipitating the Thirty-Years’ War along the Rhine. Supercilious James, in his zeal to squelch Puritanism and make church and King absolute, sought alliance with Spain by means of the marriage of his son Charles with the Spanish infanta; even planned war upon his one Protestant ally, the Dutch, and dismissed his opposing minister.

It was then that Parliament asserted itself; it demanded war against Spain and that Charles, heir apparent, marry a Protestant. James waxed ironical. The Commons replied with a ringing resolution on its inherited rights and on free speech in governmental matters and plans for matrimonial alliance. James tore this out of the *Journal* of the House. That was the day the faith of the people in the crown ended. Henceforth it was to be against monarch and intrigue. For Connecticut and America it was approach to the day of the Fundamental Orders in Hartford.

But the obstinate James sent his son, in disguise, to Spain. Spain at once requested termination of present penal anti-Catholic laws in England and Catholic training for Charles; granted, yet no effect upon the war in Germany. Under pressure Charles then revealed the purpose of his visit and Spain asserted that it would never fight against Emperor Ferdinand of Germany. “Then there is an end of all,” Charles is quoted as having said. England had a brief war with Spain, but rejoiced with bonfires. Charles married the sister of the Catholic King of France.

This fact, it might be thought, would end any friction with French settlements in the St. Lawrence region of America. But Charles as King was to be led into it with Richelieu’s France (1629), for treatment of the French Huguenots, in which short affair, merchants’ privateers took both Quebec and Port Royal, only, however, to return them to France together with Cape Breton and all Acadia under the terms of peace, Charles receiving a dowry of two hundred and forty thousand pounds for his French Queen Henrietta.

The relation of these events to New England colonization is important. Peril from the north for the New Englanders was not reduced while that of Dutch intruders from the southward was imminent, and that, too, at a time when, due to turmoil on land and sea, the Council at Plymouth “for the governing of New England” was in desperately straitened circumstances. The Virginia charter which James had revoked in 1624 because of bad management had been, by intercession, allowed to continue effective in fact—and was to be revived on the restoration of

the House of Stuart. But now the air was full of monarchical uncertainty and commercial trepidation. "Lords and nobles" themselves were witnesses of the break with the crown. Therefore when the wise Puritans came to the council with a proposition they were welcome.

Yes, the council would reorganize with funds to be furnished by those associated with the Puritans now at last meeting royal contempt with political strategy through the House of Commons. The Puritan representation grew larger. The germ of democracy was to survive. Warwick, the aging Gorges, always ready for new venture, and their associates were at least receptive. The plan took shape by degrees. Previous emigrants, inspired by Bishop Arthur Lake of Bath and Wells, had included John White, patriarch minister at Dorchester, and his friend Roger Conant, of Nantasket, who had been selected for agent for such proposed venture in 1625. Conant had sent word that Salem was the most advantageous location for the religious exiles, conscience-impelled. The reports from these men had been that fishing enterprises were not in mind and that refuge for the best of their countrymen was chief thought. The outcome was that the gentlemen of Lincolnshire offered the "help of their purses" for "the glory of God," and agreed to get the attention of Warwick, sympathetic member of the Council.

After canceling a previous grant to three knights and others, including John Endicott, the council made this one, on March 28, 1625, to Sir Richard Saltonstall, Endicott, Matthew Craddock, Theophilus Eaton, William Pynchon and others less conspicuous in subsequent annals. Endicott, dauntless Puritan to a degree of fanaticism, was selected for Governor, and sailed late in June, 1628, with his family and a few men. In September he was received in Salem by those who had preceded him. The total of the founders was less than one hundred souls. The territory of the grant was from three miles south of the Charles River to three miles north of any part of the Merrimac River and to the Pacific Ocean, right through the center of the old Plymouth grant, sighed Gorges while assenting.

During the following year further financial details were completed in the reorganization of the old company. The Associates were formally constituted a body politic, entitled "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England." It was a trading company—to be shaped, by fate or design, as something quite different. There were to be a Governor and Deputy Governor and eighteen Assistants to be chosen annually and a general association of freemen to meet four times a year.

This was approved by the King March 8, 1629, or only eight days before he permanently dismissed his Parliament, saying he would rule alone thereafter.

Such a seemingly sudden variation in the King's attitude toward Puritanism can be taken as token not only of the skill of Puritan diplomacy, but also as sign of the complexity of the crisis in the realm. It was a vital hour in the long history of the germ of democracy.

The promoters of this Massachusetts Bay Colony, politics aside, were chiefly business men now in severest straits, with this one prospect of salvation. With them were certain "knights and nobles," who were influential in the House of Commons. The King's main thought every day was to overcome the Commons'

opposition to his demands for money; this seeming acquiescence of his might be the King's last hope for undermining such opposition—which in reality was to be more boisterous the following week, and the first step was to be considered for the great civil war.

Six years later when the King in his rage sought to revoke the charter and it was revealed in court that it had been taken to America by the Winthrop party, the King and his officials were amazed and angry and the court was ordered to enter judgment against the document. Little did that matter then, in America.

In Salem July 20, 1628, under Endicott's prevailing régime, candidates for the offices of pastor and teacher, Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson, had been elected by written ballot, the first instance of the use of that method of selection. All subsequent elections in the colony were of the same kind. A few dissenters who were in favor of the English church system, with their leaders, James and Samuel Brown, were shipped back to England, where they inveighed against the Puritans. The same vessel carried Higginson's glowing description of *New England's Plantations*.

In England, meantime, Matthew Craddock, a leading subscriber and home-council treasurer, had been the one to propose the transfer of all government to the Colony. This was earnestly supported by several other "persons of wealth" and standing, including John Winthrop of Groton, Sussex, who had been removed from his position in the court of wards, Sir Richard Saltonstall and Thomas Dudley. The decision of the Council was unanimous but was carefully kept secret. By this act was established, wisely, a "corporation upon the place," with right to select those who should be admitted to the company. At General Court of the company, October 20, Winthrop was unanimously elected Governor by the raising of hands. He was described as one for whom "extraordinary great commendations" had been received both for his integrity and his sufficiency, as being altogether well fitted and accomplished for the office of governor."

Measures were taken to replace the sadly depleted stock which in time was to be divided but almost all of which went for the first expenses. Matthew Craddock furnished two vessels; the one hundred and ten members subscribed to buy one large one. More common stock was issued to meet public charges and contributions were received till seventeen ships were in readiness for a thousand persons, with all material and live stock. Despite the zeal, forebodings at the last moment overcame some, among them the Deputy Governor, in whose place Thomas Dudley was elected. Winthrop was the mainstay, howbeit he was averse to pure democracy, he standing for "the least part" if that were "the wiser of the best."

To sympathizers who came to the ship *Arbella* to wish Godspeed, Winthrop denounced false statements which were being circulated and asked that it be noted that the company "esteem it our honor to call the Church of England from whom we rise our dear mother, and we cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes"; "let the congregations pray for a church springing from your own bowels." With their charter and officials the first eleven ships sailed in March, to be followed soon by the others, destined to find more discouragement at Salem June 12.

More than eighty of Endicott's party had perished during the winter, others were too weak to walk and there was but a few days' supply of corn. After caring for these and taking over the governorship from Endicott, Winthrop and his party sailed for Boston, where conditions were more healthful. Sir Richard Saltonstall, who soon returned home to work along other lines, and his immediate followers went to Watertown and Roxbury. The Dorchester party of a hundred and forty who arrived at Nantasket May 30 had moved to newly-named Roxbury. They had been assembled largely by the Rev. John White, an eminent divine of the Established Church, with the aged John Maverick and the Rev. John Warham, a youthful graduate of Oxford, minister of a church in Exeter, as their spiritual leaders—both, with their congregation, which had been established in 1630, to lead the way to the Connecticut River and found Windsor as one of the three original towns of Connecticut. Also with these was Roger Ludlow, a director of the Bay Colony organization who was to be prominent in the shaping of the Fundamental Orders of 1639 and in other ways and other places. He was born in Dinton, Baycliffe, Wiltshire, in 1590, won honors at Oxford and already had gained prominence as a lawyer. Others with the Windsor party included Captain John Mason with Lowlands War experience, and Dr. Bray Rosseter, another director of the main company.

John Oldham furnished an illustration of some of the oddities of the previous colony company in issuing patents. On the strength of one he professed to hold, under William Gorges, son of Ferdinando, covering part of the region around Boston, he had caused confusion among earlier settlers. Endicott had actually fortified against him. He had come to Plymouth in 1623 and when, after misconduct, he had been requested to leave he had lived in Nantasket and in Watertown. He came to know more about terrain and natives of southern New England than any other colonist, and was to play a conspicuous part in coming events.

The Bay Colony was only starting its career. It was the first experience of the Puritans in independent government. They had been under great nervous and mental strain. A victory had been won almost miraculously over King and Archbishop. The exercise of will power to quit their beloved homeland for the uncertainties of the wilderness in another hemisphere had accentuated that sternness which had characterized their class for many years, and here they were but a nucleus, their gains not yet coördinated. Only a small per cent. of the first thousand of the immigrants were known to measure up to their standards, which standards themselves varied. Those of the Winthrop party seemed to represent autocratic hierarchy with which the commoners were not in full accord. Inherited instinct for self-preservation, voting was limited to "freemen," who were church members, and such members were limited to those admitted to the church after most rigorous examination of their religious conceptions. This itself is hardly surprising in view of experiences in England. The same might be said of the code adopted, harsh, in accord with the times. Church members were long the minority, the "lesser" to whom Winthrop referred as the "wiser." He was not a democrat.

The freeman's oath, so often misquoted, was this:

"I Being by God's providence, an inhabitant, and Freeman, within the jurisdiction of this Commonwealth; do freely acknowledge my self subject to the

Government thereof: And therefore do here swear by the great and dreadful Name of the Everliving God, that I will be true and faithful to the same, and will accordingly yield assistance and support thereunto, with my person and estate, as in equity I am bound; and will also truly endeavor to maintain and preserve all the liberties and privileges thereof, submitting myself to the wholesome laws and orders made and established by the same. And further, that I will not plot or practice any evil against it, or consent to any that shall so do; but will timely discover and reveal the same to lawful Authority now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof.

"Moreover, I do solemnly bind my self in the sight of God, that when I shall be called to give my voice touching such matter of this state, in which Freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, without respect of persons, or favor of any man. So help me God in the Lord Jesus Christ."

Land holdings had to be granted in meetings of freemen, at which sometimes boisterous assemblages they established a foundation-stone of New England liberty, the "New England town meeting." Adventurers aside, all sets of emigrants from England were congregational, while in England it had transpired that members of the first congregational church ever formed were thrown into prison.

Meanwhile in England Laud's high hand unconsciously was shaping a preëminent pillar of liberty. Thomas Hooker was born—"to be considerable," as Cotton in later years expressed it—in the little village of Bustall, near Birmingham, July 7, 1586, two years before Sir Francis Drake was to give England new hope by proving that the world-feared ships of Spain's Armada were not invincible. He won his degree of B. A. at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1606, of M. A. in 1611, and while teaching in a private school, where John Eliot was a pupil, he was working for the divinity degree, B. D. He was a man of fine physique, calm, forceful. The statue on the capitol at Hartford is considered an excellent conception. Laud's baneful eye fell upon him in 1626.

There is no information concerning his first wife, by whom he had two children: Joanna (born about 1615), who was to marry the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Newtown (Cambridge), successor there to Hooker, and Mary, who was to marry the Rev. Roger Newton, Farmington's first minister and later of Milford. His second wife was Susanna, who supposedly was a relative and an attendant of Mrs. Francis Drake, an invalid. Francis Drake is believed to have been a nephew of Sir Francis Drake, the corsair and circumnavigator who won the battle with the Armada. His children by her were: Anne, who lived but a year; John, 1626-84, who went to England for his education and after his father's death became an Episcopal clergyman, remaining in England much against the wish of his father expressed in his will; Sarah (following another of the same name, dying in infancy), who married, soon after her father's death, John Wilson, Jr., of Dorchester; and Samuel, who was graduated at Harvard in 1653, preached in Plymouth and came to Farmington

in 1671, succeeding the Rev. Samuel Whitman, whose grandfather was Thomas Hooker's cousin. His wife's father was the first mayor of New York.

Mather in his *Magnalia* says of Samuel: "Thus we have among us our dead Hooker yet living in his worthy son Samuel, an able, faithful and useful minister in Farmington." Hooker himself had been called "the light of the western church" in this same publication.

Mrs. Thomas Hooker after her husband's death married the devoted friend of the family, Elder William Goodwin.

Mr. Goodwin, who was born in the manor house of Boone in Bocking, Essex, in 1595, was matriculated at Oxford in 1621, and was one of those who had been deeply moved by Hooker's sermons at Chelmsford. Hooker had received a "living" in Drake's Manor, for which office he had not had to qualify before a board according to church rules inasmuch as the position was donative in the interests of the invalid Mrs. Drake. It was the manor of Esher, in Surrey, and he preached in the ancient St. Mary's Church of Chelmsford to a wide countryside where he became known as a "son of thunder and a shower of rain." Edward Hopkins, a wealthy London merchant, later to be several times Governor, and a pronounced benefactor of Connecticut, came there to hear him. When delivering an assize sermon before the judges, he boldly quoted Malachi II:11, in reference to Prince Charles's marriage with the daughter of the Catholic King of France: "An abomination is committed in Israel and in Jerusalem, for Judah hath married the daughter of a strange god." The Earl of Warwick was another who came from a distance to hear him. A fiddler sent to distract attention at the church door was silenced by Hooker, brought into the church and converted. Little wonder Laud's attention was directed that way. He was given his first warning in 1630. Finally forced to resign his Chelmsford position, he taught a private school in his home at Baddew, where John Eliot, later the beloved friend and teacher of the New England Indians, was associated with him. He was first cited before the ecclesiastical court in 1630. As sickness detained him he gave a bond of £50. This, on understanding with his sureties, he forfeited after his recovery and fled to Holland, where he was associated with the Rev. Hugh Peters and the Rev. William Ames of the Pilgrims. Finding conditions there uncongenial, he came back after three years.

A homely incident at this juncture, brought to light as this chapter is being written, gives a picture of his times and his apparel while also fixing for the first time the place of his birth which heretofore has been given as Marfield, though records were dim. It is the deposition of the man Mrs. Hooker engaged to send his clothing to him and to attest to his citizenship. It reads:

"John Tarleton of the parsh of St. Olaves in the borough of Southwark, brewer, aged 46, deposes December 30, 1631, that in July last he, at the entreaty of Susan Hooker, wife of Thoma Hooker of Walthem in the county of Essex, preacher of God's Word, now resident in Delph, in Holland, did lade aboard the *Jacob* of London, one small truncke of apparell contayninge, as he hath been informed by the said Hooker's wife, one stuffe gown, one stuffe cloake, one cloth cloake, three shirts twelle handkerchiefs, seven white capps, three ruffe bands, two

falling bands, three payre ruffles, one payre stockings, one payre garters, one payre of shoes, and one or two sutes of apparell and two letters, which truncke of apparrell this deponent, by direction of the sayd Mr. Hooker's wife, did consigne



REV. THOMAS HOOKER—STATUE AT CAPITOL

to be delivered to one Mr. Peters, a minister dwelling in Rotterdam, for the accompte of the said Thomas Hooker.

“And he also sayeth that the said Hooker was born at Bustall in the county of Leicester and is a natural subject of the King of England, and went into Holland in

or about the month of June last and his wife and family still dwell within the parish of Waltham in Essex."

This, taken from the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. XLIV, p. 2, is the only contemporary evidence we have of Hooker's birthplace. On modern maps Burstall is in Suffolk County, near Ipswich, northeast of London; Leicester County is nearly a hundred miles northwest of Burstall. Prior to the discovery of Tarleton's deposition, Marfield in Leicester County had been the Mecca of those who revere Hooker for inspiring the world's first government of and by the people.

Meantime Goodwin had been active in forming a group which was to be known as the "Braintree Company," of those who would go to the Bay Colony under its charter. Now his suggestion that Hooker and the Rev. Samuel Stone as his assistant, a Puritan lecturer at Towcaster, lead the party, Hooker was pleased to accept, not so much that he wanted freedom in religion but rather the personal liberty which was the right of every Englishman. Forty-seven conforming clergymen of the county had petitioned Laud not to molest him. Thus it would appear that he was chosen by fate, after the centuries of uncertainty, to furnish the opportunity for democracy's germ. Goodwin's ship, the *Lion*, however, had to sail without him. Whether it was personal affairs or another Laud incident which kept him back history does not reveal, but for certainty Goodwin had his promise. The Laud incident was the detection of his presence in England by Laud's emissaries. He was at Stone's house when they called. Stone, his pipe in his mouth, met them at the door and told them (truthfully) that if it were Mr. Hooker they were inquiring for he had seen their man at a certain house down the road and if they hastened they might find him. Hooker is said to have taken refuge in Holland again. However it was, he was in time to sail with his family on the *Griffin*, September 4, 1633. All Boston turned out to welcome this the largest vessel that had come in. Hooker had had an especially enjoyable trip, thanks largely to the companionship not only of Stone, but of John Haynes, who had left a large estate to come over and was to be one of Hooker's most valued associates, and the Rev. John Cotton, vicar of old St. Botolph in England's Boston, with a predilection for Winthrop's church in this new Boston. The Goodwin party had reached Boston September 16, 1632, had been sent to Mount Wollaston (later Braintree) and thence to Newtown.

Haynes, after filling local offices, was chosen Governor of the Colony in 1635, "much to the disappointment of Roger Ludlow," who by training, experience and ambition had had reason to hope for the office. A man of high attainments he was to have a life of disappointments. Haynes, who refused a salary from colonists suffering through deprivations, held strict ideas, but was much beloved. It was during his one term as Governor that Roger Williams was banished for trying to persuade his people of the Salem church "to renounce communion with all the churches of the Bay, as full of anti-Christian pollution"—which was to prove fortunate for Rhode Island and for all the colonies during the Indian troubles. Haynes wrote the Dutch cautioning them against making settlements in English Connecticut. Historian Hubbard says that "after Hooker's coming over, it was

noticed that many of the freemen grew to be very jealous of their liberties. There were a hundred families, and taxes were as large as in Boston."

Here we leave them to trace what others had been doing in Connecticut, whither, we know by Winthrop's *Journal*, the Colony's ship *Blessing* soon took six of the Newtown men on a tour of exploration.

CHAPTER II.

Whose the Land?

A Dutch Challenge—Antecedent Indians—Winslow's Discoveries for Plymouth—Oldham at Wethersfield.

"What right have you here?" shouted Jacob Van Corlaer of New Amsterdam to Lieutenant William Holmes of Plymouth, September 25, 1633. Van Corlaer was standing on a rude fortification at a small blockhouse, the House of Good Hope, at the mouth of what is now Park River, which empties into the Connecticut at present Dutch Point, Hartford, today the site of a great electric-light plant. His men, priming-torches alight, had their cannon trained on Holmes's shallop which was progressing slowly northward.

That challenge, which the English scarcely heeded, and the Dutchmen fortunately did not press, involved the whole subject of territorial rights outside of Massachusetts Bay Colony. And at this moment in the development of democracy it is to be noted that both white parties were representative of the spirit of the Protestant Reformation—the Dutch by their contentions against Catholic Spain, the English by their Established Church, and, at this hour, their Puritan resistance to royal perversion of that church. With it all, Holland had harbored Protestant English refugees. But both nations were inherently eager in wide exploration. America had become a goal of commercial enterprise for both, their home territory being circumscribed. Except in the case of the Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Puritans of Massachusetts, the main thought had become freedom of worship.

Seven years before this the Netherlands had won a twelve years' truce with Spain. In 1609 the Dutch East India Company had secured the settlement rights to present New York and the Hudson, by efforts of an English navigator in its employ, Henry Hudson. He was then sailing on his third voyage to discover a direct passage to China.* Not till 1628 did the Dutch or any other nation appreciate the importance of the New York region. Later he was to sail again, for Englishmen, seeking the "northwest passage" to China; the name Hudson Bay indicates his results.

* A good map of the western hemisphere had been published in London in 1589 (Paris, 1587). It had been made by Richard Hakluyt, of England, for his book on maps and accounts of discoveries. That was the first map to indicate present Virginia. It was based largely upon the book "De Orbo Novo," of 1534, by Peter Martyr d'Aughiera (1455-1526), who had published accounts of discoveries of Columbus and others from interviews with each explorer and from old Roman and Athenian imaginings.

Among the Dutch traders was Adriaen Block, typical knowledge-seeking Dutchman. When he had sailed up to present Albany for tobacco and furs in 1614, and his ship had been burned, he cut lumber in the forests and built America's first home-made boat, the *Onrust* (Restless), forty feet long, with which he explored Long Island Sound, the Connecticut River as far as Enfield Falls, the Thames and Narragansett Bay, and gave his name to Block Island. New Haven he named "Red Hills" (East and West Rocks), and the Connecticut "Fresh River." On the strength of his report, the trading company was reorganized and enlarged as the West India Company. Peter Minuit, a director, who was sent over to take charge, bought Manhattan Island from the Indians for the equivalent of \$24, named the settlement New Amsterdam, encouraged farmers as well as traders and gave the "bouwerie" as a feeding place for cattle. Minuit was succeeded by Van Twiller, who had trouble with his English neighbors; he by William Kieft, who was distressed by the Indians, and he by the high-tempered Peter Stuyvesant of the wooden leg, the last of the Directors-General, surrendering to the English in 1664, when Charles II gave the territory to the Duke of York, together with western Connecticut, Long Island, and much of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Holmes was well within the parallels named in King James's early grant to the Plymouth Company, but likewise was New York, for that matter. So far as then known, however, there had been no occupation of Connecticut or patent for it issued to any specific company.

In the slow advance of the Red Men from the northwest, only the fringe of them had reached Connecticut. Whether they were drifters from New York or Canada is not known. Supposedly they were of Algonquin origin. Shortly before the arrival of white men there had been an invasion by a small and fiercer group led by Chief Wopigwooit, known as the Pequots, later affiliated with the Mohegans, who went as far as the Narragansetts, of equally undetermined origin, but able to check the progress of the newcomers at the present Rhode Island borders, after which there were royal intertribal marriages. It is noticeable that the New York Mohawks collected tribute from all the Connecticut Indians except the Pequots and Mohegans. Sagamore Uncas of the Mohegans was a Pequot prince, blood relative of the Pequot Chief Sassacus and withal his son-in-law. Sassacus succeeded his father, Wopigwooit. Uncas, who had claimed this succession, was banished and threw in his lot with the Mohegan branch. His son, Joshua Sachem, chief of the Nehantics, married the daughter of Grand Sachem Arraramet of the Podunks, who gave them "all the land in Podunk," from the river at East Hartford in to Ellington and southward to Marlboro. This land Joshua sold to the English. Meantime the Pequot territory had been given over by Queen Anne to the Mohegans. Of the rest of the Red Men the Podunks, whose summer village at present South Windsor was the largest and leaders the most enterprising, had trade affiliations both sides of the Connecticut and to the north by Podunk trail on the west side to Canada.

Natawanute was Grand Sachem of the Podunks, succeeded by Arraramet. The clans were under Tantonimo (at Hockanum), Nameroke at Warehouse Point and Foxen on the Scantic River, whose clan joined the Mohegans under Uncas at

Mohegan Hill. In Windsor there were Poquonnocks and Matiamucks; in Hartford the Suckiaugs under Sachem Sequassen and his sister Warwarne; at Wethersfield and across the Connecticut the Wongunks under Sachem Sowheag.

The Wongunk territory from the Mohegans westward to the lands of the Tunxis and Quinnipiacs, between the Podunks and Suckiaugs on the north and the Hammonassets and Mennuketucks (who later joined the Quinnipiacs) on the south. Grand Sachem Sowheag of Pyquag (Wethersfield) was the father of Sachem Sequassen of Suckiaug, of Sachem Montowese of northern Quinnipiac (near New Haven), and of Turramugus on the east side of the Connecticut, around Marlboro. The seat of Sowheag's government was changed from Pyquag to Mettabesec (Middletown). They all had joined in opposing the Pequot invasion.

Where the Boston Manhattan trail turned southerly toward New Haven the Quinnipiacs had their village, their territory extending northward to the Tunxis. Montowese was Sachem of the northern clan, Mamougin of the southern. New Haven bought from them. They had a large village with trails to Hartford, Farmington and Waterbury. Some of them removed to Farmington and Kent.

The Tunxis clan in Farmington, under Sachems Sequassen and Pettus, gave the name to what is now the Farmington River—"swift-flowing" or "winding." In the Farmington records it reads: "Taken for granted that the Hartford magistrates bought the whole Tunxis country to the Mohawk country, of Sequassen, the chief Sachem." This tends to confirm the belief that, because of fear of the Mohawks of New York, there were no other tribes or clans beyond Sequassen's in the northern part of the Indian territory, so the defined purchase of the Suckiaugs left that section a no-man's land. In Farmington the Indians had a section by themselves. The Massacoes had the land to the west of the Windsor Poquonnocks, with village at Weatogue, Manhannose the Sachem. He gave up his rights when convicted of burning tar belonging to John Griffin. The Agawams of Massachusetts extended down to include Enfield, East Granby, Hartland and Suffield, and reaching eastward to the boundaries of the Massachusetts Nipmucks at Lake Snipsic, Rockville, and beyond including Killingly. After the fall of the Pequots the Nipmucks were subject to Uncas. John Eliot translated the Bible for them.

The Nehantics were along the Sound, south of the Pequots and westward to the Connecticut. The Hammonassets had the shore from the Connecticut westward to East River with summer villages at Madison and Clinton. The Paugusets, of several groups, covered land from the Quinnipiacs and Tunxis to Greenwich, but with their real western boundary wiped from the records by the changes in the New York line in later years. On the north they extended to Woodbury and Waterbury beyond which was the territory void because of the Mohawks. The last chieftain of the whole tribe was Konkapotanack, who died in Derby in 1731. The groups were known as the Pomperaug and Naugatucks in the north, the Patatucks, Unkawas and Wipawaugs. The Siwanogs were of a New York confederacy extending over the present State line to Greenwich, including Ridgefield and the shore. "Noroton" is one of their names. The Scatacooks were those who finally ventured into the no-man's land of the northwest, chose their name and located near New Milford and then Kent. Many responded to the call of Sachem Mau-

wehu to join them. White men also came and bought their land—from the Colony. Remnants of the tribe still live on one of the reservations set apart for the natives.

The northern Indians were canny. In 1628 this Podunk Sachem, Natawanute, had visited Winslow at Plymouth to encourage him to enter into trading relations, and Winslow himself had gone down and inspected the region. Notawanute had explained the use of wampum as a medium of exchange. Most of it came from Long Island. The river, Quinnituket in the Algonquin language, meant "long"; the word for the valley meant "smile of God." Nothing was said about the troublesome Pequots, but a main purpose obviously was to secure protection against them. In 1631, a "river" Indian Sachem, Wahginnacut, had called on Winthrop with "divers of their sannops" to urge white migration. In the party was Jack Straw, who "had lived in England and served Sir Walter Raleigh." Doubtless he was one of many Raleigh had taken to England during his explorations in the 1580's (see Introduction) and had come back to America. He was able to act as interpreter. The Sachem showed a letter from Endicott, setting forth the Indians' promises of gifts and their praise of the soil. Winthrop, while he had them dine with him, frowned upon their proposition; he says he later found that the Sachem "is a very treacherous man" and at war with the Pequots. Two years later Winthrop expressed further objection to the effect that the bar at the mouth of the river allowed only six feet of water, the river was "violent" and for seven months in the year was ice-bound.

Winslow,* however, with that energy which had taken him as far north as Kennebec, in exploration, and imbued with a desire to make income for his colony, was deeply impressed with the "smile-of-God" valley. Again, he was conscious that the Dutch were reaching out and might encroach if there was no specific habitation. Their States General grant was dated January 1, 1615, Virginia to Canada. Secretary de Resières himself, of the settlement at New Amsterdam, had sailed up to Plymouth in state to discuss trade relationship as though Connecticut were Dutch territory. Later he had written to assert Dutch rights for twenty-six years, and Governor Bradford had replied that England had had rights for forty years "as appeareth by Queen Elizabeth's patents and royal grants." It was with pleasure, therefore, that Winslow accepted from Natawanute the gift of a strip of land at the most smiling of all the "smiles" (as today) at the mouth of the Tunxis or Farmington River, directly across the Connecticut from the great Podunk village.

Conscious of the need of immediate occupation, he had a house-frame constructed and dispatched it in a shallop with Lieutenant Holmes in charge and also with his friend Natawanute, after he himself had tarried there long enough to establish domiciliary right. This was the craft which Van Corlaer had challenged that notable morning, September 25, 1633. Holmes was astonished on seeing the fort since Winslow had reported no occupancy near there. Bradford had recorded that the Plymouth Trading Company "brought home and restored the right sachem to the place, Natawanute." When the confederation of New England Colonies

* In England Winslow had been imprisoned seventeen days by Laud's orders for giving instruction in a church, though a layman; he was to be Governor of Plymouth in 1633, 1636 and 1644. He died in 1655.

was investigating claims in 1644 Winslow wrote Winthrop: "I brought in Natanawate and there left him where he lived and died" (in the smallpox scourge that swept the whole valley the following year), "upon the grounds, whom Tatobam, the Pequot tyrant, had before expelled by war." Whether Winslow was with Holmes does not elsewhere appear. That the Dutch settlement at Hartford had sprung up over night is established. And Winslow was to write of this that the region had not been without a "domicilium," meaning of course his own on his earlier visits.

Van Corlaer's own statement subsequently was to the effect that he had bought twenty acres from the Pequots some time previously, for a few odd cooking utensils, a bit of clothing, and a little money, some time before taking possession, in which event he obviously had bought of the wrong tribe if he desired security. The worried, humiliated river Indians were to welcome the advent of the English, and to be angered over the Dutch idea that they had bought not only twenty acres but the whole State. Van Corlaer was wise in not putting torch to his cannon and inaugurating New England's first international war episode. A company of soldiers did make the long journey from New Amsterdam to Holmes's post at Windsor, saw the character of the palisade Holmes had built and returned home.

To follow this notable incident to its conclusion: The English settlers were pacific though outraged. The House of Good Hope was located almost within sight of the grounds selected for the residence of Thomas Hooker, on the sloping north bank of the beautiful Little River. It was a two-story structure with living quarters for most of the Dutchmen and their families, rough traders rather than sober-minded founders. Their conduct, especially with heathen Indians on a little island in the Connecticut, was unseemly. They cultivated little of their rich land; therefore the founders encroached upon it and there were clashings. When Stuyvesant succeeded Kieft at New Amsterdam, he appeared at Hartford before four commissioners of the New England confederation, called thither at his request, who also, and mainly, were to discuss the Dutch claims to territory near Greenwich, New Haven's important subject at that moment. The board decided that the Dutch eastern boundary should be not the Connecticut, but somewhere between Greenwich and Stamford, but the House of Good Hope and thirty acres could be held as a post, despite the Warwick patent and the testimony of Sequassen and Sowheag that they never had sold land to any but the English and that Uncas, after the Pequots were conquered, had given the English a deed to all the land in Connecticut except such as was planted—in return for wampum, shoes and cloth. The West India Company could not afford war; it accepted the decision for the Greenwich line and Connecticut's holdings on Long Island, granted by Lord Sterling, though this was not ratified till 1656 by the States General in the Netherlands.

In 1653, one John Underhill of Providence Plantations, who had been a participant in the Connecticut campaign against the Pequots, appeared at the block-house where few of the Dutch were remaining, and with commission as captain to prey upon the Dutch posted a notice of seizure of the place "for the state of England." It was in the second year of Cromwell's warring with the Netherlands over trade rights. The Connecticut court the next year contradicted his statement and seques-

tered the property "in behalf of the commonwealth of England." Three days later, by terms of Cromwell's treaty with the Netherlands, the English retained the possession. Underhill already had sold the property, but was ordered to reimburse for the land itself.



DUTCH MAP OF CONNECTICUT, 1650

Drawn by N. Visscher from map of Jasper Danker and used in Van der Donk's "Description of New Netherlands," 1656. "Versche" (first) Connecticut River; "Pisners Cleyne Val," Pynchon's Little Falls (Warehouse Point); "Voynser," Windsor (east side); "Herford," Hartford; "Fort de Goode hoop," Dutch Point; "Watertyun," Watertown (Wethersfield, east side); "Weeters Velt," Wethersfield (west side); "Stratfort," "Milfort," "Nieuhaven," "Gilfort," along the shores. Names of Indian groups, including "Conittekock," in larger print. (Reproduction of this map copyrighted by Harry S. Wright, Springfield, Massachusetts.)

Underhill had been commander of the Dutch troops in their fights with the Indians south of the Hudson, after having been punished in Boston, in 1640, for licentiousness; he had been compelled, dressed in sackcloth, to stand before a mul-

titude, during General Court session, "and with sighs, tears and brokenness of heart and the aspect of sorrow, to beseech the compassion of the congregation."

The Dutch claim to land in Saybrook where they had constructed a rude fortification and also to territory near Greenwich, which, as will appear, had caused Cromwell to dispatch ships at New Haven's request, were wiped out by this same treaty of Cromwell's.

The year Holmes was sailing by the Dutch guns, the restless John Oldham, who twice had been banished from Plymouth and had finally located at Newtown of the Bay, but in general was a wanderer, had come down in September as far as Pyquag with three companions, welcomed along the way by the Indians. He returned with a glowing account of the fertility of the meadows on the banks of the Connecticut at present Wethersfield. He was listened to this time, for he had proved himself indomitable. Plymouth recalled that he had been obstreperous at Nantasket, where he had broken fishnets, and on a visit to England he had offended those concerned with the Bay Colony, who revived the story of his having had a bogus patent to land assigned to Endicott and cautioned Endicott to beware of him. He had acquired church membership in Watertown, was a member of the General Court and he knew much about the Indians. For one thing he had brought home specimens of lead from a hill near the Massachusetts line (Sturbridge), which eventually was to yield more bankruptcies than ore.

Oldham's three companions remained at the meadows to greet him on his return in the spring, but the rigors of winter and ravages of smallpox drove them to make the exhausting journey to their home in Ipswich. They estimated that nine-tenths of the thousand Indians near Windsor had perished from the disease. Though this was confirmatory of Winthrop's gloomy view, the hemp Oldham brought home "was much better than the English." This must have had much to do with Oldham's securing ten men to go with him the next year, but only in time to prepare the soil for the following year's crop, thirty more joining them in 1635, and that, too, without any leave being asked for from the General Court and without any form of church organization. The "adventurers," who had come from the Watertown church Sir Richard Saltonstall had helped establish, included Leonard Chester, "gentleman," a relative of Thomas Hooker's by marriage, whose tombstone is the oldest in the town. Others were the Rev. Richard Denton, the Rev. John Sherman (ancestor of America's distinguished family by that name), Robert Reynolds, John Strickland, Jonas Weeks and Andrew Ward. The settlement was named Watertown in 1634, later changed to Wethersfield.

CHAPTER III.

Clearing the Way

Fortuitous Aid from Warwick Patent and the Younger Winthrop—Connecticut Wins, Plymouth Post Included—Windsor's Beginnings—Hartford's Name.

There was now transpiring in Newtown (Cambridge) and vicinity that which is evidence of the first definite appearance of distinction between English Puritanism as transferred to America and liberal Puritanism. All were Calvinistic, but the principles of Hooker, Haynes and Goodwin were novel, comparatively democratic for the times. Savants of three centuries later, imbued with the liberality of the present period in America, might come to consider both parties as one—might come to lift eyebrows over the laws and conduct of government by the Puritans as a whole. But, however crude in comparison with 1939, it nevertheless remains that the years 1633-35 were among the most momentous in human history. Still subject to the predilection inherited and fought for in England, now more in upheaval than ever, the "Braintree Company" and its outside devotees like John Haynes and Edward Hopkins were forcing a new breach, wider and deeper and doubtless more history-making than they themselves could have imagined in their greatest and kindest moments of determination. They evidently would evade the criticism or hostility of their fellows who were foremost in the Bay Colony as they had been at home, but they seemed now to have been men foreordained.

On their arrival at Newtown, which included a part of the present Harvard Yard, Hooker and Stone, his teacher assistant, had found that Elder Goodwin had the church in proper form to receive them and home lots well arranged. Others soon followed them. Haynes, whom Winthrop had won to Puritanism, had been recognized at once as a man of exceptional ability and of very considerable means. A native of Old Holt, Essex, he was eight years the junior of Hooker and eight years the senior of Stone. He had not had the college training of Hooker or of Stone, who was a native of Hertford and who, like his superior, was a graduate of Emmanuel and a lecturer in Towcaster, Northamptonshire. Roger Ludlow, of Dorchester, four years younger than Hooker, winner of honors at Balliol College, Oxford, and especially proficient in law, was already entering into public life in the new land.

There was an ecclesiastical oneness throughout the Colony, intensified, no doubt, by the horrors of the fires Laud was burning since his appointment to the See of London and by the backbone Parliament was revealing, but in matters of government and personal rights it was as though, in Boston, it were held that the very suppression which Cambridge and Dorchester had suffered from in England was, in itself and apart from religion, a necessary and wholesome thing so long as it was in a good cause. Winthrop and his associates were highly respected throughout the Bay Colony. But Hooker was for freer government than had yet been conceived of anywhere; Haynes, Ludlow and Goodwin were of like mind.

Haynes, who was to be elected Bay Governor in May, 1635, thought along administrative lines; Deputy-Governor Ludlow, who was disappointed but not disaffected when Haynes won the position he had hoped for, was the legal interpreter of charter provisions, and had served as a magistrate in the General Court. Hooker's mind was on the mutual relations of government and the common man. Not a colonist in Boston itself had any other conception of the character of these conspicuous three. The study of their records in England, at this 1635 juncture and in the next succeeding years, will reward any who seek to know the how and why of the evolution of the underlying principles of America's free government. The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut in 1639 were not of a day's growth.

In this general period, trying the souls and temper of the refugees from Laud, it was being so evinced. Professor Charles M. Andrews, of Yale, says these colonists "had found Massachusetts an uncomfortable place to live in, because of the difference of opinion that prevailed there and because of the overshadowing influence of the magistrates and the clergy with their rigid, inelastic methods of oligarchic control." Hooker himself was not voiceless. A correspondent of Winthrop's once wrote that "Mr. Hooker before he went away preached against the strictness of the Massachusetts rule regarding admission to the churches," and was "moved to remove" because of "the great division of judgment in the matters of religion among good ministers and people," referring to the technical theological discussion, 1635-1636, by Hooker and Cotton, teacher in the Boston church.

Cotton thought "God never did ordain democracy as a fit government either for church or commonwealth; if the people be governors, who shall be governed?" And he was a man of most ingratiating manner, with "such an insinuating and melting way in this preaching that he would usually carry his very adversary captive," wrote a contemporary. And again: "Whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an order of the court or set up as a practice in the church."

Hooker was a man of much more impressive physique and calm delivery. They were opposites in their contentions on democracy and God's intent. Hooker had been out of harmony with his friend Cotton from the beginning. The basis of this is indicated in a letter of Hooker's in 1638, definitely and bitterly complaining of attempts in both Englands to discredit Connecticut—citing the "common trade that is driven amongst (by) multitudes among you." Ipswich in 1635 was declaring that there were "too many unjust detractions in the Bay to serve their own ends."

A Hooker letter to Winthrop said: "Sir, he wants a nostril that feels not and senses not a schismatical spirit in such a framer of falsifying relations to gratify

some persons and to satisfy their amends. . . . Do these argue brotherly love?" A very similar letter, but with touch of sarcasm was written later, inspired by the boldness of certain who tried to divert immigration and commerce from Connecticut to Massachusetts.

"A general counsel chosen by all," in matters relating to all, emphatically pre-saged the spirit of Hooker in the Fundamental Orders. The expression is found in this letter of 1638 in reference to the presumptiveness of the Bay in turning over civil matters to the magistrates and looking upon the ministers as concerned only with church affairs. Winthrop had held that it was dangerous and unwarrantable to trust the people in matters of counsel or judicature, on the ground that the best part was always the least and that of that best part "the wiser was always the lesser." Hooker wrote that he chose neither to live nor have his posterity live under such a government. The Bay limited voters to church members and church members to the "regenerate"; Hooker, realizing the uncertainty as to the regeneration of any and all comers, in distinction from conformity and personal conduct, would admit to the electorate those who professed Christianity, if freeholders (as required in England), church members or not. This indeed was an innovation, welcomed by numerous colonists as his Chelmsford sermons had been relished by Hopkins and Goodwin and the many who came from far and near. Laud had been justified in trying to reach a chief among non-conformists.

But in 1634-35 there was no desire among these cultured people to start immediate and open secession. America if not Massachusetts was large; they could find another place, and better. Six scouts, in Winthrop's busy vessel *Blessing* already had been down to the Dutch fort in 1633 to investigate the possibilities in that quarter. However, desire for more pasturage was reason enough to incorporate in their petition to remove from present Cambridge, and it had been granted in May, 1634, on condition that it did not "prejudice" any other "plantation." The following September, grants of meadow land in Watertown were given to Cambridge to hold so long as the Hooker party remained. In 1635 permission was given to Watertown, Dorchester and Roxbury people to remove to any place "under this government." (The Roxbury party, led by William Pynchon, removed to Agawam, present Springfield, which was thought at the time to be within the present Connecticut lines.) These permissions were from the deputies; the magistrates or upper house were opposed. Judging by the rumblings in and around Boston itself there is reason to believe that the saving clause about "this government" was added to prevent emigration to the other side of the Connecticut line wherever it might be and with special desire to retain the Hooker party whose case was held in abeyance till March, 1636, or after the advance guard had moved on and bought land. But there had been sensational developments before that time.

It is curious that the General Court had never thought to question Plymouth Pilgrims' right to acquire earlier property where they did. It was to that locality that the Dorchester party were to go. How much the selection of that place and the promptness of action at Windsor was due to Roger Ludlow can only be surmised; all his subsequent career would favor the intimation. Ludlow knew that

the Warwick patent had suddenly entered into the picture. Very few were aware that there was any such thing.

It was such a surprise as gives to stately history a touch which is an essential element of drama and fiction. It centered around the manner in which England had divided American territory. As previously related, King James's first grants in 1606 were for the southern section and, for the northern or "West" company known as the Plymouth, the territory between the mouth of the Hudson and New Brunswick, designated by the parallels. We have traced how the northern section was rechartered when the Bay Colony was established and that the southern boundary to the Pacific was from three miles south of the Charles River, or about eight miles south of a line from present Boston; understanding that the land be bought from the natives but also giving power of offense and defense according to English colonial law and common European practice. A "domicilium" once established could be protected. Little wonder that the Massachusetts line in 1635 was uncertain. The small rectangle in its southern line today is a memorial to long controversies.

Confusion reigned in London. Under Laud's archbishopcy, judgments were being obtained against individuals of the Bay Colony in England, their fellows were looked upon as outlaws, the Council was practically at an end, the King was to declare the charter revoked and Sir Ferdinando Gorges was ere long to be appointed (vainly) Governor-General.

To heighten the drama of this moment in 1635 we have this: Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, was son of the "King-maker" Earl of the previous century and held vast estates. A Puritan, he was presiding officer of the Council under the 1629 form of charter for New England. General history has been concerned only in that Council's issuance in 1629 of the Bay Colony charter for the Puritans. The full records of the Council's meetings were not preserved, but it was to develop that on March 19, 1631, Warwick had transferred important territory by a deed under his own seal to Lord Say and Sele and twenty other Puritans, including Lord Brooke, Colonel George Fenwick, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Maseling, and the conspicuous "patriots" John Hamden and John Pym. The territory was thus defined in the patent: "All that part of New England in North America which lies from a river there called Narragansett, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line near the sea shore, towards the southwest, west, and by south or west, as the coast lieth towards Virginia, . . . and all . . . the lands . . . being within the lands aforesaid, north and south in latitude . . . and in . . . longitude, of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the mainlands there, from the western ocean to the South Sea, and all the islands."*

Only two witnesses signed the papers. If there was an intermediate deed to Warwick for conveyance to the purchasers, Clerk Williams, one of the two signers, could have acted as dummy. As the anti-Puritan storm raged more fiercely in Eng-

* This is a good illustration of the lack of specific knowledge of American geography, at that time, in England. The only interest then being the Saybrook settlement, the popular conception was that the western line included only that settlement and Hartford, northward to include Springfield, and that, in general, territory west of Saybrook was taken up by New Haven and other settlers without formality. In reality it came to be maintained, and was so confirmed in the charter of 1662, that the grant extended to the mythical "South Sea," and that "towards Virginia" embraced Delaware, as set forth in the New Haven Colonial Records. The troubles resulting on all borders become an integral part of history.

land, it is fair to reason that the "lords and gentlemen" named in the patent—and including Cromwell it has been assumed, though not named—could find easy refuge in Connecticut. It was essential to keep the matter secret. Probably few of the colonists knew of its existence; the names were very familiar to them all. In subsequent dispute as to authenticity was a letter from John Humfry of London to Isaac Johnson in Massachusetts, December 9, 1630, saying: "My Lord of Warwick will take a patent you writ of for himself, and so we may be bold to do there as if it were your own." For obvious reasons the action was not bruited.

Saltonstall by himself lately had conceived plans under the patent, after his own brief and unsatisfactory residence in Watertown of the Bay. Recently he had successfully defended the Bay charter in London, but could not prevent the renunciation by the King. His first act was to dispatch "Mr." Francis Stiles, London master-builder, accompanied by twenty-seven others, including Mrs. John Stiles* and two other women, the first white women to set foot on this soil. They were directed to establish for him a park estate in this "smile" valley of the Connecticut, just at the time of these Massachusetts controversies, while the representatives of the patentees as a whole, in the autumn of 1635, were to locate a colony of "lords and gentlemen," or people of "quality," at the mouth of the river. A fort was to be built there by Lion Gardiner, a man of military experience, on a tract ten miles by eight, divided by the river. While lacking harborage, this plantation, to be named after Fenwick, and the fort after Lords Saye and Sele and Brooke, could control navigation and, some theorize, could be refuge for Cromwell in event of need. It was near where Hans den Sluys from Amsterdam two years before had nailed the Dutch arms on a tree. Above all, of interest at this time, is that John Winthrop, Jr., who had been overshadowed by his revered father in Boston, was to be agent, or Governor, with Henry Vane, Jr., and the Rev. Hugh Peters, stepfather of Mrs. Winthrop, as co-agents. Of the young clergyman his eulogist wrote, on his death at age 93:

Young to the pulpit he did get,
And seventy-two years in't did he sweat.

Two days after the elaborate fort was built a Dutch ship came and sailed away again. It was to be three years before Lady Fenwick was to be brought over as a bride by her husband, the colonel, to occupy the beautiful residence he had built for her and, in time, to become a member of the Hartford church.

The Warwick group had arrived at Boston October 5, 1635, and tarried there ten days before pushing on to present Saybrook. All in all, it is reasonable to presume that the alert Ludlow had become aware of Saltonstall's separate plan up-river and had hastened the departure of the Dorchester pioneers in June, 1635, he zealously heading them. Matthew Grant, town clerk and the progenitor of the Grant family in America, including President Ulysses S. Grant, was one of them.

Whether Ludlow, the lawyer, could have suspected such possibility, Jonathan Brewster, now resident agent for the Plymouth Colony and son of former Governor

* John Stiles was ancestor of President Ezra Stiles of Yale.

Brewster of that Colony, promptly notified Governor Winslow, and for a considerable length of time there was keen interchange of opinion between Plymouth and Boston, Winslow himself eventually going to Dorchester to make his unavailing presentation of facts. It was a principle of the Pilgrims not to resort to arms. Both sides appealed to God's providence. Ludlow and his men lodged themselves on the north bank of the Tunxis whence they bargained with the Indians and also explored up-river to see if there were a better site, in this which Ludlow considered "God's waste." They allowed Plymouth one-sixteenth of all land bought from the natives.

It was while they were on one of these expeditions and Brewster reporting that more and more people were coming every day, some of whom were trying to negotiate with the Dutch at the House of Good Hope, that Stiles and his party arrived. Ludlow met them on his return and assured them that all the available land thereabouts was preëmpted, though there were a few hundred acres northerly and across the river, east side, that might be secured. And Stiles did plot out a two-thousand-acre park there, only, however, to be restrained by the indignant Saltonstall, and then to make the best of it by accepting the Ludlow proposition that he and his brothers take lots on the northern portion of Ludlow's purchase (where the Oliver Wolcott homestead now stands as a Daughters of the Revolution memorial). Henry Stiles of the Saltonstall pioneers was to be the cause of the first law enacted by the Connecticut General Court, he or one of his servants having traded a gun for corn with the Indians. The law required that he recover the gun and prohibited all transfer of weapons. Stiles was killed in a "training" accident just previous to the Pequot War.

After a time, in 1637, leaving their small palisade and the Dorchester congregation in their large palisade, the Pilgrims retired to peaceful but sorrowful Plymouth.

Both Saltonstall and the younger Winthrop, who blamed himself for that ten days' tarrying at Boston, wrathfully wished to know by what right any Massachusetts people were making free with Warwick land without consulting the patentees. Ludlow appears neither in person nor in writing in these tense controversies. (Connecticut and Massachusetts men were opposites in the particular of putting intimate matters on record for posterity. Massachusetts and Plymouth had three journal-keepers and historians in Winthrop, Bradford and Hubbard, whose names are immortal among historians.) More of the Dorchester people came in the summer of 1635, and some from other localities, but the most in the fall and the following year. The town's original boundaries measured forty-six miles, from Simsbury on the west to Ellington hills on the east, both sides of the river. Ten distinct Indian groups were within these limits, totaling about one thousand, mostly Podunks.

The affairs of the Warwick patent had further delayed the formal granting to Hooker's people the right to remove. Nevertheless no objections were entered on the records when Elder Goodwin and workmen took their way down below Windsor to the Indians' Suckiaug ("black earth") in the fall of 1635 with view to preparing for settlement-moving in the spring. Faithful Winthrop in his round-tower

made minute of a body of sixty men and women starting off in that direction in the autumn of 1635, some of whom may have stopped in Windsor while the rest joined Goodwin.

In the winter Winthrop recorded the return of twelve men (probably Goodwin's workmen), one of which party had perished in the river ice that had formed exceptionally early for that or any modern year. Altogether it was a bitter winter. A party bound for Windsor could not get their cattle across the river. Food supply at that post being exhausted, a considerable portion of the settlers traveled through snow on foot to the mouth of the Connecticut (about sixty miles), where the survivors happily found the food ship *Rebecca* they had expected, just being released from the ice by a warm rain. Sailing on this vessel, they were able to get back to Dorchester, December 10.

The preliminary measures for the purchase of Suckiaug from Sachem Sequassen were perfected by Goodwin without reference to the small patch occupied by the Dutch, the Pequot affair still rankling. The later-perfected purchase was from the river front back six miles, still later extended to include Farmington, south to the Wethersfield line and north to that of Windsor, minus a small reservation for the local Indians. Somewhat nettled Bradford says, in his history of Plymouth, after remarking that the Windsor intrusion was an "unkindness not soon forgotten": "They of New-Towne dealt more fairly, desiring only what they [of Plymouth] could conveniently spare from a competency reserved for a plantation, for themselves; which made us more careful to procure a moiety [half] for them, in this agreement and distribution." The grantees were Stone and Goodwin in behalf of the ninety-seven proprietors who paid by a special tax. An Indian reservation near the Dutch fort was reserved. For a year the plantation was to carry on the name of Newtown, changed February 21, 1637, to Hartford after the name of Stone's birthplace in England—Hertford, pronounced Hartford, meaning vicariously a hart crossing a ford, and so indicated on the seal of the English borough as on this in America today.

The Indian village was to the north, on the regular Indian trail, near the junction of a creek with the Connecticut. From it led a trail to a hill at the edge of the western woods, about a quarter of a mile distant—their lookout and thereafter the settlers' "Centinel Hill." From there (present Main Street) the land sloped gently southward to the high bank of Little River which, flowing southeasterly, made a sharp curve south and east at its junction with the Connecticut. The Dutch fort was on the north side of this peninsula, the house and farm on the south side. From that point to the Indian village was about two miles, the fertile meadow sloping up westward to the Sentinel Hill trail. Half way back on this slope, or about present Front Street, the "adventurers" constructed dugouts for the winter and mapped homesteads on this the north side of Little River for those who were known to be coming and left the south side for the others. "Adventurers Field" was a commons lying westerly from the hill, crossed by present Garden Street. About midway on their road from the hill to Little River, and on the east side thereof, they marked the site for their meetinghouse with a spacious yard between it and the road. On the high bank at the junction of the road and Little River, a

palisado was to be erected as a southern lookout. East on Little River was an island and a ford for the Indian trail.

The original home-lots were laid out for the following, from north to south, the "adventurers" being marked by an asterisk: On the lower road—Matthew Allyn, Nicholas Clarke,* Matthew Marvin,* Stephen Hart,* William Westwood,* William Butler,* John Stone, Timothy Stanley, Edward Stebbins, Thomas Scott,* William Pantry,* James Olmstead, Richard Webb,* upper road, contiguous with those on the lower—William Kelsey,* Robert Day, Nathaniel Ely,* Edward Elmer,* Clement Chaplin, John Steele,* William Goodwin,* and opposite him, Sergeant Thomas Stanley* (next to the palisado). Reservations for the ministers were on the upper slope overlooking Little River, and between Elder Goodwin and Richard Webb.* A more beautiful location could hardly be found, and altogether it was an admirable layout for a city, in the particulars of defense, navigation, food supply and development. Those not marked on this list as adventurers were present, with one or two exceptions, at the first meeting of the "Suckiaug planters," and were to return to Suckiaug in the spring. There presumably were no women or children with the first party.

Meanwhile more and more immigrants were coming to Cambridge. Among them was the Rev. Thomas Shepard, who was to succeed Mr. Hooker and to marry his daughter Joanna. The subject of removal had taken new shape with the appearance of the Warwick claims. The General Court of Massachusetts had become more complacent. There must be recognition of the patentees—or so it was then supposed, and if all three towns really were to pass into a new jurisdiction, the Bay should have formality in its recognition. Thus a lesson in statecraft and another step in the progress of human rights.

Both Hooker and Ludlow had a hand in the commission, which was signed March 3, 1636. The younger Winthrop's assertion that the three settlements were outside of the Bay had to be accepted, though in the final adjustments much later Springfield was to remain in Massachusetts. His question what government the settlers intended to live under had to be answered; Warwick and the patentees must have a clear understanding. The resulting conferences in the General Court were, by form, secret. We know the patentees were expressing no opposition to this easy manner of getting home-builders, essential to them under the patent regulations, however peremptory their challenge. Saltonstall himself thought of building in Hartford. Hooker wrote to Saye and Sele. On the other side Hooker and Ludlow could not agree to having a Governor appointed by the patentees, and that, too, at the very moment they thought they were getting free to carry out ideas of their own. One reason why Ludlow had been so stubborn in Windsor—whence he had returned for the winter—was to escape both Bay and Plymouth control. In the discussion, that undoubtedly was preëminent.

The outcome was a provisional government for one year, in which understanding the patentees compromised, the settlers agreeing to provide them with essential inhabitants. William Westwood meanwhile was appointed constable for Suckiaug by the court and the other two towns were similarly recognized. A messenger unattended braved the winter's perils through the wilderness to reassure Goodwin's

party anent the Dutch claims and the purchase; united English authority would count for much. Remarkably, the path of progress was becoming easy as any foreordainer would have boasted in 1661, when the younger Winthrop as agent desired the backing of Lord Saye and Lord Brooke in getting the free charter from Charles II; in the letter to those influential gentlemen their "encouragement" on this occasion in 1636 was recalled and consequent assurance was expressed "of your patronage and favor."

The commission, says Professor Andrews, was "the first expression of the political principles which were later embodied in the Fundamental Orders of 1639." Eight men, Roger Ludlow, Esq., William Pynchon, Esq., John Steele, William Swaine, William Phelps, William Westwood, Henry Smyth and Andrew Ward were given judicial powers and right to make decrees conducive to the "peaceable and quiet ordering of the affairs," exercise military discipline and make war if necessary; further, and in particular, to convene on appointed days said "inhabitants" (not necessarily church members) "in a legal and open manner, by way of court," to proceed in executing "the power and authority aforesaid," and concluding: "that this may not be any prejudice to the interest of those noble personages in said river and confines thereof within their several limits."

This was the beginning of the break from world tradition since the dawn of civilization. It was the first stone in the foundations of American free government. And the patentees were attempting to exercise no extra-judicial powers since it was to be a provisional government for one year only or until the patentees could decide upon the form of government under their own authority. There could be no question in Hooker's mind what they would decide. His dream already was coming true. Warham, with Ludlow and a considerable party, was off for Windsor, Pynchon to Agawam, fifty or more to Wethersfield, there to complete their church organization begun in 1635, and, probably, Stone with Wakeman and John White to Hartford, where the commissioners met April 26, passed orders, swore in constables for the plantations, arranged for the Wethersfield people to erect their meetinghouse. Hooker tarried till his local church could be reestablished and Shepard be ordained as pastor, and also till weather could be more propitious for the overland expedition with household belongings and live stock.

The settlement name "Hartford" was derived from the ancient shiretown of Hertford in the Mother Country, where a Saxon King had built the first castle for protection against the Danes. Notably the first representative meeting was held there in 673 when the Romans and Britons assembled to form the first national English Church, under Archbishop Theodore, the Greek from Tarsus sent thither by Rome. There also a Saxon King built the first castle for protection against the Danes, replaced by a citadel erected by William the Conqueror, foundations of which structure are still to be seen. The castle of today was built in the 1600's for use of Royalty. An ancestor of the Newberry family of Connecticut's Windsor had charge of the construction. The red brick building, now the repository of ancient relics, was the meetingplace. George Fox, William Penn and Thomas Dinsdale were among those who worshipped there. An ancestor of Connecticut's Gov-

ernor Haynes was the first presiding officer of Hertfordshire, and it was Governor Haynes who suggested the name of Hartford, in honor of Teacher Samuel Stone of the Hooker congregation who was a native of that shire. A 1611 map of the English town, obtained by Colonel Francis Parsons of Hartford, literary researchist, lawyer and banker, was given to the city to hang in the mayor's office. Colonel Louis R. Cheney, while mayor of Hartford, was instrumental in bringing about most social relationship between the modern officials and residents of Hertford and Hartford by means of visiting delegations. The city's first seal (1785) was a crudely classical representation of the Connecticut River god with indications of fish, floods and industries; its successor, in 1852, an adaptation of the Hertford emblem, with an eagle soaring above the hart and the motto *Post Nubila Phæbus*, successively appropriate as time goes on.

CHAPTER IV.

Hooker's Pilgrimage

Plotting the Land—Hartford's Township—Independence Develops—Springfield Withdraws—Indians Threaten Annihilation.

To say that Hooker's party left Newtown May 31, 1636, is to mark a chronology item in history. That there were spectacular features which distinguished this from several other hegiras in New England colonization was due to no self-consciousness. The leaders were seeking independence in thought and action as so many had sought it since the days of Athens. The people desired more and greener pastures for their cattle; their leaders, favored by circumstances, were formulating ideas of government nobler than any that yet had been worked out, with results greater than any they possibly could have imagined.

Nor was this group conceiving itself to be the "chosen of God" to be carriers of a principle as in the instance of the Biblical exodus. They were following their impulse. And the history of free government lets the record stand for itself. Thomas Hooker was of sturdy Anglo-Saxon stock, but not of the "stern Puritan" type so familiar in descriptive writing. He was keenly intellectual, as his college and teaching record shows, but he was not as spectacular as many other clerical leaders of the day. He was of nature to attract the energetic Ludlow, the dignified Haynes, the enterprising Goodwin, the wealthy, talented Hopkins and the learned, thoughtful Winthrop, junior. Fearless in his convictions, he had no thought of the political goal that ultimately would be reached in America. His extant writings are sometimes crisp and none too lucid, as the world goes, but he lost no friends and his increasingly large number of followers were more and more devoted to him as a genial, sympathetic man as well as a leader. By his letters we see that he found much pleasure in the company of children even as he could stand against royalty. Sudden death itself, in the hour of his success, he was to meet with a smile.

There was, then, no striving for effect in arranging this pilgrimage, though indeed, like none of the others, it was to be portrayed thereafter first in crudest wood-cuts and now with brush and etchers' tool. Mrs. Hooker being sick, he might well have chosen to make the journey with her and his little children in one of the available ships that could cross the bar at the mouth of the river, but, conscious of the preference of all of them, there were hands eager to guide her horse

litter and good herdsmen to drive their one hundred and sixty cattle, on whose milk they must most rely. It has to be remembered that not one of that party ever had had the experience of those farmers and woodsmen who years later went out on founding expeditions into western wilds. It is reasonable, not boastful, for the beneficiaries by his leadership, to infer that these "Hooker people" were inspired and sustained by the spirit that, with due chastening, was to point the way and strive to preserve free government.

Of "freemen" settlers there were about forty, with women and children increasing the number to about one hundred and twenty, with sheep, fowls, swine and the hundred and sixty cattle, including a half-dozen cows, four oxen and a bull being



THOMAS HOOKER AND HIS CONGREGATION
PASSING THROUGH THE WILDERNESS, 1636
HARTFORD'S FIRST CONVEYANCE
(From Barber's Historical Collections)

sent by Winthrop to his son at Saybrook. Governor Haynes could not leave his official duties till the next year. Goods and chattels, reduced in number to barest necessity, were carried as best could be devised, the rest to be brought later. The few horses were utilized by the advance guard and for relief purposes.

Starting from the north bank of the Charles River and passing through Watertown, they followed the "Old Bay Path," which ran about due west some eight miles south of the modern automobile highway. This took them through present Walt-

ham, Framingham and Grafton, across the Blackstone River, through Oxford and Sturbridge, along the Quabaug, north of Sherman Pond, to Agawam (Springfield) on the Connecticut; thence down the east side of that river to the point where the first ferry (John Bissell's) was to be established, across by rafts to the north end of the Windsor settlement, thence over the smaller Tunxis, by Holmes's post to the huts at Suckiaug, a total distance of at least one hundred and ten miles, covered in a fortnight and allowing a pause for a joyous reception by the Dorchester migrators. Such time, taking out Sunday for rest and worship, is hardly more than that of modern western herdsmen with their cattle, which is the more remarkable when it is kept in mind that these pioneers were not "to the manner born," but rather were English gentle-folk, many of them accustomed to lives of comfort in an ancient and well traversed land.

Though there was a distinct Indian trail over which a number of pioneers had traveled back and forth, the surface was rough and the forest paths narrow; the

beauty of all as seen from the hills can be appreciated only by those who have traversed the same territory today. And it was the month when New England woods and fields are glorious. Occasionally there were small Indian villages where the travelers were sure of welcome and of food and guidance if needed. On the part of the natives there was astonishment at the size and character of the company, but no alarm. The most of them never had seen paleface women and children. In the party were several who only recently had arrived from England. Many others were on their way by water for all three settlements, according to the reports of Gardiner at the river mouth.

The task set before the settlers, with their rude implements, was a much more serious matter than the journey from Massachusetts. Considerable of the material for building could come from the Bay by boat but the larger part had to be hewn or sawed by the trench-beneath method from the standing wood in the virgin forests. The earliest habitations were cabin-like to serve till the meetinghouse and the ministers' houses could be completed. The meetinghouse was a small square structure, located as previously stated on the central square, at the southeast corner as it was before the later encroachments. The roof of it sloped up from all four sides to a small cupola. The seats were arranged, as always, according to the social rank of the worshippers. In the small space under the rafters, guns and ammunition were to be kept for those who took turns at sentry-go. There were as yet no drums and no bell to call the worshippers to meeting.

The permanent house of Mr. Hooker, with a degree of architectural beauty, was built down "ministers lane" at the southeast corner where the land approached the high Little River bank, near the present site of the *Hartford Times* building.* Mr. Stone's residence was nearly opposite, about where the present Municipal building stands with the memorial to the "Adventurers," provided in 1935 by the Descendants of the Founders, on the river bank south of it, where the entire lot abutting Mr. Stone's had been awarded to Elder Goodwin, chief of the "adventurers." Richard Goodman had the large lot bordering the meetinghouse square on the north and Clement Chaplin, who immediately sold and went to Wethersfield, that on the south side. Edward Stebbins and Thomas Scott had the lots on the east side of the square on either side of the road that led down to the Connecticut River landing.

At that time, before the river had encroached, the rivulet near the Indian village on the north emptied into the Connecticut at this "landing." The "meadow road" from that village continued south, passing the road from the northeast corner of the "meeting-house yard," near where was the burying ground till its removal to Main Street, where later the church was to have its present edifice. The jail, in due season, was also to be located near that corner of the yard, only half a block from the location of police headquarters up to the present day. Before 1640 the road from the landing was changed to run directly from the east side of the yard across the meadow trail to a new landing. Near the south side of the yard was a public mart where later a general market was to be built. The stocks were erected

* Fittingly the front of the present building was originally the classic front of Dr. Parkhurst's notable Madison Avenue church in New York, designed by the eminent Stanford White.

near it. The "Little Meadow" between the meadow trail and the water was shared as planting ground. Distribution of outlying land was to come a little later, after government had been effected.

While most of the shelters provided by the "Adventurers" in the winter of 1635-36 had been of a temporary or foundation character, that of John Talcott near the present corner of Main and Talcott streets was of a nature to preserve it for several generations as one of the most important in the Colony, and the remains of it—in the center of the business section as it had come to be—were to continue till the present era, not being disturbed till the great, wonderfully preserved basic woodwork and stone work were removed in 1934.

John Talcott, who was born in Braintree, England, came over with his wife in the "Braintree Company" on the *Lion* in 1632, and was a deputy till the removal of the party to Hartford. He was an "original proprietor." His son, Lieutenant-Colonel John Talcott, who became one of the foremost men of the colony in civil, religious and military affairs, wrote of this house that it was erected by Nicholas Clark in the winter of 1635. "My mother and father lived first in the kitchen, on the west side of the chimney. The great barn was built in 1636, . . . and was the first barn that was raised in the Colony. The east side of the house that we live in, and was my father's, was built with the porch, that is, in the year 1638, and the chimneys were built in 1638." The original proprietor sat as one of the "committee" with the Court of Magistrates in 1637, and as deputy continued till 1654 when he was "assistant," and also was treasurer and one of the two commissioners of the New England Confederation, dying in 1670. His descendants to this day have been prominent in city and State life. The house itself, long retained in the family, was occupied, latterly for business purposes, and in recent years was overshadowed by modern mercantile structures. The original grounds toward the river were remarkable for their floral display. Throughout the Revolutionary War period, as in later times, this house and the house built nearly opposite on Main Street in 1790 by Colonel Samuel Talcott, son of Governor Joseph Talcott, who was the son of the redoubtable Lieutenant-Colonel John Talcott (son of the founder), were a center of civic and social life.

At their meeting April 26 the eight commissioners as the first General Court doubtless considered the details of the purchase of the lands from the natives. The original deed for Suckiaug had long been lost, but presumably the matter of holdings as far south as the Wethersfield line was arranged. The Indian purchase from Sowheag was later endorsed by Uncas, for form's sake and double assurance in the Dutch dispute. The Dutch settlement was to continue in occupancy of its small section for the time being. Therefore land allotments were granted by the Hartford authorities to those who had not received theirs, in the section south of Little River, and it was called the "South Side." Chief among these were the lots of Edward Hopkins opposite the Hooker lot north of the river and of George Wyllys on high ground back from the south bank and including the Indians' favorite oak, later the Charter Oak, by the size of whose leaves in the spring the natives marked their crop-planting time and under which they held their councils. Wyllys two years later was to bring material and a body of workmen from England to erect

what for years was to be the finest residence in the colony. A road led from the trail down by the "Dutchmen's Land" and to "Pequot Heads," the "Indian Fort" and the Indian land at "Manorolos," which was Sequassen's reservation till banished, temporarily, across the river to Mettabeseck (Middletown) for alleged irregularities in land affairs. The land between this reservation and the house allotments was upland, meadow and swamp lots for Wyllys, Haynes and four of the nearby allottees. Later a schoolhouse was to be built near the ford, the first Hopkins Grammar School a little west of it, and the first meetinghouse of the South Church west of that. The "Dutchmen's Land"—for the blockhouse and across the mouth of Little River from their fort at "Dutch Point"—was shared on the map by Richard Lord and William Gibbons to the total of twenty-two acres, leaving one and a half acres for the blockhouse.

The insistence of the Dutch to raise hay and other crops on this land, together with their having failed to use it, stirred the neighbors to envy and then to cultivation, for, as Governor Haynes was to say to protesting officials from New Amsterdam, "it was a shame to see good land go to waste." The outcome, along with the unseemly bearing of the churchless traders, made a chapter of the long-continued story of Dutch claims.

The "Smile of God," which the Indians called the valley of their "Long river," was indeed good to look upon, so the non-conformist invaders found, and while the overworked pioneers are busy with measuring house lots, cutting timber and building their homes, it is the time to learn further of the land of the whole State of which this was to be a part. Thousands of years after the upheavals of the earth's first crusts—which were more complete in Southbury than anywhere else—and the foothills of the Green Mountains had been left in the western section, with many hills in all sections, there came the glacial period to write its story, as on the lava (trap) rocks near Trinity College. Layers of lava had alternated with layers of silt in the alternations of heat and cold, and flowing waters had had to change their courses. Strange forms of animal life had alternated. In Manchester (Buckland quarries), remains of the saurians of the Triassic age were found by Major Charles H. Owen in 1884. Later, on the A. A. Pope estate in Farmington, a fine mastodon skeleton was unearthed. Footprints of monsters have been taken to museums out of red sandstone quarries from Glastonbury to Middletown. East and West Rocks, New Haven, are conspicuous memorials of the uplifting molten crust, and the "Sleeping Giant" not far westerly from them is as much a suggestion of the artistry of the prehuman powers as is the giant profile of the "Old Man of the Mountain" in the White Mountains.

The depression between the eastern and western ranges had been an arm of the sea back to the northern line of Massachusetts. This was well filled in with alluvial deposit from the hills. Then a second and later a third flood of lava, with upheaval of the Talcott Range, Cedar Mountain, and Hanging Hills at Meriden, together with other hills shoreward, built up the foundations for the present surface, another mass of alluvial accumulation, dotted here and there with large boulders which the glaciers had carried.

The Connecticut River, from farthest north, maintained its course through the original great gulch till, checked by the upheavals of trap at Wethersfield and Berlin, it was compelled to cut its channel toward the southeast through the hills at the Narrows and take its way along the steep bluffs below Middletown. The Farmington River, rising in Massachusetts north of Colebrook, took an easterly and southerly course, originally to the Sound, it is now thought, but eventually was dammed by silt in Farmington and compelled to feel its way directly north along the Talcott Range till it could break through picturesquely near Tariffville and wind into the Connecticut at Windsor. It is one of the long rivers, the only one with course northward, achieving only short eastern distance (about thirty miles), with over sixty miles of flowing. Somewhat similar in diversion is the Hockanum, east of Hartford, and the Housatonic, forced to seek outlet into the Sound in conjunction with the comparatively straight-flowing Naugatuck.

The Connecticut's vagaries at Wethersfield have created law suits. It has changed and is changing its course to the gain of the western shore at Hartford and loss on the opposite bank. At Wethersfield since 1792 it has reversed a double or "S" turn, adding somewhat to lower East Hartford but robbing Wethersfield and Glastonbury, were it not for the jurisdictional line. Thaddeus Welles, of Glastonbury, in 1887, sought to recover for land washed over to Wethersfield, but the Supreme Court decided against him on the basis of natural accretion; only, however, a few years later, to have the river below transfer \$1,800 worth of land from Wethersfield to Mr. Welles's estate. The court adhered to its principle, though in the trial court nine of the jury favored the plaintiff. With the federal government in charge of navigable streams some of these evils, including the bar at the river's mouth, have been remedied. The falls at Enfield remain a problem as they did for Adriaen Block, the first white man to be confronted by them. There is still the canal below at Windsor Locks, however, for light shipping.

The State enjoys the agricultural and industrial benefit of three large rivers in addition to the Connecticut, all with origins far up in New England, the majestic Thames to the east and the turbulent Naugatuck and Housatonic combined to the west, all with large tributaries. Of the five thousand square miles of territory, one hundred and forty-five is water. There are over one thousand lakes with an area of forty-four thousand acres. And in Long Island Sound are many islands. The highest land is Bear Mountain, 2,355 feet, in the foothills of the Green Mountains.

The mere naming of the founders who were putting into effect the provisions of the Warwick patent compromise is not sufficient in the study of free government in the "Constitution State." As their first step they were adopting a principle that was to distinguish Connecticut settlements in other States also and thereby set an example of fairness and solidity, hardly less important than the constitution on which they were simultaneously pondering. It should not longer be thought that at this juncture they were three towns; they were three plantations, as the Rev. Dr. Delos Love in 1914 so carefully deduced from the existing records, and with a General Court of two commissioners from each for a period of only one year. They were alike in their courage and enterprise in departure from the England of

Charles and Laud; they had shared in the spirit which had made Parliament unruly; they were bold representatives of the type of Englishmen who would resist autocracy and hierarchy. For the most part they were people of means and high education, in no sense speculators or riff-raff. Most of them had sacrificed good homes and comfortable living.

Their allotment plan, then, included apportionment of land in general according to amount of individual subscriptions to the plantation funds and with absolute fairness. The best recorded full illustration of this is furnished by Farmington, which was developed after the new government, with its town feature, had been established. Allotment was to give each the kinds of lands he desired. Obviously house lots must be near together; hence the outlying land, of which there was lack in the Bay Colony, must be shared equitably, and as surveying and fencing were out of the question there must be commons like the "cow pasture," and the "ox pasture," until this land could be apportioned and distributed according to vote of the "proprietors" under the grant. Those arriving before the Warwick compact was drawn up were entitled to a part of the total of about forty acres of land, a rectangular section known as "Adventurers Field," between the northern cow pasture and the swamp near the present railroad station, where Gully Brook emptied into Little River.

Interest in the others of the outlying pastures or commons (using the word in its general sense) was awarded by vote of the proprietors, sometimes, apparently, in award for services rendered. About five hundred acres west of present Sigourney Street (a mile and a half from meetinghouse yard) were divided between perhaps twenty original grantees, as the main body of holders. Of these one hundred eventually were allotted to a son of Governor Haynes who sold them to his brother, the Rev. Joseph Haynes, who in turn bequeathed them to his son, Judge John Haynes. At the judge's death in 1713 they were described as the "Nook in the River"—where the north branch (or Woods River) curves to join the main Little River—with valuation of one hundred pounds. Today descendants of Governor Haynes still live on Forest Street, which runs through Nook Farm, which also came to be known for its Hartford Literary Colony, and to be owned and developed in considerable part by descendants of Thomas Hooker, one of whose descendants and also a descendant of Harriet Beecher Stowe lives there in the home where Mrs. Stowe spent her last years, all as will appear herein.

West of the "Nook," later, was a large tract, the "Tower Common," densely wooded and, in passage of years, much encroached upon, but a part of it to remain "a common forever," according to the vote, extending to the north and south town lines and to present Quaker Lane. This was largely repurchased from the Indians, as the "West Division," two hundred and eighty-five acres, not laid out till 1697. "Common" as well as woods disappeared in the advance of population. Soldiers Field will be considered later. The special point, in the outline for history, is this method of land distribution which will be illustrated again and forcefully in the national episode in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary War period.

The other important point, in considering relationship to federal development, is this that there were three "plantations" instead of three towns. Without this knowledge there has been an incongruity in the terms of the constitution which has led to debate. That instrument can no longer be considered a compact between three frontier towns, all of them organized. The seed is to be found in the whole body of people as plantationists who are given the authority and are directed to create towns, which in truth constitute the basic elements for the sort of representative government proposed. Or, in other words, the constitution was to provide for the building from the ground up.

The Warwick compromise provided for a governing commission or provisional general court, consisting of two men from each plantation, as named in the preceding chapter.

The Newtown deputies to this Bay court were Matthew Allen, William Spencer and John Talcott, and John Haynes presided as Governor. Pynchon of Agawam was an "assistant" in the court. Winthrop, Junior, was the agent of the patentees who had the Connecticut jurisdiction. In reality the document was the simplest possible statement of Winthrop's approving these much-desired settlers for his jurisdiction, they to be allowed a year to form their own government. The two cannon and the three small ones with ammunition which Captain Underhill, chief military officer of the Colony, was to deliver, by vote taken when proposed removals were conditional on remaining within the Bay jurisdiction, do not appear again in history.

By reason of the Warwick patent, England would be entering directly into any quarrel with the Dutch. The plantations as such are nowhere referred to; the people are simply our "loving friends, neighbors and members of" the Bay towns of Newtown, Dorchester and "other places," "going to inhabit" (not towns); and where "people sit down and cohabit" there likely would be "differences" and "misdemeanors" requiring "speedy redress," which the Bay could not undertake to regulate, whereas on the other hand patentees, having "engaged themselves and their estates in the planting of said river" "do require jurisdiction" and no "manner of government is yet agreed on"; these men named shall have the full judicial and regulatory power, for peace or in war.

The one year stipulated expired about March 3, 1636. The last of seven sessions of the court was held the following February. Only routine business had been transacted. No one was objecting to continuance of the government. Who would be likely to? March 27 they had a court of election and Thomas Welles was chosen by the inhabitants magistrate in place of William Westwood, who with John White was constable; also a Hartford South-Side man, and representation should be given to that section as a separate plantation. It was Connecticut's first ballot, though we do not have the official record of it. Disadvantage in having successive meetings held in the plantations by rotation caused agreement that all meetings be held in the central plantation, Hartford. Even then Agawam felt inconvenience. At once, rather than have all come to Hartford for election, it was voted to allow each plantation to elect three "committees" (representatives), who should choose a

magistrate and share in court duties. In the Bay Colony such representatives were called "deputies," but choice must be by an organized town.

Altogether matters were progressing toward what probably was foremost in the minds of Hooker and his immediate associates. It was being discussed among the busy people when came the thunder-cloud of the Pequot War. On May 1, 1637, immediate action was resolved upon. There were no more formal sessions till November 14, though an election evidently had been held meantime.

CHAPTER V.

Tried by War

Pequot Ambition and Massachusetts Precipitancy Test the Colony's Character —Ruthless Extermination of Peril.

The friendly relations the Pilgrim first-comers to New England had established with the Indians, as later the persuasiveness of Roger Williams, had given the Bay Colony a sense of security. The Dutch, with eye to trade, had been cautious but unwittingly at Suckiaug had bought land for their post without regard for precedent Indian ownership record. The Pequots had had desperate fights with the allied "river" Indians when they cut their way through from the dim northwest to the land of the strong Narragansetts. The Dutch in their treaty had prescribed that any and all Indians could trade with them. When some of these trading Indians were killed, suspicion had fallen justly upon the supercilious Pequots. In their attempt to clear up the situation, the Dutch had created a disturbance which had resulted in the killing of Chief Wapigwooit himself.

In accord with their vengeful code, the Pequots, early in 1633, killed Captain Stone, a Virginia trader well known in the colonies, and his whole crew of eight men as they were sailing down the Connecticut homeward bound. There had been denials and the excuse that the traders were mistaken for Dutchmen. The Pequots at the time were being especially disturbed by the feud of Sagamore Uncas of the Mohegans, ambitious Pequot prince, son-in-law of Sassacus, but intriguing against him to secure his own election to succeed Wapigwooit and thus restore former relationship with the Pequots and the Mohegans as against the Narragansetts. The Dutch, on their part, were absorbed in their contention with the English for Suckiaug rights. The Pequots bethought themselves to send a runner to Boston with proffer of rich yearly tribute as evidence of friendship. Boston's reply to the effect that some of rank should be assigned to such a commission was precisely what the Indians had desired. Two leaders were sent in 1634, with whom an understanding was arrived at, involving forty beaver skins, thirty otters, forty fathoms of wampum and kindness toward the Connecticut colonists, the Pequots to give over the men who had killed Stone and his party. Indian diplomacy did not require promptness in fulfillment.

The Connecticut colonists were trustful but not unwary. One of their first regulations was that every man should have a gun, two pounds of powder and twenty bullets subject to constables' inspection once a month.

July 5, 1636, so soon after the Hooker party had arrived at Suckiaug, the widely known John Oldham, discoverer of Wethersfield, while on one of his trading trips by water, with two boys and two Indians, had been murdered by Indians near Block Island. John Gallup, who chanced to be sailing from southern Connecticut for Boston, came upon the little boat and suspecting mischief fired upon it till several of the Indians aboard jumped into the water and were drowned, with the exception of three. One of these Gallup took with him, leaving the others in the drifting hull, after he had removed Oldham's mutilated body, the boys and the friendly Indians. Gallup sailed on to Boston. When Governor Harry Vane heard the report he dispatched John Endicott and Captain John Underhill who then were the military trainers in the Colony, to compel the Pequots to surrender all who had had a part in the Stone murder, the Oldham murder and other murders during the recent past, and also to bring back women and children as slaves or hostages.

After devastating Block Island, where the Indians hid, the English sailed to Saybrook to secure reinforcement from Gardiner's men. While protesting vigorously against the "hornets' nest that would be stirred up," yet hoping to end the matter by the display of strength, Gardiner detailed twenty men to go with him. The result was considerable damage along the shore and at present New London harbor, near the Pequot villages. But no prisoners or hostages.

Gardiner's prophecy proved correct. He had his fort in readiness when the retaliating "hornets" were seen on the shore opposite Saybrook. Two of his garrison, Butterfield and Tilly, were caught in the fields when out for fuel and suffered death by torture in sight of their comrades in the fort. Warning had gone out to the settlers in the vicinity to take refuge within the palisade, but notwithstanding this there were several narrow escapes and constant reign of terror for the settlers. The outbuildings were burned and there was a state of siege through the winter. In March Gardiner himself was wounded while getting his men out of an ambush. On the opposite shore Indians could be seen in the war dances. Twenty men under Captain Mason were hurried down from Hartford. In a letter to Governor Vane the magistrates questioned the wisdom of his precipitate action and begged that now he send reinforcements for the exposed settlements. In the spring the Hartford men were relieved by twenty men from Boston under command of Underhill.

John Higginson, youthful son of Francis Higginson who had been with Governor Endicott's party to establish the first settlement in the Bay Colony, prior to Winthrop's arrival, was chaplain at the fort. His letter to the Massachusetts authorities, appealing for aid, was composed largely of quotations from the prophets of old.

Uncas at the Podunk fort across the Connecticut, where he was assembling a Mohegan contingent, reported the joy of the Pequots over their success. Whether his interest was uninfluenced by his attitude toward Sassacus and to what extent any red-skin could be trusted were open questions till a tragedy close at home hastened the decision of May 1, certainly delayed long enough in the mind of the reader who has not familiarized himself with the conditions in the settlements. And the strongest provocation was to come the very week the notices for that meeting of the General Court was being sent out.



WETHERSFIELD, 1640

(From Drawing by J. B. Standish)

Sagamore Sowheag, who had had difficulties with the Wethersfield settlers over sale of lands there, and who had been banished temporarily to Mettabeseck (Middletown) across the river, was understood to have accepted the inducements of the Pequots to join with them.

On April 23 came the terrifying word that jubilant Pequots had swept in upon Wethersfield, killing six men and three women at work in the fields, destroying cattle and carrying away two young daughters of Abraham Swain. Speeding down the river in their canoes they stripped the girls and flaunted their clothing on poles as they passed the Saybrook fort. Shots from cannon fell short. By Dutch intercession, the girls were rescued in Pequot harbor some time later.

Ludlow presided over the momentous session of the court, assembled after careful canvass of the plantations relative to possible strength. Flight through the forests would be perilous, with ambush or starvation threatening. How dependable was the friendliness of any of the Indians, now the conquering Pequots of old had set the fire, was uncertain. None of the colonists had had experience in forest warfare. There must be action not only for defense but for lasting example. Hooker was writing Winthrop what sundry critics of later days should read:

"Against our minds, being constrained by necessity. . . . The Indians here, our friends, were so importunate with us to make war presently that unless we attempted something we would have delivered our persons into contempt of base fear and cowardice and caused them to turn enemies against us."

The court's call was for ninety men, which approximated a total of all available males of any age, leaving the barest possible number for colony guard. Upon the women and children fell many of the heavy burdens of life in the wilderness. Food supply was scant, it so being written into the brief call to arms as one notes in the meticulous wording of the paragraph relating to provisions from each plantation, especially the item for having part of the corn-requisition baked into biscuit "if by any means they can." This indicates not only that each kernel of corn must serve full purpose but also that cooking facilities were meager. And as to the immediate future, dependence had been placed upon the crops to be raised this season by the exertions of every man, woman and child. Now the men would be away.

The apportionment of soldiers was: Hartford, 42; Windsor, 30; Wethersfield, 18; Mason in command, Robert Seeley second, and after them the sergeants. The energetic Rev. Samuel Stone was to be chaplain. A pink or narrow-stern rowboat, a pinnace or eight-oar rowboat with probably a small sail, and a shallop or schooner-like craft comprised the fleet. One of the vessels was furnished by Pynchon.

In the presence of all the settlers and with invocation by Thomas Hooker, men and supplies were packed into the small crafts May 10. Progress was slow. The Dutchmen crowding on their redoubt at the mouth of Little River beheld the meager display of force with astonishment or amusement and probably with doubts of success, for they were familiar with the comparatively powerful facilities of New Amsterdam. It is eminently noteworthy that all Dutchmen observed the strictest neutrality, and that, too, without any convention with either party concerned. There

was kinship by color of skin, but there was also Dutch opportunity to gain ascendancy in colonization, not, however, without stirring England herself to wrath.

Adverse wind, sluggish current and inexpertness of oarsmen delayed the strong-hearted little party. Despite suspicion, fairly counterbalanced by the discomfort of close personal contact, it became impossible to refuse the beseechings of the Indians that they be landed and take the familiar trail where progress would be faster. On the early arrival of Uncas at the fort, Gardiner put him to test. Six Pequots were lurking in a nearby cove. Uncas with twenty of his braves must bring them in, dead or alive. Five Pequots were killed, one escaped, the sixth was made prisoner. He was recognized as a spy. Turned back to the Mohegans he was burned at the stake. Writers in days of civilization were to say his flesh was eaten. But there is nothing in the scientific analyses of the New England red men to indicate that they had cannibal tendencies. On their arrival after five days' sailing, Mason's men were gratified with the attest to Uncas's good faith.

Underhill and twenty men joined Mason at the fort, thus releasing an equal number to return to the plantations, the peril of which was grave. The home government—as governments sometimes will—had planned the strategy of the expedition, suggesting a direct attack upon the enemy's main fort. Once out on the Sound, Mason told his men they would go around and attack from the east, hoping to surprise. Some in the ranks counseled obedience to the government instructions, but when the chaplain had prayed all night on the subject and had announced the next morning that Mason's plan was the best one, there was cheerful acquiescence. They reached the coast near Point Judith May 21, but were detained there two days, the first because it was Sunday and the second because of bad weather. At the council wigwam of Chief Canonicus of the Narragansetts, his nephew Miantonomoh expressed his doubt of the success of so small a body, but gave permission to pass through his territory, and a number of his men following them were later urged by Mason to stand by and see what the English could do. This was not foolhardiness, as some have said; a purpose of the expedition was to overawe the natives, and Mason, with his handful of wholly untrained men must be bold.

There was no waiting for the forty Massachusetts men under Patrick who sent word that they were at Providence. Boats and Surgeon Thomas Pell of Saybrook were ordered back to Pequot harbor, while the men pressed on to reach the nearer of the two forts, the one on a hill at Mystic, to which, it developed Sassacus had sent most of his warriors to have a war dance, celebrating the cowardice of Mason in passing by Pequot harbor. They were to start on the warpath next day. Their cries and chants were heard by the English pickets around the camp fire two miles away, where the English slept after an exhausting two-days' march under a blazing sun.

Just before dawn, May 26, Chaplain Stone offered prayer and Mason advanced cautiously, he with Lieutenant Seeley and half his force toward one entrance of the stockade, Underhill with the rest toward the other at the opposite corner. A dog barked, an Indian cried, "The English!" A volley was fired through the spaces of the stockade. Mason thrust aside the brush screen at the entrance and, risking everything for surprise, charged in. From the wigwams came volleys of arrows at

close range, wounding few, however, because of "special Providence," wrote Mason in his detailed account published in England some years later to counteract erroneous accounts.

The struggle now hand to hand, the tide was turning against the white men. An arrow well aimed at Mason's face was checked only by the cutting of the bow-string by William Hayden of Windsor (whose sword is now in the keeping of the Connecticut Historical Society). As last desperate recourse Mason applied the torch to the wigwams and Underhill did likewise; the men, withdrawn, were posted around the stockade to prevent escape, the Mohegans back of them. Seven broke the circle and were captured and the rest, about one hundred and fifty, including a few squaws and children, were killed. The casualties among the seventy-seven white men were two killed and twenty wounded. A few volleys dispersed a party coming from the other fort while Mason was making his way to the boats in present New London harbor, where Patrick and his forty Massachusetts men had just arrived. On arrival at Suckiaug, Mason says "we were entertained with great triumph and rejoicing and praising God for his goodness to us in crowning us with success and restoring of us with so little loss. It was the Lord's doings, and it is marvelous in our eyes."

The three hundred remaining Pequots turned in wrath upon Sassacus and would have destroyed him but for a council which decided upon immediate flight westward, keeping near the shore. On the arrival of Captain Israel Stoughton at Pequot harbor with one hundred and twenty Massachusetts men, the General Court sent Mason with Ludlow and Haynes to discuss the situation with the result that while the boats sailed along the coast, the soldiers, including twenty from Hartford and both Mason and Ludlow, followed the trail of the fleeing tribe. At present Guilford the advance guard, accompanied by Uncas, came upon the rear guard of the Pequots and killed three. The head of one of them Uncas placed in the crotch of a tree where it remained for a long period of time. Settlers later gave the name Sachem's Head to the point of land which there juts out into the Sound. Beyond present Bridgeport, at Sasco, near present Westport, a Pequot captive acting as a spy informed that the refugees were in a swamp close by. A messenger, Thomas Stanton, on being sent in returned at the head of two hundred men, women and children whom the warriors had allowed to come out. The dense swamp was immediately surrounded for the night. Just before daybreak, the Indians fought to break through. About sixty succeeded, but after a fierce fight in water and mud the others to the number of one hundred and eighty succumbed and were taken out to the boats to be treated as slaves or "servants," according to the custom of the times. Neighboring Indians sent heads of a number of the others for reward. Few got beyond the present New York border, among them Sassacus, who was killed by the Mohawks and reward claimed in the way here indicated.

Miantonomoh of the Narragansetts with Uncas was called to Hartford to consider the proffer of the Pequots who had not joined the hegira, about one hundred and eighty in number. They were willing to pledge peace. Eighty were given, each, to the Mohegans and the Narragansetts and twenty to the Niantics, none to remain

in their old territory and their name to be wiped out. Mason with forty men had to go down there later to remove those who ventured to remain.

Immediately thereafter was ordered and begun the formation of a defensive body which was the beginning of what is known today as the Connecticut National Guard. Mason in command, at a salary of forty pounds, was to train all over age sixteen in each settlement for ten days every year, officials and church officers alone excepted, and each settlement to keep on hand a stipulated amount of powder and shot in addition to what individuals should have in their homes, subject to inspection. The cost of the war necessitated a levy of the equivalent of six hundred and twenty pounds, apportioned.

For three weeks and three days of service rendered, after the war the soldiers received a shilling three pence a day and in the 1660's and 1670's, on demand, five hundred acres in Pequot territory, seven hundred at another session and nine hundred and twenty at another. This was in addition to the distribution immediately after the war of what was long known as Soldiers Field, namely the land lying north of the rivulet north of Suckiaug. This land which originally had been given to the Indians they joyously turned over in appreciation of the soldiers' service, they themselves removing to the section south of Little River near Sequassen's western section. There had been a crude Indian "fort" between that land and the river. To Mason were given five hundred acres of Pequot land, a farm to Samuel Stone, and subsequently five hundred and fifty acres.

Massachusetts was disposed to claim a right to a share in the Pequot lands. In 1637 there was the first action toward forming a federation of Massachusetts and Connecticut, Plymouth to be invited to join. Articles of federation—the earliest proposition in America for a union—had been drafted by Bay magistrates in August for ratification, and in November Massachusetts, seeming to consider the articles in force, had passed a vote relative to title to those lands for Massachusetts and Connecticut but this was repudiated in 1641. The federation plans were not completed till 1643. Connecticut on June 2, 1637, had ordered thirty men to go to the "Pequot land" to maintain "our right that God by conquest hath given us," and had sent Haynes and Ludlow to "parley with the Bay" about it. The federation plans were not completed till 1643.

The younger Winthrop, when the Warwick Puritans failed to come to Saybrook, founded Ipswich in Massachusetts. With authority from that Colony when it had assumed its claim to part of the Pequot territory would be recognized, he founded Pequot (New London) in 1646, and thought to take up Warwick patent rights almost to the Connecticut River. Although this apparently had been promised him by the Warwick patentees, his claim did not hold in court. He did, however, acquire about twelve thousand acres east and northeast of Pequot where he was welcomed by the settlers, it having been conceded by the New England Federation that the land belonged to Connecticut. In 1649 he was to be made an assistant and then magistrate till elected Governor for his first term in 1657. He was elected again in 1659 and, the law having been rescinded that a Governor could serve but one year at a time, he continued to hold that office till his death, April 5, 1676. This

made his period of service eighteen years, or longer than that of any other Governor Connecticut has had.

Sir George Fenwick's sister Elizabeth married Captain Cullick, of Hartford, in 1648. They removed to Boston in 1659. Fenwick himself, on his return to England, was made a colonel in Cromwell's army. Lady Fenwick was "probably the only person ever connected with the First Church of Hartford who popularly wore a title of English rank," writes Savage in his notes on Winthrop's *History of New England*.

CHAPTER VI.

Event of the Centuries

Adoption of "Fundamental Orders"—Confusion that Delayed—The Hooker Sermon and Ludlow's Work—Court House and Surroundings.

In the scholastic discussions of the governmental achievement of these plantationists, failure to appreciate the circumstances of their daily life is sometimes in evidence. With absence of journals of the Winthrop sort and anything but briefest memoranda in place of records, the way was left open for a popular conception that the Fundamental Orders so-called were in the category of world events rather supernatural in their origin. Whatever can be said of the historical preëminence of the orders, accurately, there is nothing to indicate that, to the people who adopted them without public discussion or sign of question, they were anything more than an earnest consensus, based on the principles they already were establishing.

Their individual minds at that time were full of the problems of mere existence in their chosen wilderness. In separating from the Bay in a manner unprecedented, they had been inspired thereto by Hooker and guided in large measure by the genius of Ludlow. So absorbed were the generality in dividing land, cutting down trees, raising table supplies and keeping an eye on the Indians at their doors that they had not paused even to shed the town names they had brought with them till so directed by their "General Court"—in reality their commissioners—in February, 1637.

Dorchester and Watertown then chose the old English names of Windsor and Wethersfield, and Newtown that of Mr. Stone's birthplace, Hertford, spelling it with an "a" as it was pronounced. Hertford, one of England's most ancient shrines, proved to be an especially worthy choice, for it was there that the first representative meeting in the British Isles was held, in 673, when Romans and Britons formed the first national church, under the Greek monk, Archbishop Theodore, sent by Rome—the inception of Parliament. There a Saxon King built the first castle to protect his people from the Danes. William the Conqueror made it the site for a citadel. An ancestor of the Newberry family, prominent in Windsor history, directed the building of the present castle, a favorite resort for royalty. Since the seventh century there have been "Friends of Hertford" as now "Friends of Hartford" in America.

Undoubtedly it was Ludlow upon whom fell—or who assumed—the duties of coördinating the simple Warwick commission form of joint administration. A magistrate, he also, by common consent, was the presiding officer after the meeting in May, 1637, and the “corte” had jurisdiction over the multiplicity of affairs, like forming regulations, appointing constables, dealing with the Indians, fixing boundaries, settling estates, directing churches and military affairs, levying and collecting taxes and the rest. For had not Ludlow been the interpreter of charter and laws in the Bay, and the Deputy-Governor? The “body politic” was thus relieved of much burden, but the main principle was that the simple government should be of, by and for the plantationists, in democratic fashion.

At Balliol College, Oxford, Ludlow had stood high and, as Justice Frank D. Haines of the Connecticut Supreme Court recently wrote, he was “particularly devoted to the subjects of law, politics and statecraft, and was known to be a master of the principles, form and precedents of legal procedure.” The “magistrates” of the General Court, who were elected by the “committee” from each plantation, exercised prerogatives as “particular courts” of equity and administration of justice in their respective communities. The dignity and sagacity of John Haynes, after his arrival, were to help preserve the balance.

Altogether, then, the presumption that these inhabitants came from England and then from Massachusetts to sit down by themselves in a new wilderness to meditate upon what was best in the way of an independent, unprecedented form of government is in error. Through their university courses and latterly through their observations of current history in England, the leaders among them were fairly familiar with ideas and efforts through the ages. If the English government had been the best up to this time, there still was abundant reason why they should have something better.

The ties that bound them were of religion and of democracy as they were to express it. And to add to the hindrances in formulating their ideas, Hooker and Stone themselves frequently had to attend councils and ecclesiastical synods in Boston. One council session, in 1637—when Anne Hutchinson was on trial for Antimonianism or preaching to women that salvation was a personal matter, irrespective of church and moral law, and that one who did not win salvation after trying hard was a hopeless failure in life—lasted three months. Further there was Hooker’s elaborate correspondence with John Cotton and the elder Winthrop, in large part relative to views on church and government, Hooker taking the liberal, democratic view.

Withal there was the Massachusetts discussion of a plan for federating the New England colonies. And still another matter to be handled delicately was the withdrawal of Springfield from the commission government. That plantation, really across the boundary line, had little to do with the General Court when Pynchon appeared to protest against the Warwick company’s collecting toll at Saybrook on Agawam’s commerce. The court in 1638 recognized for Pynchon a monopoly of Indian trade in his plantation, he in return to supply five hundred bushels of corn at a certain fixed rate. When he failed to comply he was called to Hartford to answer the charge of acting in bad faith. The matter being referred

to Hooker and Stone, they found that he had violated his oath as a magistrate, for which he was fined forty bushels of corn at the April session. At the same time he was allowed to include beaver skins in his monopoly. Back of it all was Pynchon's dissatisfaction with the talked-of governmental plan for submitting public affairs to the people, he preferring Winthrop's ideas. On his withdrawal, Springfield continued by itself, till in 1641 Pynchon was appointed a magistrate in Massachusetts with full power of government, and three years later a townsman government was authorized. It was still later, and after much discussion, when he was permitted to sit in the Bay's General Court. His territory ran south of the present State line to Warehouse Point, where he built a warehouse, with a dock at Enfield Falls.

These matters taken together are mere indications of the complexities of the pastor and his flock. They were at a time when the serenely faithful first journalist of America, Governor John Winthrop, Sr., was setting down, for a wide circulation three centuries later, this sympathetically terse comment, namely that a source of disagreement in Connecticut was that, in Connecticut, with its "untrained civil officers," "the main burden for managing of state business falls upon some one or other ministers (as the phrase and style of their letters will clearly discover)." The item was not libelous since he used the plural, but it was directed toward Hooker, possibly soon after he had received the "He-hath-a-nostril" letter previously referred to herein, complaining against methods employed to divert immigration away from Connecticut. The historian might take the Winthrop quotation as contemporaneous testimony in the discussion of who were responsible for inspiring the Fundamental Orders.

It was for a "settled order" that the people were waiting—a "settled order" meaning something of a permanent nature. Quite permanent in its principles it proved to be. When the new court assembled April 5, 1638, it is to be noted, the "inhabitants" had returned the same "committees" for this their "court of election," and the "committees" had elected the same "magistrates." Interpreted this must signify that in their homes they had been studying and improving the proposed "settled order," different from any that ever before had been known. And that there might be absolute fairness, it had been provided that for each plantation there be four "committees." Withal it then became evident that it was the "inhabitants" who were in full control.

Henry Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor, had a habit of making quaint shorthand notes on sermons he heard. He made them on Mr. Hooker's address before the court on May 31, 1638, the date to which an adjournment had been taken. As there was no manuscript and no record, it became merely a matter of surmise that what the minister said, on such an occasion as this proved to be, had much bearing upon the "first constitution" in history. It was with joy, then, that the researchers welcomed the discovery and translation of these notes by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, some two and a third centuries later. As indicative of the sentiment of the people, they were confirmatory beyond all question.

The text of the address was taken from Deuteronomy 1:13—"Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you."

The doctrines were:

"I—That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance.

"II—That the privilege of election which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humours, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

"III—They who have the power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place.

"Reasons: 1. Because, by a free choice, the foundation of authority is laid firstly on the free consent of the people.

"2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen and more ready to yield obedience."

The first of the "reasons" is like the writing of Roger Williams, Hooker's neighbor and frequent companion in England, namely: "The sovereign power of all authority is founded in the consent of the people."

Mr. Hooker's use of the word "people" was as generic as it has been throughout the years of civilization; likewise the use of it in the Fundamental Orders; it embraced those in the settlements formally designated as "inhabitants" of a given locality.

This sermon was the first dictum of that germ of democracy which was traced through the years in the Introduction to this review of events in Connecticut.

Comparatively petty matters intervening probably, the Fundamental Orders had not been put in shape by the September meeting of the court and an adjournment was taken to January 14, 1639 (N. S.), when they were read and approved. The declaration began with "For-as-much as it hath pleased Almighty God by the wise disposition of his divine providence so to order and dispose of things that we, the inhabitants and residents" of the three plantations, "knowing that where a people are gathered together the word of God requires that to maintain peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God," and "do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be one public state or commonwealth; and do for ourselves and our successors and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter enter into combination and confederation together to maintain" the purity of the gospel now professed; the discipline of the churches which is now practiced amongst us; "as also in our civil affairs, to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules and decrees as shall be made, ordered and decreed as followeth."

Each of the eleven articles begins with "It is ordered, sentenced and decreed that." Summarized they are:

I—Two general assemblies or courts—in April and September. The first a court of election for choice of magistrates and all other requisite officers for one year—a governor and six to administer justice according to the laws here established, the voters to be those who are admitted inhabitants by majority of their respective towns.

II—Ballots to be by paper, the secretary reading off the names of those nominated, and the one receiving most ballots to be Governor; "the rest" of the magis-

trates or public officers, to be chosen in like manner, the secretary reading the names of those nominated.

III—Nominations for magistrates to be made at the last preceding session by the deputies; each town to be allowed two deputies, the court to increase the number "as they judge requisite."

IV—No one to be chosen Governor above once in two years. He must belong to some approved congregation and by some previous magistracy, and all magistrates be freemen.

V—After election, the deputies from each town may proceed in public service as at other court; "also the other General Court in September shall be for making laws" and any other public business concerning the good of the Commonwealth.

VI—The Governor through the secretary to send summons to constables of towns for calling of these two "standing courts" a month in advance or, for special sessions, within fourteen days, or less if urgent, giving reason to the deputies; if Governor and magistrates fail in this, for regular sessions or special ones, a majority of the freemen shall petition and shall have power to order the constables and so meet and do business under a Moderator.

VII—Constables shall give their notices in public assembly or by house-to-house call, for meetings for selection of deputies chosen by admitted inhabitants who have taken the oath of fidelity; only freemen to be candidates.

VIII—Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield to have four deputies; whenever there may be additional towns, they to send as many as the court shall judge meet—"a reasonable proportion to the number of freemen in the towns; all deputies to have the power of the whole town in legislation."

IX—Deputies to assemble at some appointed place before court sessions to confer concerning public good and to "examine" their own elections, the court to order new elections thus warranted; deputies to be fined for absence or disorder.

X—The court to consist of the Governor (or Moderator) and at least four other magistrates and a majority of the deputies; or, if the freemen are obliged to call court, a majority of the freemen present or their deputies, with a Moderator chosen by them. In the court rests the "supreme power of the commonwealth"—to make or regulate laws, to grant levies, to admit freemen, to dispose of lands to towns or persons; to call in court, magistrate or anyone else into question for misdemeanor and, for cause, displace or do otherwise according to the nature of the offense; also to deal with any other matter, except election of magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of freemen; in which court the Governor or Moderator shall have power to order the court to give liberty of speech and to silence disorderly speech; to put all things to vote and in case of tie to cast the deciding vote; adjournment or dissolution only by majority vote.

XI—When the court has agreed that levies of money shall be laid upon the towns, the amounts shall be apportioned by a committee of equal number out of each town.

The adoption was by the court, undoubtedly in the presence of all whose duties civil or military did not detain them, and this even though the main points already

were familiar to the inhabitants. There had been considerable increase in the number of "admitted inhabitants" and freemen.

The building in which Mr. Hooker preached his sermon and in which the Fundamental Orders (not so called till 1643) were adopted stood very nearly where the present "Bulfinch statehouse" was built in 1796. It was the Town and Meeting-House, erected in 1638, its predecessor being given to Mr. Hooker for a barn. He also was provided with a new residence, the front part of which included an extension over the door, for his study. The meetinghouse was ready for use in 1638, though not completed till 1641. It was large enough to accommodate all the townspeople. The room on the first floor, with galleries, was for church meetings and town meetings, while the second floor was used first as an arsenal, later as the court chamber by the Governor and magistrates only.*

Church and state met under the same roof till 1720, when the first government house was built close by the meetinghouse. In 1737, after the church had hesitated for eleven years between sites and twice had accepted and rejected the site of the present Wadsworth Atheneum, the decision had been in favor of locating nearly opposite, a little southerly of the present site, at the corner of the town's second cemetery. The steeple was at the north end of the edifice.

The looking-forward in the Fundamental Orders is manifest. It is emphasized in the employment of the word "town." There were as yet no towns. Hartford had begun the organization harmonious with its having two sections, the north and south "sides," and had adopted a "townsman" plan. The wording of the instrument authorizes and calls for towns, and under such joint authority the towns which had been plantations were organized with officers and went to work on their records. As directed, previous enactments of the General Court were copied into the Colony books. The "people" had chosen their deputies to look after their governmental affairs and with a reasonably certain knowledge that freedom and independence were being guaranteed.

At the moment practically all in the three communities were known to each other. Most of the men had been side by side in the war. They were distinctly a God-fearing people. But they were men of varied experience and consequent caution. They expected and desired new-comers. There could be no certainty as to the character of all of them. They and their families had seen enough of government upsettings. Their cherished ideas, more liberal than those anywhere else on God's footstool, might be overthrown.

From the beginning they had been "inhabitants." So, too, would the new-comers be. But if they were to have security in their governmental plans, as nothing in the Old World guaranteed, the original occupants of the land must provide safeguards, exacting as people in this the hey-day of American independence seek to exact with their boards of registration. The principle of open doors, fully as important then as now, and in this the first instance of not requiring church membership, which itself was a bold departure, made registration imperative.

* The mural painting by Alfred Herter in the Supreme Court chamber in the State Library and Supreme Court building combines the two events of Hooker's sermon before the General Court and the adoption of the Fundamental Orders the following year, both in this meeting-house, and at least the first one on the first floor.

Of course non-resident inhabitants, however much their local property holdings, could not expect to vote. Neither could a new arrival. If a householder wished to have a voice in affairs, he must evidence that he was of "honest conversation" (a quaint but very embracing definition of our "orderly and decent") when he could,



THE GREAT CHIMNEY, WHITFIELD HOUSE,
GUILFORD, 1639

(Courtesy of the American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)

on recommendation by the board, be "made" an "admitted inhabitant" on taking the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth and thus have a vote in all matters, including the choice of those whom, in the town meeting, the town would deputize to give of their time to the study of public affairs—something which many householders to this day do not care to give. Dependence on the judgment of the better educated was inherited and common; political jobbery had not been inaugurated.

No one feature of the great instrument of government has caused more discussion than this. But it seems simple enough when one divests himself of what he knows about present practices. For example, the man or the youth of sixteen was not required to show ability to read, as now. But he was not at once admitted to the class of those who could be sent to the Legislature or become Governor.

Therein, indeed, is a difference. In the first stage of citizenship he voted but only to deputize his voice in elections and law-making. He deputized to the "deputies," or, as originally called, descriptively and yet not so distinctively, "committees," and today "representatives." And they in turn were men who had taken the "freeman's oath" and had been confirmed by the court. The "admitted inhabitant" could not be

Governor, magistrate or deputy, but the way was clear for him, if old enough, to qualify as a "freeman," provided he continued to be of good repute. There was equality in opportunity. The reason for the change to make every adult who can pass the examining board, as now, a voter may have been due to the great increase in the number of inhabitants which the founders had hoped for.

The looking-forward is further evidenced in lack of certain details so familiar to moderns and so impressive for some of the critics. Taken together with the absence of information as to whether everybody in person had an opportunity to vote on the "orders," this would betoken that the "orders" were not a "constitution," or a "free constitution."

That the word "constitution" gives opportunity for discussion is not strange. The lexicographers have made seventy-two changes in it since 1800. It stands now: "The principles or fundamental laws which govern a state or other organized body of men and are embodied in written documents or implied in the institutions and usages of the country or society; organic law." The definition is taken from the dictionary which still bears the name of Noah Webster, LL. D., not because he was a Connecticut man with ancestor among the founders, but because he is the most widely accepted authority in America. The Fundamental Orders laid down the simplest principles or "fundamental laws" to govern the commonwealth. There had been others, as noted in the Introduction, but none that placed "Inhabitants" so nearly on equality like what is here expressed in the preamble and more succinctly in the Hooker sermon. The sermon is a more direct expression of popular intent because of absence of legal formality. What Mr. Hooker said in his addresses always was law and gospel in the minds of the multitude. Else they would have remained in Newtown and have had the privileges enjoyed only by church members, and subject to notions of majesty. Writers are unanimous in saying that the Puritans were not democratic; they came over to worship God in their own good way. They and the constitution-makers of Connecticut, as also the Plymouth and Rhode Island founders, were alike in so far as that, in England, they were church Non-Conformists. Of these worthies the Connecticut men as a body chanced to be the stronger in statecraft.

Certainly, in the articles, as we compare them with the present constitutions of State or nation, there should have been something more definite about prerogatives of officials and of the courts of justice. Others might not have been well informed, but Ludlow was, and the fact that the document is not especially explicit in this particular can give rise to the belief that he did not do the drafting, or that he did nothing more than what Hooker and Haynes and perhaps one or two others dictated. It is conceivable that they thought they were going far enough for the present; they were not motivated to win the fame that has come to them throughout the nations; they were doing their day's work as each day presented it.

The immediate situation called for something to stand upon as a commonwealth, not only for Connecticut but for her relations with other commonwealths. They expected to make changes as need should develop and, enlightened as they were, did not know, perhaps, that it was imperative to say so and how. The national constitution today has many amendments, to keep pace with the times. The senti-

ment may have been that matters, surely not then to be foreseen, would take care of themselves. Emergency would develop method, as it did. The outcome was that the machinery functioned through the period of the independent royal charter, and until 1818 when the new constitution, based upon it, was accepted and has resisted attempts at rewriting.

That, from the beginning, their functioning under the constitution, legislatively and otherwise, was crude from the standpoint of today, and crudely changed from time to time, and that the Congregational church had to yield its acquired ascendancy in 1818 did not affect the faith of the people in their Latin motto since earliest colonial days. The motto reads: *Qui transtulit sustinet*. (He who brought us over sustains us.)

The benedictions from historians and students of government are many and frequent, but not always accurately analytical, thereby giving opportunity for discussion, which is wholesome. Relative to priority in form there is general agreement that the Utrecht Union resulting in the Dutch republic was a treaty between provinces for their common defense, a "compact," not a new conception; and that, as expressed by Lord Bryce, the Plymouth agreement also was a "compact." In his *Legislative Principles*, Robert Luce, LL. D., said: "The men of Connecticut, through lack of charter at the outset, won the credit of being first by independent act to formulate on paper a democratic form of government."

Charles McLean Andrews, of Wethersfield birth, professor of history at Yale University, and an incisive writer on colonial affairs, speaks of the Orders as a "very real frame of government," the preamble a civil covenant binding on the inhabitants of the plantations; the Orders being the fundamentals of the "public state"—a confirmation of the already established system of the three plantations, a government "which had from the beginning contained within itself all the essentials of self-rule, free from regulating influence of any outside authority other than God himself," yet faulty in certain details and in early administration. "As to the value of those articles, as to their significance as representative of a Puritan ideal of government, and as to their place in our national history as representing the first occasion in the history of this country when a popular government was established free from any power over and above themselves, those articles have a value that is beyond the praise of any speaker on any occasion."

The late Simeon E. Baldwin, of New Haven, chief justice and subsequently Governor, said in an address in 1909: "Of written constitutions, which have laid down, by authority of a people occupying considerable territory, in orderly and systematic arrangement, the rules of their civil government, this was the first which the world has to show."

This utterance from a most conservative scholar and statesman takes us back to the outline in the Introduction and should be followed by a word from the eminent C. H. Firth, M. A., of Balliol College, Oxford, Ludlow's *alma mater*: "Our modern conception of a democracy differs widely from that of the ancients. Ancient democracies had no idea of universal suffrage, and instead of the rights of man recognized only the privileges of the citizen. For them the state was a city, and its political career was the spot where the sovereign assembly of the citizens met to

vote. Those who were not there were not represented, and the farther the city extended its borders, the fewer those citizens who could actually exercise their right of voting."

For this point, these are the words of Charles Howard McIlwain, Eaton professor of the science of government in Harvard University, in his book, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (1932): "The beginnings of this speculation, it may be, are to be found long before the Greeks were interested in it, and certainly there were before that time long ages of actual government recorded in historical documents, but it was among the Greeks apparently that we find the first faint trickle of that particular stream of speculative thought upon the nature of political relations which has been flowing ever since over the European world and over all the lands whose culture is in origin European."

Edward Channing, of Harvard, in his history of the United States, is another of those who come to the conclusion that "the Fundamental Orders enjoy the distinction of being the first written political constitution in which the functions of government are formulated in detail." Green's *History of the English People* reads: "The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut with their preamble present the first example in history of a written constitution." Lord Bryce had written to the same effect.

There are many other authorities who might be quoted, like eminent American jurists, John Fiske in *The Beginnings of New England*; Professor Alexander Johnston, of Princeton, in *Connecticut: A Study of a Commonwealth-Democracy*; Elliott's *History of New England*; Woodrow Wilson and George Bancroft in their histories, and a number of Connecticut students and researchers. None perhaps is more widely renowned in Europe than Charles Borgeaud, professor of constitutional law at the University of Geneva, who, in 1933, in a letter to the late Dr. George C. F. Williams, president of the Connecticut Historical Society, said, after alluding to the Utrecht and Plymouth "compacts": "I wrote long ago that the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut was the first written constitution of modern democracy. . . . I should write it again now after forty years of study and experience."

CHAPTER VII.

The Ludlow Code

Constitutional Administration and the Life Throughout the Commonwealth— Dividing Land—Industry and Trade.

Under the constitution one of the first steps of the plantationists must be to give the proper character and title to their land-holdings. More than they realized, no doubt, they had entered upon a course which was to prevail along through the undreamed-of periods of the federal constitution, the incorporation of their own city with a group of others and the Great Depression of the twentieth century. From this hour in 1639, it is to be noted, a liberal spirit though conservative was to prevail over complacency, and, as will soon be seen, worthy partners were developing at New Haven, along the Thames and on the Housatonic.

By the town power furnished by the constitution the people could give the proper strength to their land-holdings, perpetuating the acquired rights of the inhabitants in their own and in the undivided portions. This for which there was no mother-country precedent, was to be through the Body of Proprietors who were not only the original proprietors but their immediate associates (having obtained land "through courtesy") and their heirs and assigns. They were like stockholders in the corporate body. Thereby, under the government, the word "inhabitant" came naturally to take on its present wide meaning. Force was given as never before to the expression "body politic." When new land was bought from the Indians, westerly into Farmington and easterly to the Bolton hills, which were the Mohegan boundary, the money—or rather the money to buy the tools, utensils and gew-gaws which were considered money by the natives—was raised by a rate assessed upon the towns' grand lists. The selectmen were the patentees. Not all was without friction till a long court contest in the 1750's relative to the west-side "commons." The jury eventually found that its purchasers were vested with an inheritable fee; the claims of their heirs and assigns were valid. The validity of the method of 1639 was thus sustained. To prevent further controversy, inhabitants whose allotments were admitted bought the proprietors' rights. Confusion was cleared up.

Town organization was a simple matter. In Hartford, William Spencer who had continued as town clerk since the days in Newtown, had just died. John Steele succeeded him. Edward Hopkins, Thomas Welles, John Steele and John Talcott, four of the eminent men, were chosen at the first town meeting, December 26, 1639.

to assist the townsmen. In Windsor, Dr. Bray Rosseter was chosen town clerk (or registrar). In Wethersfield the office was voted to Matthew Mitchell. Constables and townsmen were to be elected annually. The other officers were surveyors, herdsman, fence-viewers, chimney-viewers and the like. Towns in embryo were to be plantations and as such were at charge "to maintain officers within themselves, then other considerations may be had by the courts"—which means there would be every encouragement to expansion of the Colony. This is illustration of the fact that "under the Fundamental Orders," as Henry C. Robinson expressed it, "the towns have had no power except as it was given them by the organic law of the General Court."

A particular court of magistrates was organized to meet more frequently than the General Court and be less formal. In 1647 it consisted of the Governor, Deputy-Governor and two magistrates. Cases could be submitted to a jury of six or twelve. Minor cases in town courts could be heard before three, five or six townsmen. All laws were to be read publicly once a year; after 1673 they were printed and each household must have a copy.

All purposes were thus served till 1646, when the need of a code was imperative. Out of his experience in England and in Massachusetts, Roger Ludlow was the man to prepare it, even though he was then organizing a new settlement at Fairfield, which later will demand attention. For his four years' extraordinary work he received six pounds—or if more, no record was made of it. Of the seventy-three articles, fourteen were from the Massachusetts body of liberties, which he himself had helped draw up. In 1854 fifty-eight of his titles were still in use. Justice Frank D. Haines of the present Supreme Court of the State says of it: "It will always remain a monument to the trustworthiness, erudition and legal ability of the first lawyer of Connecticut; it was clearly the crowning achievement of his life."

The preamble of the code, the "bill of rights," declared it to be the expressed purpose to secure "the free fruition of such liberties, immunities, privileges, as humanity, civility and Christianity call for, as due to every man in his place and proportion, without impeachment and infringement, which hath ever been and ever will be the tranquillity and stability of churches and commonwealths, and the denial or deprival thereof, the disturbance if not ruin of both:

"It is therefore ordered by this court and authority thereof, that no man's life shall be taken away, no man's honor or good name shall be stained, no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered nor any way punished; no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no man's goods or estate shall be taken away from him, nor any way damaged, under color of law or countenance of authority, unless it be by the virtue or equity of some express law of the country warranting the same, established by a general court, and sufficiently published, or in case of the defect of a law in any particular case, by the word of God."

The corresponding words of King James I had been: "Do I make the bishops? Do I make the judges? Then, God wauns, I make what likes me, law and gospel."

Progress in establishing the machinery of government had been rapid, when all things are taken into consideration. Withal there was impressive foresight. One of the recognized difficulties lay not in difference about general principles, but rather

in the increase in the number of those with whom respect for principles of pastor, congregation and magistrates was not inherent. They had come as servants, laborers and camp-followers of the emigrants, rushing from turbulent England for some new experience or other. They did not appreciate the exigencies of frontier life, what law meant. There may be too little realization of this feature on the part of those who scoffingly criticise not only the genuine but the fictitious "blue laws" with the one word "Puritanical." In England, after a time, there was published by malcontents a slanderous list of such laws with no foundation in fact, though with an astounding longevity in some localities in America. Ludlow's far-sighted code was an essential, and certain laws of the General Court had to be severe according to the times to keep all in line.

At this juncture it is to be emphasized that the four motivating principles were: An independent state; religion; economics, and education. The religion was that of Calvin of Geneva, as modified and adapted on English soil, and as further democratized by Hooker. It was the most advanced adaptation of the teachings of Jesus for high and low alike and, in the blending of church and state, it discarded the Massachusetts basic requirement of church membership. The number and functions of the magistrates were so changed as to bring the legislative body still more closely into line with that which today prevails throughout the nation, and an early amendment to the first article gave the suffrage unequivocally to freemen who by oath had pledged allegiance to the commonwealth. Steps immediately were taken to promote education in and by the respective independent towns, with responsibility upon the selectmen or "townsmen."

Orders were adopted at the outset giving the towns the power to handle their individual land affairs as independent units in recognition of the fact that whatever had not been granted to the commonwealth belonged to its component units; likewise the choice of local courts, the recording of titles and all other legal instruments and the choice of not to exceed seven magistrates. The board of selectmen assumed a dignity which has continued almost dictatorial from "Lecture Day" to "Lecture Day." Tracing the parallels through the history of the federal government a century and a half later, there can be only agreement with Professor Alexander Johnston, of Princeton, that "like causes produced curiously similar effects." And further: "In later times the length of service of its officers was again and again cited by Jefferson to prove that, in a real democracy, annual elections were no bar to prolonged tenure of office."

The head of every family was held responsible for the conduct of every one under his roof. By 1667 the General Court prohibited the entertainment of strangers; anyone ordered away and not obeying became subject to fine and corporal punishment, all because of "unjust disturbance" by certain newcomers. One object was to prevent public charges. A "poor" farm of several acres was established east of the river. Local and colonial regulations of the use of liquor were formulated. By 1647 drinking in a public house for more than half an hour was forbidden and drinking outside without permission was punishable. Seven years later the court lamented the disgrace and danger that drunkenness was bringing upon the Colony. By the Ludlow code drinking to excess—"about one half a pint

of wine for one person"—or after nine o'clock in the evening was forbidden, travelers excepted. Expression of mourning was different. When David Porter, of Hartford, was drowned, the bill paid included liquor for the men who dived for the body, for those who brought the body home and for the inquest jury. Eight gallons and three quarts of wine and a barrel of cider were provided for the funeral. The cost of winding-sheet and coffin was thirty shillings—of liquors more than twice that. In sundry localities such funeral customs were continued till well into the nineteenth century, and then there was loud protest against "inhospitable reformation." "Drinking tobacco" was another bane as time went on. Indeed the whole category of prohibitions was resorted to when the clergy themselves drank at installations and every one drank on election and training days. In 1727 the General Court adopted a resolution deploring the "ruination and debauchery," but continued that upon "consideration of a memorial of the Reverend Trustees or Yale College," it be granted that the "impost income from rum for a year be for the use, benefit and support of the college."

Foundations of many Hartford houses were slabs of brownstone from a quarry in and near the bed of Little River at the present southeast corner of Bushnell Park. More have been utilized in the foundations of the present Municipal Building on Main Street not far away, and the waste from them employed to preserve the banks of the stream in the park. The swamp near the location of the present railroad station and another southwest of the present State armory supplied clay for excellent brick and also the substitute for mortar. Matthew Allyn established the first saw and gristmill on Little River at the point where the brick-kiln brook emptied into Little River, in 1636, and Elder William Goodwin was the mill pioneer in East Hartford at a point where manufacturing has been continued.

Allyn had built a dam near the brownstone quarry, establishing a notable mill site when, having trouble with the church, he bought the original Plymouth purchase in Windsor and went there to live. One of his worthy descendants, John Jay Corning, of New York, marked the site of Allyn's Island where he had his first mill, by erecting the beautiful Corning fountain where the island was made to join the mainland in Bushnell Park. By vote a bridge twelve feet wide was thrown across the river below his dam, near the palisado, thus joining the north and south sides of the town, and creating a mercantile center.

In 1641 the court ordered that hemp and flax be planted by every family and that cotton be imported. The same year it was prescribed that all hides must be carefully cured and that no calves should be slaughtered without consent of the town officials. Another twenty years and there were public inspectors of woolen yarn. Fulling mills began to spring up along many streams later in the century. One of the largest of them was in Burnside, across the river, owned by William Pitkin. It being easier to travel by sea than by land, seamanship soon developed and then traffic with neighboring colonies and the remote Indies. Imports included that new American thing, tobacco, and that created an evil almost as reprehensible as rum. No smoking was allowed on the roads or in the fields unless one were on

a journey of at least forty miles. One could smoke at dinner, not more than once a day and then not in company with anyone unless the other smoked.

Doctors' certificates were not easy to obtain. No one could practice medicine without a permit from the General Court. The first doctor was Bray Rosseter, of Windsor, admitted in 1636, and it was to him that Teacher Stone had to go in 1656. Hartford paid the bill of ten pounds for "pissick." The following year Mr. Stone made it a condition for his returning from Boston that an able physician be engaged to settle in Hartford if it were possible to get one. The records show that Hartford had an official physician in 1652 when Dr. Thomas Lord was licensed and was given a schedule of fees he could charge in addition to a bonus of fifteen pounds a year from the county—for visits in Hartford, twelve pence; in Windsor, five shillings, and in Farmington, six shillings. He died in Wethersfield in 1662.

For the whole of New England, apparently, Governor John Winthrop, Jr., was the most sought physician. From far and wide his medical advice was begged for. While his knowledge of mineralogy and the sciences in general caused him to be elected one of the first in the Royal Society of England, he traveled many miles over this rough country to bring relief to the sick and his volumes of letters about state affairs are interspersed with hundreds beseeching advice and help in cases of physical ailment. Much of his drugs he imported from England, but one which apparently became famous, and which, according to his regular method, he had tried out in his own locality, was "rubila," of which false coral and a kind of algae, found at low tide along the shore of his Fisher's Island grant, were the basis. The correspondence indicates that it was strenuous.

The great shipping industry which was to develop began with the action of the General Court in 1642, when it authorized the river towns to coöperate in building a ship, probably at Hartford. The next mention of a ship is in 1649, when Thomas Smith and others were authorized to get enough pipestaves, or barrel staves, from outside the town to freight the ship on its first voyage. The ship was probably built by Thomas Deming, of Wethersfield, who had been granted privileges at the cove there, where ship building was to be carried on till recent years. While England was the best market for the splendid masts of the country, the West Indies was best for the staves; they were exchanged for hogsheads of molasses and sugar and, for some ports, rum.

Shabby appearance of women in church inspired the first demand for better apparel. Complaints came into the court from all the towns before that body was moved to realize the necessity of being able to distinguish the women sitting in the back pews of the churches from those entitled to sit farther forward. "Sad stuff" was the chief material for the gowns. One woman wrote to a friend: "She have 3 pieces of stuff but I think there is one you would like for yourself. It is pretty sad stuff, but it have a thread of white in it." Legislation restored the equilibrium. Occasionally a Negro appeared as a servant in the more well-to-do families, having been bought in the Indies or the southern ports. Seats in the church galleries were reserved for such.

The advent of strangers who had not the background of the original congregations necessitated an "Americanization" that had to be severe. There were then

no precedents or societies, no psychological, humanitarian or other guide. The Warwick patent for "lords and gentlemen" made rule for admission by authorities who examined applicants as to their honorable intent, inclination to work and regard for the Bible, the book only recently available for the people. It had not yet become the "best seller." But the making of laws by the people especially implied the compelling of submission to those who would remain as citizens.

The stocks, the wooden horse and sitting on the gallows platform had been sufficient corrective till immigration began in earnest, along with the need for more workers and extension of bounds. A house of correction was ordered in 1640, to be built in the Meetinghouse Yard in Hartford, near the corner of present State and Market streets—twenty-four by sixteen feet in size, with a cellar and dungeon. Executions were on Gallows Hill, near present Trinity College, though witches were hanged on a tree on the Goodwin lot, present Albany Avenue. The jail was ample till 1664 or after the colony came to include the whole present State. Early in the following century, a similar but larger house had to be built, at the corner of Pearl and Trumbull streets, and the prisoners filed formal protest because it was "so retired and in back part of the town, so infrequented by inhabitants"—now such a busy section. It was replaced, after a jail had proved unsatisfactory, by a new jail on nearly the same site which was to become famous through certain of its inmates. A fence around the whole lot had to be built when the Revolutionary War prisoners were confined there. After that war, or in 1792, another jail was erected on the same site, the upper floor of which was a tavern called "City Hall," for paying inmates and for committee sessions.

Of houses in Hartford in 1638 there were only 116, and most of them small; by 1761, the number had increased to 3,938, with the list of estates amounting to \$40,000, standing tenth in the towns of the colonies. The description of the home life of the inhabitants can be taken as applying to that of all three of the original plantations. They had similar problems and, as has been seen, joined in solving those which were common to them. All had inherited English traits as shown in their daily life, including their precautions against fire by requiring ladders in every household. A bell-ringer who should awake them an hour before sunrise had to see that there was a light in each house fifteen minutes later; curfew would ring at 9 in the evening. It was their effort to have all newcomers comply with their regulations.

Wednesday was the day for a general market in Hartford which was established near the southeast corner of Meetinghouse Yard where also two fairs were held each year, by decree of the General Court. Originally it was a matter of barter and exchange, with beaver skins the most valuable commodity. Monopoly of trade with Indians was given to certain men in each settlement in order to secure more orderly trade and greater stability of price. What with barter, and with only wampum and skins for currency and with uncertainty as to what articles and particularly what colors would most appeal to the natives, it was imperative that there be coöperation. Both Wethersfield and Windsor had the advantage of having comparatively level land and the latter in having had a prior occupation by thrifty men. Hartford was early in laying out territory. Its cow pasture, eventually a thousand

acres, was on the north side of present Albany Avenue to Windsor's boundary and eastward, to be cut through by the road to Windsor, later called the Neck. West of this was the Little Ox Pasture, on Vine Street. All was heavily wooded at first. The South Side had an ox pasture, from the south meadows along the Wethersfield boundary. Present Goodwin Park was a "great swamp." Cedar Mountain was infested with predatory wolves, for the catching of which a good reward was paid. The Old Ox Pasture was westerly from the site of the present Roman Catholic Cathedral, known as Ox Pasture Hill. Sentinel Hill was gradually cut away for filling to the westward. There once were two ponds west of it. At Market and Asylum streets the land was hilly.

While it is a simple thing now to locate these sections mentioned in the layout, today well covered with large buildings for offices and stores or by fine residences, it is quite another matter to picture conditions when the only connection between the sections was rutty trails among stumps, with twists and turns along a general line and in wet weather deep mud, a condition which will have to receive attention in regular order in this printing as it did in the development of government. Of the people, they come under the description by Professor Andrews in referring to all the Connecticut colonists: "They were genealogically speaking of fine stock and breed, though few could claim high rank. Scores of them represented the best middle-class families, intelligent, well-bred, of high moral standards, and proud of their English descent."

CHAPTER VIII.

Earliest Windsor's Peacefulness

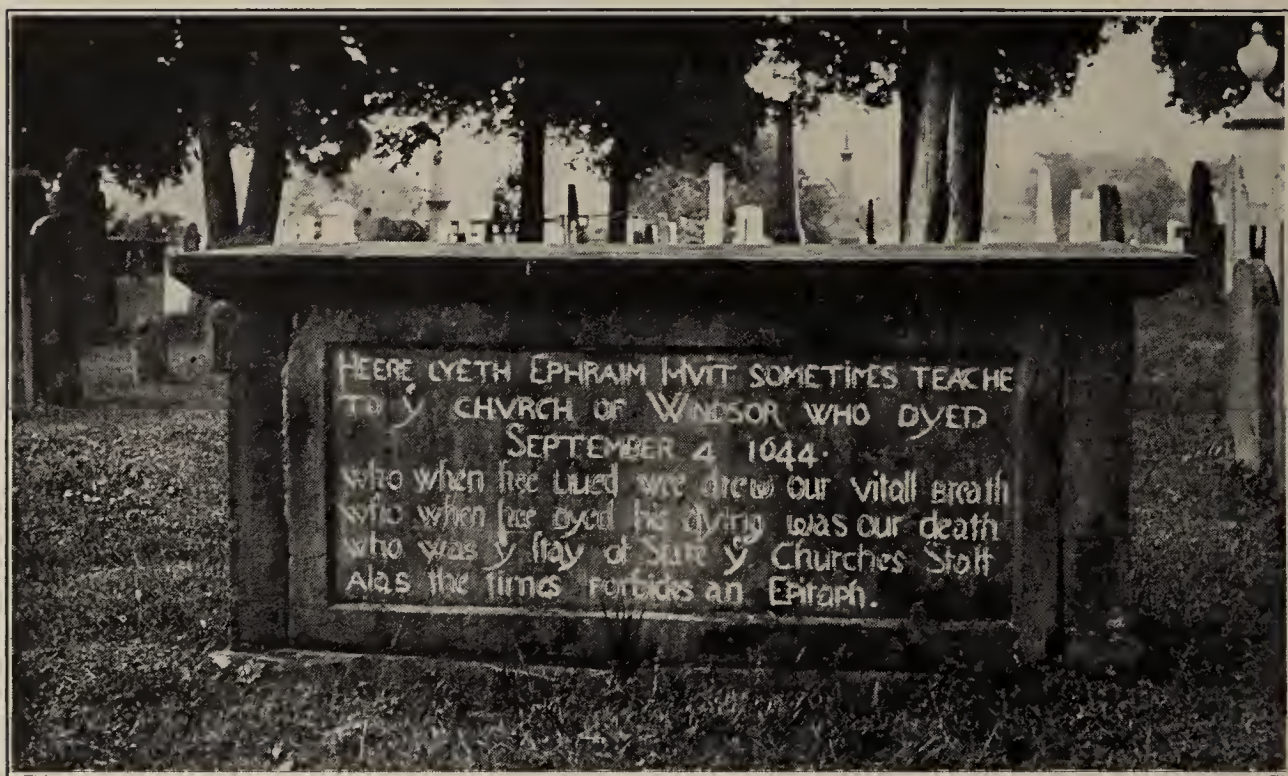
Ancestors of Presidents, Generals and Other Distinguished Men—Build Their Church and Their Homes.

Windsor proved to be the most acquisitive of the towns. The court called present Simsbury the "appendix" of Windsor. One pioneer, John Griffin, saved it for the town. He and two helpers had been doing well in gathering pitch in that section when in 1647 the court favored buying the whole of it for the general good, inasmuch as Windsor showed no inclination to utilize it. At that moment it happened that an Indian unwittingly set fire to trees upon which Griffin depended for an income. After trial the court ordered the Indian to pay 500 fathoms of wampum; failing in this he would have been shipped out or exchanged for Negroes. Thereupon the Indian gave Griffin a deed to much of the land, called Massacoe; other Indians gave the rest and the prisoner was set free. Griffin was awarded 200 acres of the land north of the falls in the Farmington River in recognition of his genius in developing the pitch industry, followed a few years later by another grant a mile and a half square, known thereafter as Griffin's "lordship," for yielding over to the proprietors deeds he had acquired personally from the Indians. More lands were to be allowed the town at Westover Plain, Nod, Weatogue and Hop Meadow. The land ten miles westward from Windsor and the same northward from Farmington was named Simsbury, after "Sim" Wolcott, as he was popularly called, who was especially favored by being allowed to retail wine and liquors on condition that he keep good care of it till an "ordinary" was set up.

How well the Hooker-Ludlow-Haynes design for both church and state had been worked out was well illustrated in Windsor together with Hartford. Democratic Congregational principles were in effect, generating unhampered ambition. In Windsor Pastor John Warham was to live many years rejoicing in the prosperity of his flock, the oldest Congregational society in the world barring the Southwark of London, for it had been formed in England in 1630. He shared in toil, encouraged and comforted. When the congregation gave him a corn mill, he went out and helped build the dam for it; when Ludlow left, he softened the blow for them. For six years, or until his death in 1644, the Rev. Ephraim Huit, whose tombstone is the oldest in Connecticut, shared the duties, acting as teacher.

Mr. Warham continued alone till 1668, or rather till his death in 1670, for the effort to secure a colleague in the person of Nathaniel Chauncey of Harvard failed through opposition on part of the society. By direction of the General Court a vote was ordered. The candidate won, 86 to 52. Under the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge and meeting for a period at the town house, the dissenters formed a separate society which was called, inaccurately, Presbyterian.

Mr. Warham was an ancestor of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, the Rev. Timothy Dwight, Judge John Trumbull, Aaron Burr, General William Williams, President Theodore Dwight Woolsey, of Yale, the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, of Brooklyn,



OLDEST ORIGINAL TOMBSTONE IN CONNECTICUT—LOCATED IN WINDSOR

New York, "Grace Greenwood," the writer, General William T. Sherman, the Rev. Dr. Gardiner and Richard Alsop, the poet, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. He saved his society from the agonies the Hartford and Wethersfield churches suffered over the "half-covenant" discussion. He had accepted the new compromise plan of baptismal rights in 1658, suspended it in 1665 because of what he had learned, and then had allowed it to be resumed by Mr. Chauncey in 1668. (One of the first churches to endorse the innovation, it was to be one of the last—in 1722—to drop it.) Nor was he greatly concerned over the course pursued by John Eno, the barber, who as an Episcopalian argued that he should be taken into the church or else be relieved of the church tax, and, getting no satisfaction, carried his case vainly to the General Assembly, along with John Stedman and William Pitkin, a prominent Hartford citizen.

What with the Simsbury extension and the purchase across-river to Ellington, the town's circumference measured eighty-six miles. The center, where the first church was built and where still are historic houses, including that of Lieutenant

Walter Fyler (1640), now the Windsor Historical Society's home, was the Palisado, north of the Farmington River. John Bissell's ferry across the Connecticut, in service till recent years, was near by. There was beauty of landscape and of homes of men distinguished in peace and war in later years.

Of the earliest inhabitants, George Hayes was an ancestor of President Hayes, Thomas Dewey of Admiral Dewey, and Matthew Grant of President Grant and over four thousand members of that family's association today. Joseph Loomis was the owner of the oldest ancestral estate in Connecticut still in possession of the family, commemorated now by the widely known Loomis Institute "on the island."



LIEUTENANT WALTER FYLER HOMESTEAD, WINDSOR

(Courtesy of The American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)

He was an ancestor of Governor Morgan G. Bulkeley, Senator George P. McLean and Murray Crane.

"Mr." Francis Stiles's party which, as previously told, came to make a park for Sir Richard Saltonstall, included Mrs. John Stiles and Jean Stiles, the first white women to set foot on Connecticut soil. He and his party remained, after Ludlow's rebuff on the score of priority of right, to participate in the distribution of land. President Ezra Stiles, of Yale, was a descendant of John. Henry R. Stiles, distinguished physician in New York and Scotland and historian, was a relative.

On the site of Francis Stiles's house stands one of the most notable houses in New England, for beauty and associations—the Oliver Ellsworth homestead. The

place had been the family home for 239 years when the heirs gave it to Ruth Wyllys Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in 1903, for perpetuation.

The present church of the society, built in 1794, is a little south of the original site, located there after a separation of the society in 1762 when "north-siders" had built north of that site, but eventually had become reconciled, largely through the efforts of Oliver Ellsworth, General Newberry and Captain James Hooker.

The town has many historical landmarks. A *Book of the Towne Wayes in Windsor*, written about 1654, describes the "palisado," an effective successor to the rude one Ludlow's men hurriedly put up to defy Dutch, Indians and Pilgrim traders, in 1635—built very substantially at the time of the Pequot War, the "people gathering themselves nearer together from their remote dwellings" to provide for their safety. Small parcels of land on the high north bank of the "rivulet" were contributed for the site, each lot to be from four to eight rods wide and sixteen rods long (in the beginning), with a road between the stockade posts and its houses, connecting with the outer highway on the east side. In the southwest corner a cemetery was provided. The "common street" ran from the palisado northeast, four rods wide. Outside of the firmly set posts was a ditch. The center was commons. "Divers men left their places and returned to their lots for their conveniences; some stayed, by consent of the town," and "enlarged their gardens."

The town's old records furnish many glimpses of the life of the settlers. One as to teaming details how "Mr. John Drake, Sr., dyed accidentally" when he was taking a load of corn to his son's home. "The cattle being two oxen and his mare," the oxen got frightened and bolted. He tried to stop them "by taking hold on the mare" and was thrown on his face so that the wheels passed over him and he was taken up dead.

There were two "greens," one north and one south of Farmington River, each having whipping posts, and women were not exempt either from punishment or from participating therein. When the daughter of one "H. D." was convicted of "reproachful speaking" against John Bissell, "H. D." "or" his wife was ordered to whip her naked body in the presence of two of the leading women of the community, Mrs. Wolcott and Goodie Bancroft.

CHAPTER IX.

Wethersfield Dissensions

Suggestive of the Troubles Which Created New England and These Three
Constitution Towns—Laud and Gorges Recalled.

The oft-revived question of priority in the settlement of Windsor and Wethersfield of the "three original towns" has benefited general history through the amount of research it has engendered, with general results as already indicated in these pages. There is agreement that John Oldham, eccentric busy-body of the days of Sir Ferdinando Gorges's Massachusetts charter ambitions and of Governor Endicott's feverish régime at Salem, had been impressed by the Indian meadows of Pyquaug in 1633 and with companions had planted corn there in 1634, but whether with domiciliary intent like Ludlow's cannot be established. When he was murdered by the Indians and the Pequot War was precipitated, his estate as recorded included the Wethersfield property and the maintenance of a keeper there—this among his miscellaneous property in other colonies. He had been a victim of the patent confusion in Plymouth Colony, from which he had been ousted, and could well have been an instrument in the hands of the pro-Gorges and anti-Puritan faction in England when cunning attempts were being made in the mid-'30's to annul the Bay charter. But he had become a church member in Watertown with a grant of 500 acres, and a deputy in the General Court, ever most interested, however, in personal exploits regardless of charter or patent. He had been drawn to the church by terrible experiences he had had in his returning from a trip to Virginia. Those who came with him and after him to Pyquaug were from the Watertown church.

Priority aside, Wethersfield was to furnish an example of contentions closely parallel with those which had marked the colonial proposition from the beginning; hence its importance in this theme of free government, incomplete as the contemporary records may be. The presence of the trouble-making Oldham in the beginning may seem to some to have mysteriously cast a spell.

Readers of history may often wonder at contentions among men who are united in a given purpose. Enemies of the purpose or those with purely selfish motive may gain astonishing advantage, and a good cause may fail. That the good cause in the eventual colonization of New England did not fail and has not yet failed is

The Rev. John Russell, Jr., son-in-law of "Worshipful" John Talcott, adjudicator of the whole county, succeeded Mr. Smith. Mr. Russell excommunicated Lieutenant John Hollister, ancestor of the historian, for criticising him in the course of a lawsuit and refusing to give particulars. The town rebuked the clergyman for being "rash and sinful" and declared him not a regular pastor, while Hollister obtained an order demanding that the pastor make explanation, as though there were something back of this which had not yet come out. Thereupon the pastor left for Hadley, Massachusetts, with Elder Goodwin's party from the First Church of Hartford, twenty of whose members came from Wethersfield. Five who remained behind in Wethersfield formed a new society, formally recognized as a continuance of the original one. John Cotton, Jr., followed by Joseph Haynes, son of the Governor, succeeded him, which leads to another era and chapter.

For a town which was to produce such eminent men and play such an important part in history, this in general was an unfortunate beginning, the more surprising to those who were to comment on the beauty of their church edifices through the years. All four have been built on almost the same site, in the village "yard" or square northerly of the present Broad Street Green, where there are several fine old residences. The first meetinghouse was erected in 1640, rebuilt in the '50's; the third in 1685, a worthy predecessor of the fourth, in 1704, with its brick walls and Christopher Wren type of spire which particularly delighted the French visitors in the days of the Revolution. The "fort" or fortified house was to the north near where the State prison stands, on the southern shore of the cove. The "Fort Road" led to Hartford.

The erratic performances of the Connecticut River, referred to earlier in connection with the lawsuits, have materially changed the territory of the town since the settlement. There was a wide common on the bank of the river, of which the changing river left only the present cove with its narrow outlet to the east. Curving again in the alluvial soil, it first made Wright's Island (off Great Meadow) practically a part of the mainland and then proceeded to cut through the middle of it, carried it away entirely and wore its course through the wide Beaver Meadow toward Middletown. Pennywise Island, above the cove, became a part of the mainland and the promontory east of it, caused by the river bend, was taken into the cove. Keeney's Cove, opposite Wethersfield Cove, was formed during these changes, at a point where had been only firm land.

After Wright's Island had become a part of the mainland, the petition of James Wright, the owner, that it be set off to Glastonbury across the river was granted by the Legislature in 1792, and as a result of several surveys of the line some 350 acres of Wethersfield in 1870 was on the east side of the river and eighty acres of Glastonbury on the west side. Successive tax controversies resulted in the setting of bounds like those of 1792, but as this did not please Glastonbury, the Legislature of 1874 decreed that the river should be the dividing line.

CHAPTER X.

Resourceful New Haven Founded

Historic Crisis in Mother Country Forces Davenport-Eaton Party—Commercial Port Found at Quinnipiac—Land Title Ignored.

If the permanence of the American democratic form of government is due to the patient threshing-out of conflicting ideas by its founders, the same should be said of its incipency in Connecticut. The coming of New Haven, whatever her early ecclesiastical limitations, was soon to strengthen government even as her mere presence was succor in hour of peril. Therefore it may be taken as further manifestation—divine if some would so call it—of the instinctive desire of man since Plato, or back farther in the dark ages. It was mark of progress so often nullified in previous centuries. Such mark cannot be dismissed with a mere line in history. It cannot be comprehended as anything more than a war, a revolution, or any other physical incident in the ages preceding, without conception of all relating thereto or of that which makes the romance of history.

Without comprehension of the why-and-how of it all—the coming of the Bay colonists, of Hooker and Ludlow and Haynes and at this juncture the appearance of Davenport and Eaton—all, by itself, presents nothing more vivid than a column of figures crayoned on a blackboard. England was the freest of the nations which had evolved through the centuries. Then not only who the new-comers were and what motivated them but, also, as in the case of the earlier arrivals, how they were motivated in their common mother country constitutes an essential question. And this is true, whether in our cosmopolitan nation the inquirer is a native, or whether he traces his ancestry back to some other nation.

It is today merely an incidental item in the great progress that the contention for giving the ballot to church members only was to be strengthened by the new arrivals. The reason for such contention is to be found in the church and state conditions in the homeland where conformance with Congregationalism had to be the test of loyalty to the principle of permanent reform. Congregationalism is a polity "subject to no ecclesiastical authority," bound only by the law of Christ "to be in fellowship with the whole body of believers."

In bas-relief on the great marble tympanum over the east entrance to the State Capitol, John Davenport is represented preaching to his followers under a wide-

spreading oak in New Haven. In its niche on the north front is the statue of Theophilus Eaton.

Those two men had had the latest experiences with the turmoil in England, increasing in intensity after Winthrop and Hooker and Ludlow had left. The defection and flight of Puritan groups had infuriated Charles I to a degree (indicated in the preceding chapters) limited only by his lack of funds and resources. The wrath of the Scots over the attacks upon Presbyterianism was in alarming flame; the Irish were being held and bled under the iron hand of Lord Lieutenant Wentworth, leading on to the great Irish massacre, the vengeance of Cromwell and the whole series of tragedies to come.

After forcing the new liturgy and canons down the throats of the Scots by royal injunction, Laud had thought to turn his attentions anew to the Puritans. Men eminent in their callings, nobles and farmers were abandoning their homes rather than consent to see the sacred table made into an altar under the "new popery." John Milton had written that he was "church-outed by the prelates." "He who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took it with a conscience that would retch, he must straight perjure or split his faith. I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing." And then he had devoted himself to the muse of poetry. *Comus* was to be his protest against bigotry fostered by persecutions. Bostwick in his *Litany* cried out against "the devils in surplices, hoods, copes and rochets who were come among us."

Imposts, exactions, compulsory buying of the new prayer book, ship money itself failed to build up the treasury to quell Scotland's bold defiance. In the north, ears were slashed off, angry throngs crowded to see "martyrs" hurried to dungeons while Laud still hounded Strafford on to replenish the failing exchequer. John Hampden, who had subsided, raised again the cry that was to be echoed within a decade at bloody Marston Moor. The "Long Parliament" was to follow "The Tyranny." To read this same period in America without the background of that black page in the history of the beloved mother land is to see the "Adventurers" as such in a holiday-excursion sense, to read *Hamlet* with Hamlet deleted.

John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton are to be looked upon as types, like Winthrop and Hooker and all the rest of the "Adventurers" out of this particular mother country, not as types in generality but as types of fair standard of the Puritans forced from their ancestral homes. Three of the four were preëminently for freedom in religion, the fourth with one eye to commercialism. Only one of them, Hooker, was to die in full serenity—and he the carrier of free government begotten through the ages.

Davenport was born in April, 1597, in old walled-in Coventry, son of Henry, who became mayor and traced his ancestry back to Ormus de Daunaport, 1086. The boy withdrew from Oxford for lack of funds, but returned later for his degrees, after being a preacher in Wearmouth. A precocious youth of St. Lawrence Jewry Church in London at age nineteen, in 1624 he was almost unanimously elected (the parish having that privilege) vicar of St. Stephen's, a large parish of well-to-do people, including Eaton, his former playmate. On his having been referred to as

a Puritan he wrote that because he had striven to make his ministry "public and eminent," some looked upon him "with a squint and harken to my sermon with the left ear and by all means to endeavor my discouragement and disgrace." This sounded suspiciously low-church. The King ordered the Bishop of London to look into it. It was revealed that he was "factious and popular and drawing after him great congregations and assemblies of common and mean [lowly] people."

Davenport strongly resented the insinuations. He declared that he was not opposed to the present government, that he never baptized without sign of the cross, that he always wore the surplice at administration of the Lord's Supper and that he detested the hypocrisy of those who secretly encouraged opposition to the government, persuading men to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. Friends at court spoke for him and the bishop certified his conformity. His salary in the wealthy parish was seventy-one pounds, but gratuities were considerable; numerous gifts and bequests attested his popularity. With others, in effort to mold the church more to his liking, he founded a self-perpetuating society which raised funds for the better income of able and conformable ministers appointed by this group. It would improve some of the existing financial conditions for the clergy, but logically the organization, named "The Corporation of Feoffees for Buying in of Improvements," would have put in the hands of a dozen men the control of all lay fees or beneficiaries for the clergy in the country. It was evidence of managerial ability but somewhat injurious to the standing of one already under suspicion.

He early had shown an interest in colonial enterprises and was admitted to membership in the Virginia Colony Company in 1622. Roger Conant who came to have the management of affairs at Salem of the Bay under the old Plymouth or New England grant was a parishioner and was one of those who, with Theophilus Eaton, Saltonstall, Craddock and others, joined in the plan for the Bay charter for the Puritans, as previously related herein, by assuming the rights of the so-called "Dorchester" party. Eaton was a son of the minister who had baptized Davenport. When Laud's wrath came to be aroused, Eaton must have been a sympathizer with the Puritan cause, for he was one of the framers of the articles of agreement between the migrators and that company, though it must be remembered, they were not making their real intent public.

In any event, Davenport's zeal for the church under Laud was waning. In 1631, report of a quarrel with his very high-church curate, over forms, reached Laud's ears. That in itself was serious enough, but it was Davenport's connection with his corporation for handling feoffees that Laud emphasized to the extent of court action. The case against the feoffee corporation was dropped, however, by order of King Charles himself, and instead, by order of the barons, further assemblies of the feoffees were prohibited. Dependent ministers found themselves reduced to poverty. Criminal proceedings against Vicar Davenport were begun a year later.

This was enough to convince the clergyman that reformation of the church from within was impossible and that he must become an out-and-out non-conformist. In this connection it must be noticed that in 1630, when John Cotton had been

ordered before court as a non-conformer, he had been concealed by Davenport. By now he was fully acquainted, no doubt, with the views of both Hooker and Cotton. The day after Laud's appointment to the archbishopric, Davenport resigned his vicarage and got over to Holland in disguise.

Eaton that year, with others who had assumed the debts and London management of the joint-stock concern, was one of those in court on the *quo warranto* proceedings against the Massachusetts Bay Company, so terrible a stench in the nostrils of the King, and now without funds. Both Davenport and Eaton bought stock in a company being formed for removing to New England, the latter to the extent of thirty thousand pounds. Davenport, who had returned to England in disguise, took with him the books of the Bay Colony and also (according to the Egerton manuscript) authorization of the Warwick patentees to negotiate with the Connecticut River settlers regarding title to their lands. (This can be taken to indicate that actual issue of the patent, sometimes a matter of doubt, was known to the home board.)

Theophilus Eaton was of a type quite different from Davenport. Born October 31, 1590, he was the oldest son of the Rev. Richard Eaton of Stony-Stratton, Oxfordshire, who removed to Coventry soon after this son's birth. While he always looked up to Davenport, his own choice was not to follow his father into the ministry, but rather his bent was for commerce. After prospering as a London merchant, he became managing director of a large trading company and for four years represented England at the court of Denmark as agent. He married the widow of David Yale, another prominent merchant, of ancient Welsh family, by whom she had had two sons, Thomas and David. Elihu Yale, born in Boston in 1649, and one-time Governor of Madras, the benefactor after whom Yale College was named, was a son of David.* Eaton's sister Anne became the wife of Edward Hopkins, another benefactor of scholastic institutions in Connecticut. In secular affairs Eaton followed where his old friend Davenport led, but in their joint interest in a State following the "design of religion" he was the more energetic.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that failure to get the atmosphere of the times, to look at matters as people did then, whichever side they were on, and not from the modern standpoint, vitiates the whole conception of the evolution of the United States. And this, by the same token, is true also of subsequent important stages. Nothing begets modern conflict of opinion like such fault.

While alike motivated to escape from the country that had nourished them well and hitherto had been foremost in progress—that country which their American descendants respect today as much as do the descendants of people who remained on the soil—there was considerable shade of difference between, for example, the men who combined to get the Massachusetts Bay charter, the men of the Winthrop party, the men of the Hooker party, and the men of the Davenport party. All

* Elihu Yale's birthplace generally was supposed to be New Haven till recently it was found that his parents had removed to Boston, from present North Haven, just prior to his birth. And at an early age he went to England with his father. The site of the birthplace, now appropriately marked, is near the present site of the Suffolk Savings Bank, on Pemberton Hill.

except that of Winthrop, who, in those earlier stages, expressed the love for the home-land in his farewell address, were frankly moved by this desire to escape, though not from the realm. Civil war and conflict with Holland already were casting their shadows before, because the mass would stand true to the traditions of the race.

The concealment of intent in obtaining the Bay charter, signed by the King in a moment of most intense madness, as has been told, was bound to be discovered by a meticulous Laud; his monarch, deprived of customary funds, with a disappointed Gorges at their elbows, was to add fuel to the flame now beyond control. "My arm can reach him there," cried Laud in fatuous ardor when told of Davenport's sailing. As in future periods, the blindness of the government of the period and its deafness to the warnings of men of the caliber of William Pitt were as of the "growing pains" of the world from the beginning, not yet altogether subsided.

One of Eaton's first steps in organizing his stock company was to write to Davenport to secure his spiritual leadership. His party was made up of well-to-do merchants and tradesmen. It is noteworthy that, while going forth to form a state on this "design of religion," he sought no charter, thus avoiding disaster, nor yet did he ask for a patent under the Bay Company's jurisdiction. He sailed as others had sailed, directly for the Bay, carrying interesting latest news with him about the nullifying endeavors of King and Archbishop. Neither nullification nor recall would disturb; something new and different was his concern. He knew the possibilities of commerce, the richness of this field. And he had with him families with like views, some two hundred people.

The *Hector*, a specially fine vessel, was chartered. There he came up against his first difficulty. There was not only the matter of ship money but the Crown's shortage in good ships, which was given as the reason for the seizure of the *Hector*, with the consequent anxious delay of several months and a degree of ingenuity in concealing the interest of men like Davenport. After three years of somewhat unpleasant religious work among the Separatists in Holland, he had come back to England in disguise. Laud's attempts to connect him with the Bay party had failed because, at the time of the court proceedings against him, his name had been carefully erased from the papers in the office of the commercial department in London. It was now believed that it was on information from Laud's detectives that the *Hector* was being detained till it was considered certain that he was not booked. The queries of various officials having been answered satisfactorily, the boat was allowed to get under way on some date not known.

In general it was an homogeneous assemblage. Among them were all of Eaton's family as mentioned, including Hopkins; also his daughter Mary by his first wife, his brothers Samuel and Nathaniel.

Samuel Eaton in a way had had a more strenuous time as clergyman than Davenport. He had not succeeded in escaping trial by the ecclesiastical court for non-conformity and had been sent to jail. There he had preached bravely to his fellow prisoners who cared to listen, which included nearly all of them. On complaint of

one of them against him that he had no license and was disapproved by the parish priests, he was again tried and convicted and forced to pay a large sum. With him in this new venture he brought a good library. It included a copy of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, which, under the circumstances, was preëminently interesting. He was to be a leader among those who gave power to the new laws which he was to help frame, with their compulsory church support and attendance and their voting monopoly, and to work earnestly for what they deemed the highest ideal of religious liberty and life. Governor Simeon E. Baldwin wrote: "If we have a higher ideal, we owe it to them."

Others of the party were Stephen Goodyear, Richard Malbon, Thomas Greson, William Peck, Robert and Francis Newman, and Ezekiel Cheever. Among the Kent and Hereford folk was the Rev. Peter Prudden, of Hereford, who was to be prominent in the colony. Accompanying the *Hector* was a smaller boat to accommodate the surplus of those who had been enlisted in the State-making enterprise or attracted to it. The successfully managed hegira of such a number of that kind of citizens was so pronounced that maritime restrictions were materially strengthened thereafter.

Boston gave the heartiest of welcomes June 26, 1637. The whole Bay Colony joined in the effort to retain such a promising group. There was hope even that the immigrants could bring about harmony in the vexatious case of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Davenport was in time to sit in the synod which began on August 30, and resulted in decree of banishment for her antinomianism. Historian Trumbull was not without reason in ascribing to that trial, showing such lack of harmony, one cause for the Davenport party's not caring to avail themselves of the many offers presented, including that of a whole township.

But we have seen that it was Eaton's purpose to start a new government from the ground up. He admired Hooker, Hopkins' great friend, for his grit, but, from what he could gather, he felt there must be a better place for sea commerce than Hartford or the Thames or the sandy mouth of the Connecticut. Captain Stoughton, of the Pequot War pursuit contingent, described to him Quinnipiac and its beautiful surroundings along with its broad harbor. And for that place he set forth the day the synod assembled. Captain Underhill had been equally laudatory, declaring that "the fair river was fit for harboring of ships and abounded with rich and goodly meadows."

These reports being confirmed by Eaton when he sailed there, he left seven men to spend the winter and prepare for the coming of the others in the spring. Five of the seven are recorded, some of their names being borne by New Haven County people today—Joshua Atwater, Thomas Hogg, Francis Brown, and John Beecher. They built their hut not far from the corner of College and George streets on the bank of what then was a stream.

CHAPTER XI.

New Haven's Pact

Mosaic Law the Basis—New Settlements Recognized—Plagued by Dutch and Indians—Oldest Stone House—Anne Hutchinson Murdered—Eaton's Ambition Foiled.

Government makers among New England refugees were devout, whatever their varying conceptions of that adjective. Their guide was likely to be Moses rather than Christ. Humanity was secondary. The tablet bearing the Ten Commandments was more imposing than the Cross, however revered. The world was but that far along in the progress of civilization. When limiting study to the settlement of America, section by section, frontier after frontier, recognition of this fundamental fact is essential; else degree of development of world civilization, at the period of the opening of the twentieth century—let one say without coming too close to the present uncertain hour—can be accounted for only by miracle, not by recorded history. In the early part of the seventeenth century, the Bible only recently printed and Calvinism having come in, England was to lead all other nations in progress, yet not enough to achieve humanitarianism in the sense of democracy. America was to be the land to raise that standard but with minds still hazy, ruffled by experiences and ambitions for liberty and justice. Such ambitions were to be met—and perhaps are yet to be fulfilled—only after what in retrospect look like absurdities. Successive generations frequently are judged cynically, sarcastically, or humorously by the latest of them.

The morning after the mutually inspired English, men, women and children, had arrived in their new haven of Quinnipiac, April 18, 1638, they did not pause to admire the grandeur of East and West Rocks or the beauties of their harborage. Seated under the broad-spreading oaks they listened to a long sermon by the Rev. Mr. Davenport. His text was Matthew IV : 1 : "Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil." The notes were not preserved, but the application is obvious. The party had been through severe tests, and now there was to be another one no less severe. It would be not the privilege of having their own way only but of framing their regulations. It was not a song of triumph; it was to be more nearly the greatest test of strength in building that which should endure. The Mosaic law was uppermost in the minister's mind, and the Mosaic



THE FOUNDING OF THE COLONY OF NEW HAVEN

(Painted by Rossiter)

law was deemed sufficient without fundamental orders of any sort till other churchly immigrants should arrive, which was not till more than a year had elapsed.

They were under no charter, unless it be that outdated one of 1606 for Gorges's Plymouth Company, no patent unless it be that of disputed extent, supposedly issued to the Earl of Warwick. While, as said, Eaton was conversant with affairs in the London commercial office of the Bay Company of 1629, it is not revealed that his stock company had secured any rights; his commercial company had sailed for Boston, as was supposed by the English port authorities, after the manner of its many predecessors, for Bay settlement. All these matters, so important in the settlements, appear, strangely enough, to have had no weight with these sturdy independents. By this mark, it was the boldest, freest adventure of all in New England.

With no one disputing, time could be given serenely to buying and distributing much land. Beginning in November with Sachem Momauguin, whose forty men followers occupied the Quinnipiac territory and were worrying about Pequots and Mohawks, they bought most of New Haven; from Montowese, the son of Sowheag, of Wethersfield and Mettabeseck, the territory including present Branford, Wallingford and most of Woodbridge, Bethany, Meriden, North Branford, Cheshire, Hamden, North Haven and Orange. Montowese's tribe numbered only ten braves with their families. To meet this outlay required a considerable amount of coats, spoons, hatchets, hoes, knives, porringers and French knives and scissors as the records show, perhaps twenty-five pounds' worth. But the stock company had larger capital than any company that had come to New England.

Meantime more stockholders had arrived, from Kent and Surrey, under the leadership of Henry Whitefield, minister, and William Leete, Esq. (to be Governor, 1677-83). With Davenport and Peter Prudden there were now three ministers, each with his flock, and Samuel Eaton, recently out of prison, with no flock. He was assigned to Branford community if settlers were available but, since after four years few were attracted that way, he returned to England and died there in 1664.

The poets sing of the glorious crops of all colonists the first year, but the planters' chant could have been, more likely, about getting soil ready by removing trees and rocks. The sandy earth of New Haven lacked the loam of the river towns. Eaton's soundings revealed that the "fair harbor," except in the northwest corner, was not so deep as he could wish, by reason of salt-marsh mud deposited by the streams. He could not picture the famous "Long Wharf," which in time was to extend far out, its planks in the nineteenth century burdened with railroad track and stacks of freight from and for all parts of the world. But sloops unloaded where now stand buildings. The first wharf, which a hundred and twenty-five years later was to extend three hundred and twenty-five feet, a hundred years after that measured four thousand feet, "Long Wharf," a Connecticut institution.

It can be said that of all the historic colonial towns of New England, none enjoyed the beauty of location, together with forethought and genius of the founders in preserving it, so much as New Haven. Others had rocky and hilly landscapes and, in present adapted condition, everlasting monuments to the courage, patience and endurance of the people. In New Haven, back from the wide harbor to a towering acropolis on the east and its twin to the westward, lay the gradually slop-

ing plain, well wooded, large enough to accommodate thousands. On the extreme east the plain was crossed by the Quinnipiac, the largest of three streams, this one coming down from far back of East Rock, while a corresponding one on the west side joined the bay farther out. The third, of lesser size, pierced the wooded fringe that connected the twin rocks, to meander along at the base of the eastern one.

This northern fringe was marked by such suggestive formations as the "Sleeping Giant"—recently saved from the trap-rock blasters who were making roads with it. The precipitous fronts of the great guardian rocks, which so impressed themselves on the mind of Admiral Block—the east one in particular—are bare greenstone (hornblende and feldspar), colored by iron rust, and look as though they might be pillars set up by a Cyclops and now cracked by age. As years advanced, nature's bounty was supplemented by man when he bordered his streets and planted his open places with elm trees and won the title of "The Elm City."

The town in the beginning was fortunate in being mapped out by a professional surveyor who, on the northwestern slope of the harbor front, drew nine squares of forty-three rods on a side, the streets between them being four rods wide. The center square was left open as a green; the northeastern portion of the green, sloping gently upward, was reserved as a cemetery, till in 1796 James Hillhouse bought a twenty-acre lot not far away, where private plots, with one for each church, one for the college, and one for the poor, were provided. In 1818, the present Center Church was built over the gravestones of several, whose names are now engraved on tablets in the vestibule of the church. Three years later the remaining monuments were removed to the new cemetery, except those of the regicides, which are the crude upright stone slabs bearing, respectively, the initials "E W 1658," "80 M G," and "I D Esqr, deceased March ye 18th in ye 82nd Year of his age 1688-9." The crudity marks an attempt to conceal the identity of the then English authorities who had sought in vain to locate Whalley (who really died in 1678, as a close inspection of the carving may show), Goffe and Dixwell. These were left, fenced in, and a memorial later erected, at the rear end of the edifice. The date 1678 is known by a letter from Goffe to his wife.

The individual divisions of land, in 1638, apparently were made by agreement or lot, the minister having first choice and Eaton the second, after whom came Captain Turner, head of the military body, and the deacons. After the distribution of ample home lots, outlying territory was correspondingly divided, in plots of upland and meadow. Sizes of lots were determined by amounts of stock that had been bought and by number of persons in each family. Taxes were laid in a way to prevent aggregation by individuals, and outsiders were required to secure approval by the General Court. Finally there were commons for the public as a whole.

Everything that was done had to be by vote of that New England institution, the town meeting or *vox populi*. In the same way regulations provided what number of live stock could be placed on the commons, counting not by wealth but by individuals—the same applying in all county towns. Later, with increase of population management was taken over by a body of proprietors who were descendants or heirs of the founders, as in Hartford. This led to controversies, not settled by the courts as was the one in Hartford, and to distinction between "Sons of Liberty"

and "Tories" in Revolutionary days—thus till value of land, reduced by sales, fell to a minimum.

Davenport and Eaton, on March 12, 1639, wrote to the Massachusetts General Court a long, remarkable letter. They expressed regret that they had not been able to find a good town site in the Bay Colony. All of those proposed to them had been too far from navigable waters or from other towns, and the farms too far away from the homes. Having trust in God, they would have stayed, if thereby any good could have come, with smaller accommodations and dearer terms. All the propositions were weighed prayerfully. And we "have sent letters to Connecticut for a speedy transacting of the purchase of the parts about Quillypieck from the natives which may pretend title thereunto." And there were the strongest ties between all the plantations—strong as those that gave power to Abasheai or to "Hippocrates his twinnes." "Stand and fall, to grow old and decay, to flourish and wither, to live and dye together."

The letter is the more remarkable on finding that Connecticut wrote New Haven, when the purchases were being made of the Indians, asking what the intent and rights were.

It was June 4, 1639, that the planters assembled in a barn belonging to Robert Newman to agree upon definite form of government. The initiatory purposes were different from those in Hartford. The Rev. Mr. Davenport preached from the text in Proverbs ix:1: "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars." This was for establishing a government by the select few instead of by the many as in the Connecticut constitution. It was in accord, also, with passages in Exodus xvii:1 and Deuteronomy i:13, among others. At the close of the sermon, "fundamental orders" were submitted and accepted by show of hands, section by section as follows, in substance:

1—That the Scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for men in their family, church and commonwealth affairs.

2—That the rules of Scripture were to govern the gathering and ordering of the church, the choice of magistrates and officers, the making and repeal of laws, the dividing of the allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature.

3—That all free planters were to become such with the resolution and intention to be admitted into church fellowship as soon as God should fit for them thereunto.

4—That civil order was to be such as should conduce to securing the purity and peace of the ordinances to the free planters and their posterity.

5—That church members only were to be "free burgesses" (voters) and were to choose from their own number magistrates and officers to make laws, divide inheritances, decide cases at law and transact all public business.

On this fifth paragraph alone was there dissension, and the Rev. Samuel Eaton was one of the dissenters. In the plantations the majority were not church members. They would have to surrender both political and ecclesiastical power permanently and fundamentally into the hands of the minority. Samuel Eaton, though not named in the record, was presumably the one individual who expressed dissent. He agreed on the principle that voters and officials should be God-fearing men, which would mean that they were church members; "only at this he stuck, that free plant-

ers ought not to give this power out of their hands." He agreed that the point should be put to vote and he was the only one to raise his hand in the negative. The vote then and there disfranchised a majority in New Haven, a half in Guilford, and in Milford ten out of a total of forty-four, six of whom were recent comers.

The sixth article provided that the "free burgesses" or church members should select twelve of their own as the "seven pillars" to begin with, for the church. Only eleven were then chosen: Theophilus Eaton, Davenport, Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Richard Malbon, Nathaniel Turner, Ezekiel Cheevers, Thomas Fugill, John Penderson, William Andrews and Jeremiah Dixon, an excellent selection. It is understood that the candidate for twelfth position, whose name is not known, had been guilty of extortion, for which, however, he had made restitution and expressed his sorrow.

Afterwards it was added that, in order to make the articles permanent, admission of any one as a free planter must be conditioned on his signing them. For the actual "seven pillars," Eaton, Davenport, Newman, Gilbert, Fugill, Penderson and Dixon were chosen, who, on August 22, covenanted to constitute the church and to bring all into the fold. In other words the organized church was the State. On October 16, the seven elected Eaton to be magistrate (called "governor" after these preliminaries had been completed in 1643), with Newman, Gilbert, Turner and Fugill deputy magistrates, Fugill secretary and notary, and Robert Seeley, Pequot War officer and lately of Wethersfield, marshal. Judges and public officers were to depend wholly upon the Scriptures for guidance. The court had both criminal and civil jurisdiction even after it became the "particular" court in 1643. It was not the rigor of these courts that was to leave its mark but rather the seriousness with which they considered such things as kissing and tippling—one might say, also, to the absence of a code like Ludlow's and a consequent amount of futility when great problems of existence were to be dealt with.

At the same session in 1639 the court solemnly decided that Hopkins could have two hogsheads more of lime for building his house, that probably being sufficient; that a meetinghouse, fifty by fifty, be built, to take material from anywhere; that Gregson and Evance shall have four days' liberty to square their timber "before the formal order shall take hold of them"; that none shall come to dwell, whether or no they own land, without consent of the magistrates; defining the equipment and ammunition for Captain Turner's men and that a servant be whipped for being drunk. Other items were for payment for damage done by hogs; that Isaiah, Turner's man, be fined five pounds for getting drunk; that John Charles be forbidden to draw wine because there had been disorder.

Writing of ecclesiastical punishments in the Bay Colony, Professor Alexander Johnston says the ministers desired to separate church and state, but had no notion of the boundaries between the two—that the system there, "whatever else it may have been was not even meant to be a democracy," and quotes Cotton: "I do not conceive that ever God did ordain democracy as a fit government for church or commonwealth." Johnston asserts that town freedom was confined chiefly to the three towns that went to Connecticut. "The birthplace of American democracy is Hartford."

In remarkably short time there were a hundred and twenty comfortable homes in the different New Haven squares, some of them more elaborate and richly furnished than any in New England. Among these was Eaton's mansion and capitol combined, on present Elm Street just below Orange Street and across the broad thoroughfare from Mr. Davenport's. It was shaped like a capital E, the ells providing a court on the street side, the entrance porch in the center. In the great hall at the entrance and around one of the many fireplaces in the house, the Colony General Court held its sessions. Thirty people lived there with the Governor and hospitality was liberal.

Meanwhile one of the disaffected Wethersfield parties had come to locate in Branford, which had been in the purchase from Momauguin, but it was Mr. Davenport's opinion that if they were not in agreement they would best seek location elsewhere which they ultimately did. After Samuel Eaton's failure there, or in 1644, the place was sold to William Swain and his party from Wethersfield. At about the same time the Rev. Abraham Pierson came with his flock from Southampton, Long Island, to unite with them. When New Haven and Connecticut were united under the King Charles II charter, Mr. Pierson, in disgust, removed again, this time to Newark, New Jersey.

Guilford, bordering Branford on the east and sixteen miles from New Haven, was taken up by the wealthy Episcopal clergyman Henry Whitfield and his congregation. Of them the Rev. Thomas Ruggles, who succeeded his father as pastor of the then church, in 1729 wrote that Mr. Whitfield's party were not Separatists or Non-Conformists or anything different from what they were in England. "He loved his flock tenderly and was extremely loved by them. He was possessed of a large estate, and was by far the richest of any of the planters; all of which possessions he laid out and spent in the plantation, for the benefit of his fellows. At his own expense he built a large, firm (and for those days) handsome stone house, which served as a fort for himself and many of the inhabitants, upon the land allotted to him by the planters, in a very conspicuous and delightful place, having an extensive view of the sea in front—a lasting memorial to his greatness and benefactions to the town"—as it is today, having been reconditioned, taken over by the State and made one of the most interesting and well conducted colonial museums in New England. The house is supposed to be the oldest in the United States.

With the change in times, the minister and part of his flock returned to England. The "teacher" of the church was John Higginson, son of the first pastor of the Salem church, who had been chaplain at the Saybrook fort. After twelve years as teacher he removed to Salem on his way to England and remained there by solicitation, taking little part in ecclesiastical controversies of the times. Mr. Ruggles's history of Guilford (Massachusetts Historical Collections) says that in 1643 "a Congregational church was gathered," adopted the Davenport plan, and by their covenant had seven pillars, headed by Whitfield.

For Milford territory the first purchase was made with six coats, ten blankets and one kettle, together with hoes, knives, hatchets and glasses given to Ansantawae, Sagamore. Settlement began 1639 and other purchases made as far north as present Waterbury, including parts of that town, Derby, Woodbridge, and Orange.

The pastor was Peter Prudden, who had lived a short time in Wethersfield. Being remote from New Haven they formed a little republic of their own, or Congregational covenant, with town meetings. The name chosen was that of the English town they had come from. They were troubled considerably by the Indians. For some time it was necessary to maintain a strong guard. But the real peril was to come to the local Indians when a body of Mohawks, making the boldest attempt of any east of Greenwich, were seen by the white men in time to inform the natives. The Mohawks were defeated and some of them taken prisoners. One of these was



WHITFIELD HOUSE, GUILFORD, 1639

(Courtesy of The American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)

stripped and tied by the Milford Indians in the "Great Meadows," where he was being tormented to death by the mosquitoes, when he was seen and relieved by Thomas Hine, a descendant of whom, Percival W. Hine, of New York, now has his summer home in the town.

Among the first settlers who came to Wethersfield from England were Robert Treat and his brother Richard. Robert came to Milford with Mr. Prudden, was soon chosen one of the five judges and in 1661 was made a magistrate of the Colony, but refused to take the oath because he was in favor of a union with Connecticut. After the union he was appointed major of militia, distinguished himself in King Philip's War at the time of the attack on Springfield, again at Hadley and finally in the terrible final battle at Fort Narragansett. Subsequently he was Governor of Connecticut for sixteen years or until he declined to serve.

Stamford was encouraged as an outpost against the ambitious Dutch of New Amsterdam. Its northwest boundary line coincides with that of New York. Greenwich alone lay between it and the territory claimed by the Dutch, where, indeed, they had worsted the Indians in a severe battle and whence they made their expeditions into Connecticut. Captain Turner himself, head of the New Haven train band, was sent to make the purchase of land, paying well for it and allowing the Indians a sizable reservation. By 1641 there were upwards of forty families there, but in constant peril from one enemy or the other.

It was obvious to Davenport that a closer union with the outlying settlements should be formed, Branford not counting, since it had not yet organized. Guilford had violated the first rules in allowing six non-church members to vote. That eventually had been condoned on condition that those men should not vote again, but it was possible that there might at sometime be a similar eruption. That could be avoided by a closer union. At the same time there must be combination against the Dutch.

This probably explains the action of the General Court of October 27, 1643, presided over by Eaton—who for the first time in the records was called “governor”—and consisting of Deputy-Governor Stephen Goodyear, three magistrates and two deputies each from the four towns, New Haven, Guilford, Milford and Stamford. This assembly resolved to strengthen the “fundamentall orders” to meet the exigencies. It provided that, while only church members could vote or hold office, “free planters” not members of the church should have right to “their inheritance and to commerce.” Especially there should be a “particular” court in each town, dealing with minor cases and with appeal allowed in criminal cases. The judges were to be chosen by each town’s electorate. Also, the “burgesses” and electors of colony officers could vote by proxy instead of being obliged to journey to New Haven twice a year, in April and October, when the General Court should meet in New Haven; the magistrates to sit as a high court on Monday preceding the General Court sessions to try major cases and hear appeals and also to function as a grand jury. Trial by jury was not in the code.

Functions of the court were to buttress the religion and “suppress the contrary,” make and repeal laws and compel enforcement, discipline magistrates when necessary, insist upon the oath of fidelity, levy taxes and hear appeals from the local courts—all in accord with the Scriptures. A majority of both magistrates and deputies was required in making laws. At the April session, 1644, additions were that fundamentally and specifically “the judicial laws of God as they were delivered by Moses” should be the rule of all courts and be binding on all offenders till “the same be branched out into particulars hereafter.”

In relation to a much discussed feature of these regulations in modern times, it is shown by the records themselves that there were fifteen capital crimes, namely: Murder, treason, perjury aimed at life, kidnapping, bestiality, adultery, sodomy, incest, rape, blasphemy “of the worst form,” idolatry, witchcraft, “presumptuous” breaking of the Sabbath, third conviction for burglary on Sunday, and rebellion against parents—fifteen in number in 1644 as against 223 in England nearly two hundred years later, when the subject was being agitated in Parliament. Yet it is

this code which was dubbed the "blue laws" in later years as aggravated and misquoted by the Rev. Samuel Peters in his history of Connecticut, published in England after he had been driven out of the Colony for his general abusiveness.

From the beginning, Eaton's main thought had been to establish a wide commerce. The American commerce of today attests his wisdom and foresight. The business done with Boston, Virginia, the Barbados, Bermuda and the Azores laid the foundations for New Haven's trade in the future. But in his ambition he organized the expensive Delaware Company with a sort of contempt for pioneer jurisdiction, such as he had demonstrated when steering his ship into New Haven harbor without formal rights. To be sure, Delaware was mentioned in the 1606 charter and also in the Warwick patent, though it is doubtful whether he had known this even in a general way. Swedes were seeking to make there a success of their first undertaking in colonization in America, and the Dutch were contending with them, but he could see no reason why his purchases should not be valid and his ships should not be welcome.

Accordingly he increased his funds by five thousand pounds with stock bought by the planters and secured land by purchase for a pretentious post near present Salem Creek, in 1640. First the Swedes and then Governor Kieft's jealous Dutchmen violently objected. Eaton persisted two years in hope of ultimate success, with the result that the testy Kieft of New Amsterdam sent two ships with soldiers, burned the houses, confiscated the goods and made prisoners of the leading men. The New England Union, when organized, refused to commit itself to support, as will appear.

And—to anticipate events—Stuyvesant, who succeeded Kieft, after Kieft had been called home and in a storm had sunk to the bottom of the ocean with his shipload of goods, got new boundary lines by the "treaty of Hartford," in conjunction with the New England Federation, September 19, 1650. Ready to test this development, New Haven started another vessel for Delaware Bay. When it touched in amicably at New Amsterdam the very sight of it so exasperated Stuyvesant that he arrested both crew and passengers, told them what any further expedition could expect and then released them on their promise to return to New Haven immediately. This time the commissioners for New England, emphatically if not logically, did take action, declaring that Stuyvesant had violated the treaty and resolving to protect any New England settlement at Delaware, so explicitly within the lines of the charters, and said they would support their declaration with a body of one hundred and fifty men if need be.

But with a view to recoup heavy losses, New Haven resolved to stake all the free capital in the Colony on one safe chance by sending a rich cargo to Puritan and European ports. Eaton secured another five thousand pounds and, together with his own funds, had a "Great Shippe" built in Rhode Island. With seventy men, including some of the foremost in the Colony and laden with furs, skins, pitch and whatever could be brought in from a wide region, the ship set sail with the whole Colony assembled at the dock to cheer it. It is tradition that of the passengers two were agents from Eaton to confer with Cromwell relative to a charter for the Colony similar to those for other colonies, removing possibility of future absorption.

The vessel never was heard from after it had passed the present Lighthouse Point. Years afterwards a number testified to having seen her distinctly, sailing in under the clouds of a severe storm, a man at her prow pointing his sword seaward. A recurrence of the phantom established a tradition. Hardships of poor soil, fading commerce and hostilities of Indians and Dutch were increasing. The despondent colonists discussed removal to Ireland. Mr. Davenport had expressed it: "Christ's interest in the colony is miserably lost."

And with it all was a personal grief for Eaton and Davenport in which the whole Colony shared. It was so remarkable as to compel a place in the history of the Colony. Mr. Eaton's second wife was afflicted with what developed into a condition eventually to require a trial by the church officials. The testimony at the trial is the more astounding when her earlier surroundings and standing are recalled. At the time Mr. Eaton married her, she was the "prudent and pious widow" of David Yale, and had inherited the homestead at Great Budworth in Denbighshire. Her two sons, Thomas and David, Jr., eminent merchants, held their stepfather in high regard, accompanying him to America, as has been said. Her daughter Anne was the wife of Edward Hopkins. David became the father of Elihu Yale, prosperous India merchant, whose name is so closely associated with New Haven's. His gifts may have been inspired by the memory of his grandmother.

The development of Mrs. Eaton's malady may have been aggravated by her experiences as a colonist and her aversion for the stern rituals. Since in the beginning she did not accept them and never was a church member in full standing, she was debarred from churchly privileges which others enjoyed. This much has been referred to by critics of the system as evidence of its severity under the ministrations of her husband's boyhood friend, Mr. Davenport, himself to have grievous experience.

The extent to which her fits of temper carried her could not be ignored by the church authorities. If the testimony before their tribunal may be accepted, she tongue-lashed her husband, the Governor, as freely as she did her maid servant, struck his mother in the face at the dinner table, necessitating physical interference by Mr. Eaton, made the flesh of her step-daughter Mary black and blue by pinching, and otherwise injured her body while slandering her. In her spirit of revolt she became an Anabaptist, verbally rebelled against Mr. Davenport's preaching, walked out during communion service and added insult to insult. There was no pathologist to whom the case could be referred in private. How much her condition was intensified by the publicity there is no means of knowing. For Eaton himself his dream was ended.

But there still were the New Haven Federation, the New England Union, the handling of the courts, Davenport's pathetic departure and end, and much else before his eyes were closed and his body placed in the tomb near his most hospitable mansion. Cotton Mather wrote this epitaph:

New England's Glory, full of warmth and light,
Stole away (and said nothing) in the Night.

CHAPTER XII.

Fairfield and Farmington

Ludlow Goes to Sound Shore While Hartford Leaders Push Westward—
Hutchinson Massacre and Other Alarms—Last Hartford Indians—Purchasing Warwick Rights.

In creating the association of New Haven towns as far as Stamford's western border, Eaton had used the title "jurisdiction." Fairfield, though founded in 1639 very romantically, was not included. Unknown to Connecticut itself at the beginning, it had been established by Roger Ludlow in person and a few Windsor planters, a second group soon following. For his absence from General Court without notice a fine was imposed even though he was Deputy Governor, but it immediately was written off when the facts were presented. His explanation on the records takes many words while giving no intimation of the importance of the plan he was carrying out in accordance with what he had signified to his associates earlier. In his absence the next year he was still to be a magistrate, a position he was to be elected to fill every year except 1642 till 1648 when he again was Deputy Governor.

He had been impressed with the relative excellence of Fairfield's surrounding country and its commercial and military advantages, by reason of its small but deep harbor, when he was with the soldiers in their pursuit of Sassacus and his Pequots in 1637. In general he had realized the importance of establishing more towns, both to accommodate newcomers and to extend the amount of occupied territory discreetly. Whatever the rights New Haven might have assumed, Connecticut possessions along the Sound were to be desired. And this not at all for public sport and recreational purposes which motivate State acquisition of shore places today.

Circumstances rather than contemporary testimony might indicate that throughout Ludlow's impressive career his personal ambitions were circumscribed bitterly as though by an untoward fate. The same might be said of both Davenport and Eaton, but in their cases it was their own planning which went awry, while Ludlow's was crowned with time-enduring success. After all Ludlow had done to advance the fundamental work in Massachusetts government, he was not promoted from the deputyship to be Governor. That may have been due to his impulsiveness where one could safely be impulsive except in matters of religion. His always warm friend Haynes received the higher office in the Bay Colony, perhaps because

not so tempestuous by nature. Ludlow had held his own against the Plymouth Pilgrims at Windsor and had been, doubtless, the master legal mind in phrasing the Fundamental Orders at Hartford, but again Haynes had been honored above him and again perhaps because not so tempestuous by nature.

Critics say off-hand that he became resentful in his later days in the Colony, but there is no word or hint of it from any of his associates in those strenuous times. He worked for what he knew were their interests till they were well established, and his correspondence with them after he had gone to new fields was token of his continued desire to be helpful, as will appear. Without distinct religious zeal, he was a man of few words and less writings. In Boston, Watertown and Windsor there was no one who could have done the work he did, and for the Fundamental Orders as put on paper and the code of laws he was to draw up, none so capable perhaps in any Colony. Among modern memorials to the founders of our liberties he has received scant attention, perhaps because, even today, his benefactions are taken as a matter of course.

It must follow, then, that in what is said here, in the history of the State he did so much for, it is well to be meticulous, especially when this means also romance of history *per se*. Permission for him to begin a plantation at Pequannocke (Fairfield) had been granted by the court early in 1639, and he had bought of the Indians and "set down" there. When he returned to the court session of October 10, he was called upon to explain his absence at the session of September 10. By the court records the explanation was that "the hand of the Lord was upon him in taking away some of his cattle," which incident had interrupted his business of selling some of them. Then he had found "cause to alter his former thoughts of wintering his cattle there," for the "understanding" relative to a plantation "beyond that" was not being carried out "according to agreement," and he had suspected that others were secretly planning "to take up the said place" without informing the court. That might be prejudicial.

Therefore (to follow the recorder's wording of Ludlow's apology), since he was one of those who had been authorized by the court, "he adventured to drive his cattle thither and, with some others, to set out lots to build." He would leave it to the court to decide whether he was wrong.

The court decided he was not wrong and the fine was remitted, but with a reprimand, because he had not kept the court informed. Who the intruders were is not revealed. Haynes himself and Thomas Welles were sent to investigate, with the outcome that "upon due consideration of the same, they had thought fit, upon Mr. Ludlow's assenting to the terms propounded by them, to confirm the same." This was the official seal on Fairfield as a Connecticut plantation.

It is a worth-while illustration of the methods of the time, since, as Ludlow knew, the post was an important one in view of the ambitions of both New Haven and the Dutch, but the civic power felt that it must be cautious; there should be no contentions like that of Plymouth's over the taking of Ludlow's Windsor. Ludlow was joined at Fairfield by another small party from Windsor and one from Watertown, altogether marking another incident in his exceptional career.

Neither the General Court of Connecticut nor that of New Haven as yet appreciated fully what the Dutch-Indian threat meant. Connecticut had minimized the incident of the House of Hope, especially after the New Amsterdam Dutch had sailed away inauspiciously on beholding Gardiner's fort at Saybrook, and relations had been reasonably cordial since the Dutch sailors cleverly had obtained at New London the two Wethersfield girls the Indians had kidnapped. There was no particular sympathy with Eaton's effort to make a lodgement in Delaware. The Union did not support Eaton in his Delaware claim, but would protect New England settlement there and would use 150 men if necessary. Confident in their ruggedness and honorable intent, they could let New Amsterdam stew in its own broth if it did not spill over, and as for the Indians, they seemingly had had their lesson. The Connecticut Colony was more alert to threat of civil war in England. The threat itself increased the number of immigrants in New England for a short period, but it foreboded lack of sea defense should war really come.

Trouble with the Dutch and Indians, dating back to 1611, was due in large measure to the amount of fire-water the white men had been selling to the Indians as well as, later, to the camp-followers in the New England settlements, more than to infringement on Indian territory. A white man's revenge on one of the Algonquin tribe had recently aroused New Amsterdam and had precipitated attacks by the tribesmen. Mohawks from the north became involved through a mistake which the Indians ascribed to the Dutch, whereupon the Dutchmen found themselves victims of the wrath of individuals in both tribes.

In defense the Dutch secured the services of Captain John Underhill, who originally had come to Boston with the Winthrop party, and whom Governor Vane had sent to the Pequot War. In 1640, for alleged licentiousness—a very broad indictment in those days—he had been tried in Boston and ordered to be banished after being forced to confess guilt, and then to suffer public disgrace. After a brief time in England, where he wrote a history of the Pequot War, he was Governor of Exeter and Dover in New Hampshire, a little republic by itself recently established by Massachusetts outcasts, and afterwards went to New Haven, where for a brief time he served in the General Court.

The Algonquins and Mohawks meantime were fighting each other. With an "army" of one hundred and twenty men, Underhill had subdued the Algonquins south of New Amsterdam, for which he was well rewarded, when the Mohawks began attacking the Algonquins in the present Greenwich section, which the Dutch claimed. Dutch use of fire-water as a medium of exchange was profitable in commerce but with deadly reaction against civilization. Simultaneously the stories of troubles along the Canadian border were beginning to alarm the New England settlers and were full of evil omen for the future. In general it may possibly have been liquor more than land rights that colonials had to pay for with their lives.

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her family furnished an early illustration. Charged with Antimonianism, as will be recalled, her banishment from the Bay had been contrary to the sentiments of a majority of the people. She had been a victim of the intolerance of theocracy and of the fear, in the long dispute, that the opposition would carry out their threat to take up the whole matter in England. After she

had taken refuge in Roger Williams's territory, and largely through his influence, Chief Miantonomoh, of the Narragansetts, had given her an island in Narragansett Bay which she named the Isle of Rhodes, later to lend its name to the territory covered by Williams's liberal charter.

So popular did she become with those who traveled from afar to hear the advanced ideas of herself, her son and her son-in-law that she was about to be charged with witchcraft. From that grave peril, she and her servants fled to the most extreme corner of Stamford, which New Haven was establishing as a frontier post against the Dutch. Mohawks, from whom Ludlow had bought his land at Fairfield, and Algonquins had been clashing in Greenwich, a small section between Stamford and New Amsterdam where Peter Stuyvesant had succeeded the impetuous Kieft as Director-General of the West India Company. Mrs. Hutchinson was enjoying the protection under New Haven's "jurisdiction," when, in the summer of 1643, drunken Indians killed more than forty of the Greenwich and Dutch settlers and murdered her and her entire family group, eighteen in all, besides burning the houses. A short time after this a white man was murdered near Fairfield.

The whole was sufficient to cause Ludlow to set about training his Fairfield settlers and preparing defenses. The result was a feeling of resentment in New Haven which was the beginning of the end of Ludlow's usefulness in America, as will be seen in a later chapter of his strange career. The first reaction upon him was to cause him to join zealously in the plan for the defensive federation of the Colonies, the founding of America's first union.

An incident of this arousing of the colonists is to be noted in the action of four sachems of Eastern Long Island in coming across the Sound at the risk of their lives to express their fealty to the English, to whom they had paid tribute since the Pequot War, and to be given assurance that so long as they were peaceable they should enjoy protection. All of Long Island was supposed to be under Connecticut jurisdiction, as one of the "adjacent islands" mentioned in the Warwick patent, although at the western end the Dutch had nominally established themselves as far as Oyster Bay. New Haven men had settled at Southold and Lynn, and Massachusetts men at Southampton, which became a Connecticut town in 1649, as did Huntington (originally New Haven's) in 1660.

Ludlow's unadvertised action in securing Fairfield must have been largely strategical, and the reign of terror which was to come later attested his wisdom. It had been the more of a surprise to his fellow colonists up Hartford way, since there was much available land on both sides of the river in their section. The Simsbury section was proving advantageous for Windsor, and the richness of the land across the Connecticut was gratifying, as also the attitude of the Indians, somewhat peculiar in their land deeds though they were. Wealth of opportunity near all three of the original towns had been revealed, just over the gentle mountain ridge to the west, in January preceding the adoption of the constitution. Prospectors had looked down from the somewhat precipitous Talcott and Avon mountain range into "a luxuriant valley" at a point where the south-flowing Farmington River, after being joined by the Pequabuck from the southward, turns sharply to the

northward, contrary to the rules of all larger streams and for reasons previously given. Not far southward are the headwaters of New Haven's Quinnipiac.

This location two centuries later was to give promise of becoming a commercial center greater than Hartford, and then reverted to its original charm of streams and meadows and picturesque hills. It was a well sheltered garden spot for the Tunxis Indians and soon for the last of Hartford's Suckiaugs, though not well enough protected from Indian raiders from the northwest who so long were to hold the natives from there to the New York and Massachusetts borders in terror sufficient to prevent their moving on in that direction. The horrors of the Mohegan invasion could not be forgotten. White men were welcomed as protectors. They paid generously for the land and

left the natives a reservation in the best meadowland to boot. There was territory enough in "Tunxis" for Southington (1779), New Britain and Berlin in major part (1785), Bristol (1785), Burlington (1806), Avon (1830), Plainville (1869), and for parts of Wolcott, Harwinton and Bloomfield.

The whole was included in the supplementary purchase of Hartford land by the Hartford settlers from the Suckiaugs, as expressed later in formal fashion, with the usual hieroglyphics, "about the time of the planting of Farmington." That was in 1640, when Pethus ruled as Sachem. The formal charter as an independent town was granted in 1645. The successive grand jurors for each year to that date were William Lewis, John Porter, Thomas Orton



THE "WHITMAN" HOUSE, FARMINGTON

One of the finest examples of the "overhang" and the "drop" ornament in early architecture (about 1665). Property now owned by the Farmington Village Green and Library Association established by the Newton D. Barney family. Other notable examples in that town are the "older Cowles house" (1661), the Admiral Cowles house and the Obadiah Alcorn house.

and Anthony Howkins. The Indian camp was on the east side of the river where the memorial to them now stands. Later the reservation was west from the fertile meadows, back from the commons and the hay fields. The Mettabesecks were allowed a place on the stream of the same name to the southwest. Queen War-

warme, "sister and only heir of Sequassen," who had lived south of Little River in the early Hartford plantation, had moved with the remnants of her tribe to this locality, and was to spend her last days there.

The list of purchasers contained such well known names as John Steele, Elder William Goodwin, Andrew Warner, Stephen Hart, William Lewis, Roger Newton, Matthew Webster, Thomas Barnes, Richard Brownson, George Orvice, Deacon Thomas Judd (who moved to Northampton), Deacon Isaac Moore and John Lomes, who later went to Windsor. Several others, including Governor Haynes, Samuel Wyllys, Edward Hopkins and Thomas Welles also bought land there. The Mettabeseck section was to become New Britain and Berlin. It was from this section that a number removed to Waterbury within fifty years.

The commons of several acres was also, of course, the meetinghouse yard. The military leaders were Captains William Lewis and John Stanley, Ensign Thomas Hart and Sergeant William Judd. They joined with Governor Haynes and Pethus as witnesses to a formal expression of appreciation by the Indians who mingled freely with the settlers and whose children had school privileges. In the formal written treaty, the Indians were allowed, without right to sell, except by leave, two hundred acres of upland from Round Hill southward. For this the Indians gave a quit claim deed in 1681. At the time of the Stamford massacre, the General Court recognized need of precautions and during the Colonial war period houses were fortified and provided with ammunition.

By unsupported tradition the family of John Hart, excepting one son, were burned to death in a fire that consumed their home in 1657, and the same year Mr. Scott's house on the outskirts was destroyed, for which the Indians had to pay tribute for seven years. A year later there was firing from the Indian reservation where visiting Indians of unknown antecedents had been received. As this was taken to mean the possible stealing in of Mohawks, the reservation was moved again. John Hall wrote in his diary that Indians killed a woman and her maid and burned their home; the murderer was brought to Hartford and executed "as a butcher fells an ox."

In the church built in 1708, "guard seats" were provided for twenty men to keep a lookout during services. Still later the men of the Tunxis tribe were obliged to pass in review every morning before the daughter of Deacon Lee, for whom the Indians had great affection. The Indian village was then near the junction of the Pequabuc with the Farmington River, known as Indian Neck, a center for fish and game. For nearly twenty years prior thereto, they had had a food allowance for the children, many of whom were attending school. By 1751 seats for Indians had been provided in the church.

It was in that period that raiding Stockbridge Indians from Massachusetts came down and fought the Tunxis men in the meadow north of the village but were driven back with the aid of the squaws and almost exterminated. About 1750, game becoming scarce and the Indians drifting away, the "Christian Indians" removed from West Woods to Brotherton, New York.

It is presumable that the Hartford men who made the early purchases of land were too absorbed in their Hartford affairs to concern themselves about the western frontier for some years. There was still the discussion about the intervening territory of the West Division, now mostly West Hartford. "Tunxis" was a sort of reserve, a wealth to be developed after that nearer home had been given attention. There could be no church services without "Sabbath Day privileges" in accord with Congregational rules, and the Hartford church was not impelled to grant them till after Mr. Hooker's death in 1647—nor, indeed, immediately thereafter because of the disruption that was to come in choosing Mr. Hooker's successor.

The church members who did take up their holdings among happy and friendly Indians were obliged to go into town on Sundays. Seven settlers formed the first



WHITMAN HOUSE, FARMINGTON, ABOUT 1660

(Courtesy of The American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)

church society in 1652 with Roger Newton as their pastor. While studying in Hartford under Mr. Hooker, he had come to Farmington frequently. Later he had married Mary, the daughter of Mr. Hooker and was more welcome than ever, preparing the way for that Hooker family influence which is appreciable to this day. Mr. Newton accepted an invitation to the Milford church in 1658, where he served till his death in 1683. In the ecclesiastical discussions of his time he took a scholarly part.

Mr. Hooker's son, Thomas, succeeded Mr. Newton, after graduating at Harvard in 1653, and continued there until his death in 1697, conspicuous in the growth of

the Commonwealth. He was one of the committee to arrange with New Haven for a union of the colonies, a purpose not to be accomplished till the charter of Charles II was secured. His daughter, Mary, was the wife of the Rev. Mr. Pierpont of New Haven and the mother of the wife of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards.

Farmington together with Wethersfield was to become a suburban place of residence for Hartford families. In the present generation it still has an exceptionally large number of descendants of the settlers, and it has lost none of its charm.

Not including the Long Island settlements, which, with the exception of Huntington, were purchased under the old Plymouth Council grant to the Earl of Stirling (Huntington having been bought of the Indians by Governor Eaton), these were now all the formal settlement before the forming of the New England Union. It is impossible to determine when a "town" was recognized in the earliest days. In Massachusetts it was a matter of designation by the Colonial government. In Connecticut, the spirit of independence prevailed. For purpose of tax rates and collections there must be a constable. Formal recognition of townships came when deputies were admitted to the General Court. That might be some time after the first settlement, according to petition or suggestion, or when a community had a church and a voice in general legislation, and when it could contribute to the general fund.

Saybrook was in close relationship with Hartford but it was still the property of the "lords and gentlemen" under the Warwick patent, even though Connecticut did name Fenwick, one of the commissioners, that created the confederation. Winthrop, Sr., was writing that the Bay had been consulting him about the Warwick territory but Fenwick did not feel free to discuss it till he knew what his associates in England wished to do with it. It was not a good time for colonizing anywhere and Cromwell was not likely to need a place of refuge. Haynes, Ludlow and John Steele, taking Hooker with them, appear to have lost no time in getting down to Fenwick, and, doubtless, to begin arrangements with him, which were to end with Fenwick's becoming a Connecticut commissioner in the confederation and also in the purchase from him of the Warwick patent rights in 1644, making Saybrook a Connecticut town and developing more very dramatic history—to be taken up farther on.

CHAPTER XIII.

America's First Union

To Assure Salvation—Natives and Dutch Create Problem—Indian Executes
Indian by Court and Church Order—Hartford's Alarm—
Power of Uncas—Warwick's Rhode Island Charter.

If in the mid-twentieth century the American people, reinforced by so many thousands from foreign shores, are studying more profoundly than ever the origin of their liberties here, it is not sufficient to calendar events in the founding and development of those liberties. For perpetuity by present and future people it is essential to be familiar with the character and methods of the independent builders and sustainers who first hewed out the path in the wilderness of governmental ideas as well as of literal forests. They were very human; their foibles, in retrospect, reflect that. But they withstood chicanery, broke heartstrings under compulsion, though only to have them renewed, and gave the world the United States—its free government, its commerce and industries, its institutions and its homes.

Today, history of the accepted fact is not enough; there must be with it the story of their many problems, a manifestation of the spirit, with the humanities that flesh is heir to. It is the story of freedom that is demanded. Nor can it be comprehended without a vision of what was transpiring in the native land.

At this immediate juncture, on the eve of Hooker's death, Massachusetts was in need of harmony; Hartford and New Haven, of defense against Indians and encroaching, business-minded Dutch; Plymouth, of sympathy and encouragement, and all of them, of self-reliance. These were the first "growing pains," not to be foreseen on departure from ancient England, itself a development of centuries.

While the internal commotions in England appeared to justify the New Englanders in their early hope to maintain civic independence if it should be necessary—as surely it had become—there was the realization that, in the immediate hour, it was a matter of "united we stand, divided we fall." Whatever their hard-headed differences, they were at one in their opposition to a monarchized church and they were of one race, of common, proud traditions and national supremacy, up to the vital present. With democracy's urgings, the Englishman's boast of freedom should mean something more than it had yet meant.

To that end the colonies must form a union. There were ecclesiastical councils—deliberative assemblies of the clergy from all New England sections, both liberals and orthodox. But there were other than contestable church matters, other than their flight from the native land, to be considered. Existence must not be threatened.

At home the kernel of real democracy had been trampled. The fall of the Huguenots in France had been followed by the crushing of Protestantism in Germany. Reaction in England had forced the King to reassemble Parliament, but candidates of his church party were defeated. Restoration of the old Bill of Rights was demanded. Denial of free speech had shaken the House of Commons as nothing ever had done before. Men had wept. John Pym, the first exponent of the principle that power originated with Commons and not with the bishops and the House of Lords, rising in his place had opened his lips, had bowed his head and had sat down in tears. With Laud, popery was in the ascendancy.

Distracted and disunited as they may have become in arranging their American homes, Winthrop, Hooker, Davenport and Williams could not forget their own history.

And now, in the 1640's, the Long Parliament was on, refusing to yield power if dissolved; Pym and Hampden holding sway; the brutal Strafford's head falling at the block; papists in tortured Ireland killing right and left, thousands falling, in blind fight of Catholics urged by the King against Protestants; Parliament declaring that it was only opposing tyranny of bishops; Pym asserting that if Parliament were thwarted there would be appeal to the people, a majority of whom were of Puritan faith, and Scotland ready to aid them; London asserting its fealty to the Pym party; the masses crowding to Westminster when the King withdrew the soldier guard; Hampden and Pym declared traitors when Charles himself had scornfully pursued; both of them triumphantly returned to Westminster by the King's own guard; the populace jeering at Charles in the streets; the Queen across the channel to sell the crown jewels to raise funds for resistance; columns of freeholders marching on London to protect their Parliament with their lives; the Tower and arsenals blockaded; bishops excluded from the House of Lords; universities and nobles pledging the King arms and funds; Puritan enrollment in the militia; Warwick in command of the Parliamentary navy; the people contributing more loans, and Charles exclaiming: "If I granted your demands I should be no more than the phantom of a king."

The great civil war was on and with early results in favor of Charles. In Virginia there were indications that royalists might assume an attitude unfriendly to the New England Puritans. News came to remote New England only at intervals but it could be interpreted readily and sadly. On the face of it, it meant that in case of apparently immediate need of aid for the colonies, there could be none, and this, too, at a moment when the Dutch and the rum-crazed frontier Indians were fretful with their claims for everything west of the Connecticut.

Now latest news from the homeland was more favorable. Cromwell had reorganized the mob-like army with his more sober-minded, farmer "Ironsides"—a matter of cropped-hair Puritan "Roundheads" against "Cavaliers." A genuine

Church-of-England spirit had been evidenced, rid of Laudism; Presbyterianism was asserting itself, and to its Scotch camp, Charles had delivered his person, in hope of setting creed against creed—but, as he wrote, for “extirpating” both Presbyterians and Independents, “so that I really shall be king again.” His refusal of Parliament’s terms was to lead to retirement of the Presbyterian army (receiving largess) to back beyond the Scotch border.

At this stage there is foreign evidence enough to show why there was need of such a body as the United Colonists of New England. Without this evidence from England, so generally omitted from Connecticut history, the conception of the first union for liberty in America cannot be fully understood. The suggestion for such a union had come on the occasion of a visit by Hooker, Haynes and Ludlow immediately after the Pequot War and after letters of New Amsterdam to Boston with view to creating New England dissension.

At that time there was still question in Winthrop’s mind as to Connecticut’s liberality on the subject of church membership and the privilege of voting. On May 19, 1639, however, the same men received a more cordial welcome in Boston and together they devoted a month to reviewing the situation. The Massachusetts General Court took favorable action, but with canny desire recorded that the Dutch “might not notice any breach or alienation” among the English. That whisper meant it was no time for conflict.

Moreover, in the background there was a Massachusetts thought that the Bay Colony was entitled to some of the territory of the conquered Pequots. Parenthetically—that was to be a fly in the ointment for some years, with various inklings of it in correspondence and records, going to the extent of its being said, in one of the disputes, that it had been understood that the territory east of the Pequot (Thames) River belonged to the Bay. This whole question may have been one of the reasons why Haynes, Ludlow and John Steele, taking Hooker with them, went down to Saybrook to see Fenwick. His appointment as a commissioner to the Congress of the Union followed, together with Connecticut’s buying from Fenwick all the Warwick patent’s holdings around Saybrook, including territory in question. Later there was to be abundant publicity on this delicate point in Connecticut history.

Since this Union was the precursor of Franklin’s Albany Convention and still later of the convention of the colonies in the days of the Revolution, it is entitled to full consideration here. Of the preliminaries Winthrop wrote that “the differences between us and those of Connecticut were divers; but the ground of all of us was their shyness of coming under our government, which, though we never intended to make them subordinate to us, yet they were very jealous.” (In this he may have had in mind the confusions due to the lack of real boundary lines between his colony and Connecticut, the story of which will be summarized later.)

Winthrop goes on to say that the chief article as proposed by the Bay was that in case of failure to agree, the commissioners should meet (apparently in particular session) and the majority of them settle it, while Connecticut contended that if the commissioners did not arrive at an agreement the matter should be referred to the respective colonies and the commissioners return “with advice”—

which Winthrop thought, "would have been infinitely tedious" "and never would have attained the end, for it was very unlikely that all in the churches of all the plantations would ever have accorded upon the same." (Here again appears the Bay insistency of church-membership for the electorate, shared also by New Haven.) Winthrop's idea was to have Congress adopt laws, rules and regulations itself whereas Hooker (and Ludlow) would reserve right of further consideration, in event of disagreement, to colony legislatures or general courts.

The "whereas" of the September 7, 1643, articles adopted, sketches the history of the colonies: All came to advance the kingdom of Christ and enjoy religious freedom; the settlements were more "dispersed" than was first intended and they were encompassed by "people of several nations and strange languages" which might prove injurious now or for future generations; the natives had proved troublesome and dangerous and "have of late combined themselves against us." Conditions in England prevented protection.

The articles themselves prescribed that each colony should have its own jurisdiction and government. In war, expense should be borne by each according to the number of males from 16 to 60 years of age; any advantages from war to be distributed on the same basis. On notice of invasion of any colony, aid should be furnished to the amount of one hundred equipped men from Massachusetts to forty-five from each of the other colonies; or adjoining colonies could help each other; if need of greater numbers, the commissioners must pass upon it; if invasion was by fault of plantation or colony so invaded, indemnity must be paid the invaders and nothing be paid by the commissioners. Two commissioners from each colony should judge on all matters of war or peace and on receiving more confederates or plantations. If less than six out of eight commissioners failed to agree, the matter should be referred back. Regular meetings would be held each September, in Boston first, then in Hartford and in New Haven and Plymouth in order.

At each session a president should be chosen by at least six votes but he should not in any case "cast the scales." Authority was given the Congress to prevent or settle matters which might lead to war. A servant fleeing from his master should be returned by the colony to which he fled; the same with escaping offenders, on warrant. "And for the Justest wars may be dangerous," no colony or any of its members shall have a part in any that have not been approved by at least six of the commissioners. No charge of any confederate for a war should be considered unless it had been approved by the commissioners. In case of sudden war when all could not assemble, four might decide, but on matter of expense, six would be necessary to decide on the justice of the war. The articles were duly amended in 1662, after New Haven had been absorbed under the Connecticut charter.

It must not escape notice as the history proceeds that the colonists supposedly were in the nature of missionaries to the heathen. The Articles of Confederation were explicitly in accord with the spirit in which any nation was authorized by Christianity to step upon American soil. That was the spirit of propagation of Christianity, the spirit which had been established by the Pope himself when his church sovereignty was universal and which had been the avowed will of English

sovereigns in granting charters. It implied reasonable purchase of land but without use of arms except in defense of purchased rights. For the most part the principle was fairly well recognized by the adventurers from England. The natives proved receptive, welcoming the new customers for fish and furs and also the pots and kettles given for the land rights. It was not, probably, with an Old World conception of a deed unless the holder of the deed was a stronger man than the giver himself or the holder's strong Indian neighbor.

One of the first matters for the Union commissioners to consider, aside from the Dutch situation, was the scar left by the Pequot War. Chief Miantonomoh of the Narragansetts, friend of Roger Williams, stood aloof in that affair. Uncas, a Mohegan, we have seen in friendly relations with the Connecticut Colony from the beginning, while in a political turmoil with his neighbors. At the time of the white men's victory, Mononotto was not accounted for by the Mohawks who slew Sassacus and his immediate followers then escaping, as an act of friendship with the colonists. It later was thought probable that the head set in the crotch of a tree at present Sachem's Head was his.

As a tribe the surviving Pequots were placed in charge of nearby friendly Indians. Some of them, however, after the custom of the times, were sold as slaves in the colonies and the West Indies. Among them were the wife and children of Mononotto. As the squaw had been very kind to the two Wethersfield girls kidnapped before the battle and had assisted in securing their release from the Dutch, Miantonomoh, "in the presence of white people," took offense at this treatment of her and strengthened his words with reflections upon Uncas who, he believed, was using his share of the Pequot prisoners to increase his own power.

The decision was that the Pequots should be re-distributed, half to Uncas and half to the Narragansetts, sealing the matter with a treaty between the two chiefs and Connecticut, the Indians to pay tribute for their portions. Connecticut took the Pequot land and was to see that the Indians maintained friendly relations. The colonists had not yet measured the purport of "friendly relations" in the red man's mind.

Uncas never forgave Miantonomoh for his complaint to the white men. However, he was to go about busying himself with the real estate rights allowed him, making many sales in northern New London and southern Tolland and Windham counties at nominal prices which, he was to maintain, were merely for the privilege of hunting game, according to ancient Indian custom, and not to own unless the government gave consent. That was to be a bone of contention in the courts some years thereafter. Captain John Mason, who purchased extensively in that region, devoted much of his time to it. (The General Court in 1665 forbade such sales.)

Uncas' animosity toward Miantonomoh was increased by that chieftain's alleged reports to the authorities about the Pequot prisoners and his quarreling "roughly" with a relative of Miantonomoh. That relative was Sequassen of the Hartford Indians. Events had come in rapid successions while the colonists were formulating their Articles of Confederation, a fact which may account for the pre-

dominance of the Indian subject in those articles when there had been nothing but the "treaty" after the Pequot War to govern Indian relations. Early in this year of 1643, a Narragansett had hurled a knife at Uncas and had wounded him "near the heart." Uncas, in accord with the Indian treaty, had taken his would-be slayer to the Massachusetts authorities who summoned Miantonomoh for a hearing. After a decision that the accused be turned over to Uncas, the stalwart Miantonomoh was granted leave to take the fellow home with him first, and then had killed him on the way. Soon afterward Uncas and a small party of Mohegans were attacked and one was killed by followers of Sequassen. On Uncas' appeal to the magistrates in Hartford he was told that it was wisest for the clans to reach some understanding. Thereupon Uncas attacked the Sequin village in Hartford's South Meadows, as that section had come to be designated, killed seven and burned wigwams.

This brought Miantonomoh to the Hartford authorities who assured him that they could take no part for or against the Mohegans and matters must be settled peaceably among themselves. Apparently their belief was that there always would be quarrels but no serious outbreak. An appeal to the Massachusetts authorities brought similar response. When word came that the Narragansett chieftain had resolved to take revenge on both whites and Mohegans, Connecticut asked, but in vain, that Massachusetts reinforce the Connecticut post at Saybrook. To the English mind, proceedings would soon be formulated by the articles of colonial confederation and matters here as well as in southwestern Connecticut territory be properly included.

Miantonomoh bided his time. When that came, as he supposed, he massed his forces to attack Uncas at his headquarters. Uncas' runners had made it possible for him to strengthen his forces, at his fort not far from present Norwich, with most of his best men. Then he met Miantonomoh in a parley in midfield but only to be scorned. At his signal the Mohegans rushed upon the Narragansetts, who fled before them. Miantonomoh was encumbered by a heavy corselet which Roger Williams' friends had given him; the Mohegans soon had him prisoner.

With further display of respect for English law, Uncas took the longtime Narragansett hero to Governor Haynes and the magistrates in Hartford. Clearly, to the Connecticut officials, it was a case for the now established federation to deal with when the commissioners met in Boston the next September. Till then Miantonomoh was held in prison in Hartford. After hearing the evidence, the commissioners immediately ordered execution, but outside the Bay Colony and "at the next part of Uncas' own government"—which then extended to the Podunk fort across the river from Hartford. The time must be not till after the Hartford commissioners had reached home and likewise the ministers who had been called in from their synod in Boston and had given an opinion in favor of execution. When the time came, it having been reported that Miantonomoh had declared that his followers would liberate him, a detail of four musketeers was sent as witnesses of the execution and to protect Uncas.

Uncas' brother took his place directly behind the prisoner and, after a march of many miles, sank his hatchet in Miantonomoh's head on signal from Uncas.

This supposedly was at a spot now marked by a huge granite block inscribed "M—1645," set up at Sachem's Plain near Norwich and not far from where Miantonomoh had made his attack.

Twelve years after the historic Miantonomoh's tragedy, a Podunk Indian killed one of Sequassen's sachems, and One-Eyed Tantinomo, then ruler of the Podunks, refused to give up the murderer. Sequassen called upon Uncas who had had similar and various complaints against Tantanimo. Pursuant to the earlier agreements, Uncas went to the General Court with the matter, saying that Sequassen wanted ten Podunks in satisfaction and that the Podunks had offered only wampum. Sequassen would compromise on six men, but the court was wearied and bade them limit the requirement to only one man and, finally, to depart in peace and keep it, leastwise on the Hartford side of the Connecticut River. Under no condition were they to harm the white men's property. Uncas became willing to accept the murderer without the others.

Tantinomo, whose family had been active in selling land to the whites, agreed to this proposition but, instead of delivering the man, assembled his followers at Fort Hill, in present East Hartford. Uncas, as though now impressed with the idea that execution of justice among the Indians had been left in his hands, sent word that he would bring on the much-to-be-feared Mohawks. That was enough to terrify the local braves. Meanwhile Mohegans had come up through the forests. That night one of the Podunk lodges was burned and around the ashes were scattered a few distinctively Mohawk arrows. Without further show of force, Tantinomo sued for peace, gave up the murderer and Uncas' prestige was increased. When the Podunks began to move away, the court caused Uncas to intervene with a peace treaty and assurance of non-molestation, the alleged murderer having been delivered over to him.

Peace in that quarter was to prevail till 1666 when Aramamet, whose hieroglyphic appears on so many Windsor land deeds, complained that Uncas was trespassing on his far hunting grounds east of the river, in Podunk territory. Both parties went to court with the result that boundary lines were more definitely fixed and a very elaborate pledge of mutual regard was signed in Christian spirit. As further hostage to fortune Aramamet soon after gave his daughter in marriage to Uncas' third son with a dowry of many acres, so entailed that the property should go down to the daughters of the bride. Thus there was every reason for white men to rejoice over the progress of Christian civilization till it was revealed at the death of Aramamet that he had willed the land to his sons and the rest of his extensive property to his wives.

Roger Williams, of Rhode Island, earlier the most faithful friend of the natives, was now saying of them: "They are the dregs of mankind. . . . There is no fear of God before their eyes, and all the cords that ever bound the barbarians to foreigners were made of self and covetousness." And patient John Eliot, the great "apostle to the Indians," while attending a synod in Hartford, is said to have preached to the Podunks in their own tongue, beseeching them to accept Christianity. To this they replied fiercely, declaring that the white men had taken their lands and now wished to make servants of them.

The Indians were to continue alarming raids on Connecticut's southwestern and western border settlements but the last episode for the Hartford section was when a report was circulated that a plot had been discovered to murder Governor Haynes and other officials. An Indian hiding in New Haven, on being seized, was said to have confessed that he and others had been engaged by Sequassen to commit the crime and free the land. To add to the alarm Sequassen disappeared from haunts near Hartford. Thorough investigation satisfied the colonists that the story was fiction and in due time Sequassen reappeared and lived peacefully under the established régime of watchful justice.

Meanwhile Roger Williams, champion of free conscience, banished from Massachusetts, had traveled weeks through deep snow to the southern boundary of Plymouth and thence, over the line, into the lands of the Narragansetts. There he had drawn around himself a group fascinated by his ideas, including visionaries, fanatics and people of low and high status—all of them lovers of freedom—and had been successful in getting a charter from the Long Parliament, dated November 2, 1644, issued to the Earl of Warwick, Governor and Lord High Admiral of all American coasts and islands, the Earl of Pembroke, Viscount Say and Sele, Lords Wharton and Rolle and members of both houses, including Oliver Cromwell and John Pym. It was a "free charter of civil incorporation" for the Providence Plantation, later Rhode Island. What with all the array of Puritan names Williams' colony was not invited to join the Union. Williams' defiance may not have ceased to rankle in Massachusetts minds. Moreover, Rhode Island would not coalesce with Plymouth.

In this little "democracie" where all men were equal and the people tribunal, laws had to be submitted to the primary assemblies, where, withal, feuds between herdsmen and trappers were fought out and rivals for office were frank. The fear in the more staid colonies was indicated in the records themselves in which it was written in May, 1647: "Our popularitie shall not—as some conjecture it will—prove an anarchie, and so a common tyrannie; for we are exceedingly desirous to preserve every man safe in his person, name and estate." When four years later Coddington was granted a commission to govern and consequent dismemberment threatened, the tireless Williams again went to England, secured the vacating of that commission and returned with a charter for the whole of present Rhode Island, thanks to Sir Henry Vane. In its address to him the town meeting said: "Nor in this colony have we been consumed by the over-zealous fire of the so-called godly Christian magistrates." Incidentally they had trespassed over Connecticut's eastern boundary, which fact, when revealed, was to make another episode for history.

CHAPTER XIV.

Connecticut's Mystery

Warwick and His Patent—Fenwick's Part in Sale of Saybrook—Colony Wins in Contest for Pequot Land, but Future Jeopardized—New Haven's Origin.

The mysteries developing in colonization serve to keep in mind for us the degree to which the present carefully plotted territory was a confusing wilderness; the planters knew little of it and headquarters in England much less. Early guess-work, to say nothing of occasional over-reaching, was to cause trouble in the future. Questions of boundaries between colonies, like the subsequent meres between minor divisions thereof, seem natural, but questions of rights to entities of holdings are perplexing to those who are familiar with the preciseness of English laws and regulations.

What was to interest Connecticut longest and most, as a colony, governmentally, was the question of Saybrook. The intimate details have not yet been cleared up to the satisfaction of all students. Indeed, to go back to the beginnings, it is an open question with some whether the Earl of Warwick as president of the council of the Plymouth Company actually did, in those troublous times in the home-country, issue and then sell to Lord Say and Sele and other Puritans the basic patent bearing his name, covering Connecticut territory from ocean to ocean. Admittedly the original purpose of making a home for "lords and gentlemen" was not carried out. However, something of much greater human history had been realized, as has been told herein. That was the creation of a home at Hartford for the Fundamental Orders.

The Saybrook affair comes into this history in four chapters. The first was the issuance of the patent and the 1635 settlement of Saybrook, about ten miles by eight, divided by the Connecticut, under John Winthrop, Jr., as Governor, and the immediate arrangement with the Hooker company to settle in Hartford; the second, the removal of the devoted Winthrop to Massachusetts for a time, inasmuch as the "lords and gentlemen" for whom the patent was designed in distinction from commoners, were more deeply concerned in the turn of public affairs at home and were thinking more of the Bahamas and the South Seas. The third chapter covers the practical abandonment of migration plans and leaves Colonel Fenwick, with his

beautiful young wife, Lady Alice, in charge of the fort, and the immediate sale thereof, while the fourth deals with the prospect of Connecticut's losing all her rights.

For the first of these four chapters, let it be understood that without a good conception of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, himself, and his connection with the affair in its incipency, one loses much of the romance of it and the mystery is enhanced. By Van Dyke's portrait of him he was of imposing figure, with frank and engaging countenance. His fastidious moustache above his goatee did not conceal his smiling but firm lips. The forehead was broad and high. A descendant of Lord Chancellor Rich, he succeeded in 1618 to the title of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, known in history as "the king-maker" from his having made King Edward IV by his valor, howbeit he was to turn from him and fall in battle against Henry VI. The estates were among the largest in the kingdom.

The seventeenth-century earl was a devout and active Puritan, a personal friend of Thomas Hooker in the cause of liberty of thought. In the Parliamentary War he held high positions, including that of lieutenant of the fleet, and during the Protectorate was selected to bear the sword of state in Cromwell's presence. None of the ambitious and courageous was more highly esteemed than he.

The doughty Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whom Warwick quietly outwitted, had been conspicuous in the original Plymouth Company of 1606. His consuming desire was to make money out of New England by means of fisheries and commerce. When the company was reorganized November 13, 1620, he expected to retrieve his losses. His earlier hopes had been dashed by the failure of enterprises along the Maine coast, especially at Kennebec; no prestige had been gained when Captain John Smith had been admiral of his ships, and his various large commitments were in peril. He did not care whether the people he dealt with were Puritans or Loyalists so long as they supplied fish, furs and good tall timber for masts. The new company's first patent—today the oldest governmental document in America—had been sent to the Pilgrims to help them out of their difficulties in landing unintentionally on a coast they knew nothing about. By their letters he could see that there were good chances for trading facilities for such brave men in Cape Cod Bay. The Pilgrims' patent bore the names of himself, the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Warwick and the Marquis of Hamilton, who was one of a very eminent family long conspicuous in English history and one who held commercial views much like Gorges' own.

The perplexities of that period have already been reviewed, but not with relation to the Plymouth Company and the Massachusetts Bay Company in the matter of rights. Gorges knew that Puritans were subscribing to his company but he attached no particular importance to it at the moment. The Puritans were keeping matters to themselves. When, however, Endicott was sent over with some sort of an ecclesiastical notion and at Salem began to make it unpleasant for so good a peripatetic trader as John Oldham, he was disturbed since Salem was in the very heart of the territory he intended to commercialize. Then when Endicott

was followed the next year by the Winthrop contingent, he protested on the ground of proprietary rights.

He had not followed matters closely at the home office during days of apparent lethargy and probably was not conscious that the King actually had signed what few believed he ever would sign, the charter for the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He felt that he had been duped, and that, too, by his associates in the Plymouth Company, including his friend Warwick. Be that as it may, Warwick among others remained with the Plymouth Company and was president of the council while Gorges was joining the King in his efforts to undo what the King had done in a hasty moment. Gorges was instrumental in bringing about the investigation which in 1635 was to result in the demand for that charter in order that it might be cancelled. Discovery that the charter was in New England, protected by fortifications, was disconcerting. The Plymouth Company, however, could go on issuing patents, and Gorges never quarreled with his old friend Warwick, the president of his council. Conditions colonywise were lethargic; few members attended council meetings.

The lethargy was not due to lack of interest; though thousands were leaving England, there was small incentive to buy patents. Imposts were being laid heavily; Laud's star chambers were bleeding rich and poor; Hampden's attack on ship money had been silenced by a vengeful court while his defiance rang throughout the land; the Marquis of Hamilton had been jeered at when he made a threat of war against Scotland if it did not yield to the new church orders; Laud was glorying too soon over his victory in his attack on Scotch Presbyterianism; Milton was writing his elegy of *Lycidas*; tyranny had not the funds to support itself. The clouds of civil strife were darkening.

It was not an altogether distinguished group to whom Warwick sold the patent he had taken out for himself. Lord Saye and Sele, privy councillor, and Lord Brooke had been in private communication with the Bay people, with suggestion that they be made magistrates for life, on which the Bay was then making an emphatic negative decision. Lord Brooke was a mild, inoffensive Presbyterian, a friend of Puritans. Sir Richard Saltonstall already was conspicuous in the Bay Colony and was unalterably opposed to life tenure of any office. The other patentees were of no special distinction, but readily could fall within the category of "lords and gentlemen." They included Lord Rich, Warwick's oldest son, and Sir Nathaniel Rich, a near relative. Warwick in issuing the patent used his own seal, which was to develop into the seal of Connecticut. The company was not an incorporated commercial organization.

It may be well to interrupt the Warwick narrative with a word on a companion "mystery" that was long to annoy Connecticut courts, and incidentally add to the confusion over the Warwick matter.

In the last days of the council, in the mid-1630's, the members of it undertook to divide among themselves their remaining territory, all of which had been inaccurately mapped on charts made from a distance. That is how the region between

the Connecticut and Hudson rivers, in this period, was assigned to the Marquis of Hamilton. Warwick apparently had subsided after the issuance of the Saybrook rights, for matters elsewhere were commanding his attention. After the restoration, Hamilton's daughter and heir spent a fortune in trying to reclaim. In 1685, Edward Randolph pushed her claim against Connecticut before the commissioners. He lost, but there were to be echoes of the attacks upon the Warwick grant for many years.

The second chapter of the Warwick story, and fundamentally the most important, has to do with the founding of Connecticut's three river towns, previously described. For the third chapter: Governor Winthrop's term of office was for only a year, after which, turning over the management to George Fenwick, he went to Massachusetts where he had made many friends in his father's following. His heart was heavy since he had planned a brilliant future for his colony and now understood that the thoughts of the Warwick patentees were turning elsewhere. His sympathetic wife was the stepdaughter of the Rev. Hugh Peter, of Salem, who contributed no little to the ecclesiastical discussions of the hour. It was Hugh Peter who had brought him and the patentees together.

Born in Groton, England, February 12, 1606, Winthrop had studied medicine at Dublin University and law in London, where he had become a barrister of the Inner Temple, and altogether his disposition was more scholarly than disputatious. He was venturesome enough but his chief pleasure was in studying the possibilities of the terrain itself. He once had visited New Amsterdam, at his father's behest, to caution the Dutch against encroaching on English territory, with the result that he learned a bookful about Dutch geography in America. When a Dutch ship came to Saybrook, where the Dutch themselves had started a fortified post in 1624 and had abandoned it two years later for the more advanced position at Hartford, his lieutenant, Simon Willard, with his twenty men, had satisfied them that the vicinity of Gardiner's fort was no place for them.

Now, with service at Saybrook ended, he was building a house for himself at Ipswich, Massachusetts, with a view to continue his observations of this new country. Meanwhile he was exercising his medical genius to relieve the physical ills of colonists far and wide, as means of correspondence improved. Of the letters he received, he sending medicine or advice in return, seven hundred and fifty have survived through the years along with the evidence—like that of his study of spiders—of his achievements in science, natural and physical, which won for him election to the Royal Society in London in its early days.

His departure from Saybrook, leaving Patentee George Fenwick, with his beautiful wife, Lady Alice, in charge of the fort and settlement, happened to be not long before the agreement was reached for establishing the Union of New England. Before the commissioners (or congress) thereof, Massachusetts was laying her continuing claim by right of conquest to the land of the conquered Pequots—and Connecticut was buying Saybrook and strategically appointing Fenwick one of her commissioners. His Connecticut colleagues in the congress were

Edward Hopkins and John Haynes of Hartford and Theophilus Eaton and Thomas Gregson of New Haven. It was a critical moment, when the purpose of the colonies was to inaugurate a system of "mutual help and strength in all future concernment, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue as one."

Between the third chapter and the fourth, in this matter of rights under the patent, the General Court of Massachusetts had granted Fisher's Island—"against the mouth of the Pequot River"—to Winthrop who had recently returned from scientific study in England. On the shores of the island he had found an ingredient for his effective but apparently forceful panacea, "rubila." The Massachusetts grant to him could but recognize the possibility of superior claim by Connecticut or New Haven. It is to be remarked that Connecticut promptly confirmed the grant. That was in October, 1640.

In 1644, the New England Congress being well established, Massachusetts was still firm in her contention that at least that part of the territory east of the present Thames belonged to her by right of conquest, Connecticut meanwhile maintaining her rights by Warwick patent, conquest and purchase. Massachusetts had sent men to the Pequot War, who had arrived in time to participate in the pursuit of Sassacus.

This, then, leads up to the fourth chapter of the "mystery" surrounding Connecticut's documentary evidence of her vital claims. Winthrop now had begun assembling a few families near the mouth of the Pequot River (the present Thames), on the west side. He was putting up a house there for himself in the fall of 1646, which date stands today as the date of the settlement of the important port and city of New London. Massachusetts had hastened to give authorization. But the Congress of the Union where Fenwick had stood strenuously for the rights under the Warwick patent, decided, three colonies to one, against the claims of Massachusetts, in July, 1647. Winthrop altogether acquired some twelve thousand acres east and northeast of New London, settlers in that section desiring his leadership. In May, 1649, the boundaries of New London were set by the Connecticut Court and magistrates chosen. It was the suggestion of the court that the name be Fair Haven but the desire of the people for New London prevailed, respecting the fatherland and not desiring to infringe upon Davenport's appropriate use of the word "haven." The court acquiesced.

Fenwick's former associates in Saybrook were considering an Indian outpost north of New London, near the junction of the Shetucket River with the Thames, where Ensign Thomas Leffingwell recently, with food and fearless volunteers from Saybrook, had saved Uncas and his men when besieged by Miantonomoh and, as reward, had been given a large tract of land for himself and his friends. On October 3, 1661, under the town name of Norwich, its deputies were received in the General Court.

Lion Gardiner does not appear in these affairs because, after his exciting experiences at Saybrook fort, he had moved his family to the Isle of Wight, now Gardiner's Island, in Gardiner's Bay of Long Island, just across from Saybrook and Fenwick. There he could have more room. Eventually, Governor Dongan of

New York made the place into a regular English manor. In 1649 Gardiner with others bought thirty thousand acres on Long Island at what is now East Hampton. The Saybrook fort or palisado was burned but rebuilt nearby more substantially.

The "Warwick-patent mystery" which threatened to destroy the foundations of the Connecticut Colony has to do especially with that Connecticut purchase in 1644 of the Saybrook holdings for sixteen hundred pounds and with the agreement that Fenwick could collect impost on live stock, furs and corn for ten years to come



"ACADIAN" HOUSE, GUILFORD, ABOUT 1670

One of Long Island shore places where French exiles from Acadia (later New France) sought refuge in early 1700's; they were immortalized by Longfellow's poem, *Evangeline*, in 1847.

(Courtesy of *The American Scene*. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)

from vessels passing the fort. The discussion of what Connecticut actually received in the bargain constitutes the fourth chapter of the story. It was manifestly obligatory upon the lusty offspring of the patent, after the abandonment by the patentees, to acquire all of the patentees' holdings. The eastern and northern claims by Massachusetts, the eastern claims by Rhode Island (Providence Plantations) and the Dutch claims on the west, had to be met instantly, for by the attitude of each of the neighbors and the condition of affairs in England, the colony could look for help in no quarter. Fortunately the founders of Connecticut were also not without practical statecraft.

The main question has to do with what they expected to achieve and what they actually did achieve in the sudden moment of abandonment by the parental patentees.

The conditions in Warwick's office at the time of the issuance of the patent have been described, but in all his dealings in his eminent career there had been no creditable attack upon his word of honor. There is no evidence that the applicants or the earl realized the scope of the patent which they obtained and which they abandoned so perfunctorily. Say and Sele and Brooke were honorable men. If the methods of the times were in any way unscrupulous by our modern standards, it is so testified only by the discouraged Gorges, and that only in the Bay case.

If in her predicament Connecticut grasped at a mere straw, it was because it was the only thing within reach. There were those who, in greed of acquisition, would have had it fail. If in her dire necessity she set about strengthening the straw, she was obeying the law of self-preservation. Nor is she to be judged on basis of intimations in later days by those familiar with later-days' land jobbery. A complete history of the State must carry enough to substantiate these points, leaving the rest to special students of letters, records and surmises, who must arrive at the same conclusion. The charter of Charles II was to be a healing act according to the method of its day, 1662, obtained by a man of highest principles.

Governor John Winthrop, Jr., himself not a patentee, must have understood that there was the customary original patent in the London office. The holdings named therein were from Narragansett Bay to the Pacific, the western limit thus being indefinite, as customary in grants of this nature. The north line ran straight through at about present Worcester, Massachusetts, and the southern one indefinitely through Delaware, including all the islands. Connecticut's mind in 1644 was on the portion from Saybrook to the bay. Warwick in a letter in these times emphatically affirmed the issuance. He said the council did not purpose to "restrain the bounds of your jurisdiction to a narrower compass than is held forth by your letters patent." The leading patentees must have had copies, according to custom. The opinion of good researchists that the Connecticut authorities and likewise the commissioners of the Union saw a copy is reasonable, whatever the stress laid on the absence of a copy in the long-continued discussion.

In Connecticut's petition to the King for a charter in 1661, the General Court was to say explicitly that the original charter was missing but that a copy "is ready to be presented." (A copy had been found by Winthrop and over two centuries later that copy was to be found again by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull in a mass of old papers in the office of the Connecticut Secretary of State.) The petition to the King also says that "a very great sum" was paid "for the purchasing a jurisdiction right" of Fenwick, "which, they were given to understand, was derived from the Royal authority, by letters patent," "a copy whereof was produced before commissioners [congress] of the colonists and approved by them."

The directions to Winthrop, who was to get the 1662 charter, were to lay much and bitter emphasis on the purchase from Fenwick, involving the equitable transfer of the patent itself. Then—"Had we not been too credulous and confedent of the goodness and faithfulness of that gentleman, we might have been at a better pass."

The General Court's still more severe and in some respects inaccurate letter to Lord Say and Sele, for years the spokesman in England in behalf of the Puritans,

said Fenwick "took possession of the Saybrook fort, there resideing for several years; at length he was moved for end best known to himself to return to England," and thereupon "propounded by himself or agent" (which is questionable) "the sale of the fort" with all its belongings, "together with all the lands on the river and so to Narragansett Bay, with jurisdiction power to this colony, which was exceedingly opposed by several amongst us," because "likely distasteful" to the other patentees who "had very bountiful intentions to the colony" with its nondescript western boundary.)

"Nevertheless, though there was delay by reason of death," Fenwick revived the matter of purchase and he or his agent let it be understood that he had "the power to dispose of the premises," the rest of the patentees "deserting," and "it fell to his hands by agreement"; and if not bought by the colony at his terms he would impose customs or sell to the "noxious" Dutch; so "at last, for our peace and settlement and security (as we hope), we made the agreement" (copy enclosed) "at a cost of sixteen hundred pounds or thereabouts; wherein your honor can see the great abuse we received from Mr. Fenwick's hands, receiving a vast sum from a poor people and we scarcely at all advantaged thereby." Nay, the condition is worse than if we had been content with the patronage of the patentees, "for we have not so much as a copy of a patent to secure our standing as a commonwealth nor to insure us for our rights and privileges and immunities" "which we thought Fenwick had engaged to us" at a "dear rate," nor any security for "the performance of that which was aimed at and intended in our purpose."

"On the side toward Narragansett, we know not how to claim, being destitute [as they were at that time] of a copy to define the bounds." Coöperation with Winthrop, the colony's agent, was besought.

The inference from these representations is that, with Massachusetts playing off, New Haven petulantly undemocratic in its government though not in its people, the Dutch still coming on, the Indians restless and Cromwell dead, the lawful position of Hartford itself, the birthplace of free government, was indeed precarious. Monk had marched upon London and Charles II had been proclaimed King when these letters were being written.

There had been hope as long as Fenwick lived. He had returned to England on the death of Lady Alice in childbirth the year after he had sold to Connecticut, and during the eleven years before his death he had done nothing to carry through any plan with very favoring patentees. The theory that he had nothing to work with is untenable. Warwick himself was Lord High Admiral and Governor-in-Chief of the plantations and a special commission of six lords and twelve commoners was administering Colonial affairs with highest respect for the Connecticut leaders. Accordingly Connecticut continued patient till the last chance came and Winthrop, now one of the most beloved and respected citizens of Connecticut, was sent to the Court of Charles II in 1661.

Effort was made to recover from Fenwick's heirs the amount that had been paid him which altogether amounted to about six thousand pounds. The Colonial estate of his sister, Mrs. John Cullick, his New England heir, was sequestered. After about five hundred pounds had been paid the matter was dropped.

Fenwick on reaching England took the seat in Parliament to which he had been elected the previous year but immediately left for service in the field with Cromwell where in the second civil war he was colonel of a militia regiment till made Governor of Berwick and Governor of Leith, on the Scottish border. Later he was appointed to be a member of the court which was to try Charles I but at his own request was excused from acting. He served in Cromwell's army invading Scotland in 1650 and after helping clear Northumberland, his native county, of Loyalists, he was with Cromwell at Dunbar. A Scotch historian, writing of the occupation of Edinburgh Castle, said it was garrisoned with "English blasphemers under Colonel Fenwick." He sat for Berwick in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656, under the Protectorate. At the time of his death in 1656 he was Governor of Berwick Castle. In his will he left "five hundred pounds to the public use of the country of New England, if my very loving friend Edward Hopkins sees fit."

With all the details here summarized the matter is still a mystery.

Mr. Hooker was among those asked to come to England to assist in different ways. His counsel was sought by leaders in Parliament in the work of reforming the church. As the Presbyterians had the majority in Parliament at that time, he did not go as he did not wish to be in a minority.

While these anxious years were passing, the levy of duties at Saybrook for ten years had given the Bay new cause for complaint against Connecticut in addition to the continuous one about boundaries. For a time it threatened the existence of the Union itself. The limiting of the total amount a year to one hundred and fifty pounds, in 1646, did not mollify. Pynchon for Springfield and Westfield made bitter complaint. The following year a vehement protest was made to the Union's commissioners, asserting that Connecticut must not put such a tax upon up-river towns for her own benefit. The decision went against the Bay by the vote of the three other colonies. Thereupon Massachusetts was led to tax everything passing through her port at Boston for any of the other colonies, the money to be used for repairs on the harbor castle. As will be seen, the disgust of the colonies was intensified by the attitude of Massachusetts in the troubles with the Dutch and Indians and she was charged in public letters with desire to assert her superiority. When the period of levy ran out, the harbor castle's repairs may have been completed, for the imposts ceased then.

CHAPTER XV.

At Hooker's Death

His Greatest Work Not Then Realized—Winthrop's Praise—More Indian Alarms and the Union's Methods—Last Days of Uncas.

Thomas Hooker's death came at a time of keenest anxiety in the colonies. While non-secular history records him as the first to give expression to the elementary principle of free government, he was revered in his day chiefly as the shepherd of his flock. The "minister" of the congregation was the guide and exhorter; the "teacher," like Mr. Stone, was the one who formally admonished in the Bible precepts, and the "presiding elder," like William Goodwin, was the managing director. When Hooker in his "lecture" of 1638 formulated his idea of civic government, soon to be set forth officially in the Fundamental Orders for the small group of dissenters from church absolutism, the applause was that of a congregation for its pastor, without fanfare.

He was as widely known in England as in the New England colonies but it was not in anyone's thought that in his mind had germinated a principle that was to affect the future of both countries and the world. In his writings there was only passing evidence of it. Though he freely participated in civil affairs, his thought chiefly, after the manner of his times, was on theology even when Winthrop was referring sarcastically to Connecticut's leaving so much in civic business to its minister. The energetic lawyer, Ludlow, was there to shape the foundation stones and Haynes, with his sympathetic colleagues, to supervise the modest but unprecedented—and now hopefully immortal—structure.

There had been hegira twice but no sessions of diplomatists of any nations, no clash of arms—none of the clamor over the unseating of ancient monarchy like that in the Mother Country at this same hour. Nor was Hooker's place to be like that of Calvin.

The nature of his courage in breaking with his fellow emigrating Puritans was indicated in his sermon "Faithful Covenanter" in England shortly before his departure: "In the times of all dangers and all miseries, which are like to seize upon us soone, if the land should be overrun, and friends and meanes faile, here is comfort to every faithful soul—All flesh is grass, the winde passeth over it and it is gone . . . but the loving kindness of the Lord endureth. . . ." Historian Ban-

croft was to say of the "light of the western churches": "He had no rival in public estimation by Cotton Mather, whom he surpassed in force of character, in liberality of spirit, in soundness of judgment, and in clemency. They who judge men by their services to the human race will never cease to honor the memory of Hooker."

But this place he was to attain to in retrospective history could not be appreciated till the principle he conceived was to be exemplified anew in the America of 1787; and not then, perhaps, or until the whole structure of the American Institution had been completed and then analyzed. Governor Haynes and Lawyer Ludlow, Governor Eaton and John Davenport were as great men among their neighbors of 1639.

To continue the trend of the real history in its making in Connecticut, we come, then, to the end of Hooker's life on July 7, 1647, at the age of only sixty-one. Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, two years his junior and the clearest and best writer of his time in the colonies, said in his eulogy of him: "For piety, prudence, wisdom, zeal, learning and whatever else might make him serviceable in the place and time he lived in, he might be compared with men of great note, and he shall need no other praise; the fruits of his labors in both Englands shall preserve an honorable and happy remembrance of him forever."

In that which was written about him at the time, however, there was no reference to that which, after its fruition, was to be his greatest boon to humanity. He was the humble but worthy instrument in the long-interrupted advancement of a mighty cause.

With his fine physique he had lived to see the fulfilment of his second desire so necessary as a corollary to the first, and that was the idea that in union there is strength. Of the four colonies, Connecticut, Plymouth and New Haven were republics or commonwealths and the federation was likewise independent, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions in England. There was all sympathy with Parliament but a disposition to keep entirely free. Indeed, there never had been a Parliamentary power over the colonies and there had been no reason for creating it now. Parliament had claimed that right by appointing a Colonial commission but there had been no attempt to act till after the civil war.

Hooker's last controversy with his respected friend Winthrop had been concerning boundary questions, when he had been severe about Pynchon's claim of Springfield for the Bay State. He could begin to see the way clearing for the boundary on the east when he fell victim to an epidemic which swept through New England. Winthrop said of it: "It took them like a cold, and a light fever with it. Such as bled or used cooling drinks, died; those who took comfortable things, for the most part, recovered, and that in a few days." Hooker was stricken the morning after a sermon of encouragement July 4. On his last day, the 7th, when he was besought for a word about New England's present situation, he replied: "I have not that work to do now." A visitor remarking upon the reward of labor, the dying minister asserted firmly, "I am going to receive no reward, but mercy," and "with a smile on his countenance," he closed his eyes with his hands and passed away.

Seemingly the colonies never were in greater need of the strength afforded by the Union than in the years immediately following. The execution of Miantonomoh

—or more particularly the method of it as directed by the Union commissioners—had been as a spark to dry grass for the proud Narragansetts who were extending their influence over the Niantics under Ninigret and the remnants of the Pequots. Canonicus and Pessacus and other sachems of the Narragansetts, hitherto peaceful followers, were committing atrocities in utter contempt of the treaty signed in 1644 after their display of wrath following Miantonomoh's death. From Virginia came accounts of whole settlements being wiped out and of alliance with northern Indians for an extermination.

In hope of ending disputes between the Narragansetts and the Mohegans, the commissioners sent word to their leaders to attend a session of the commissioners in Hartford. Uncas appearing for the Mohegans resented the representation of his old enemies that he had accepted from them a ransom for Miantonomoh and that he had refused to return it after the execution. Decision was in his favor. Overawed, the Narragansetts were brought to agree to have no hostilities till after the following year's planting season and after a thirty days' notice to the colonies. The effect of the Union was indicated when the four Indians from western Long Island came to attest their loyalty since the Pequot War, in return for which they desired formal recognition by way of certificate and assurance of English good-will.

Despite their pledges the Narragansetts the following year swarmed into Uncas' reservations and besieged him in his fort. It now was obvious that the Indians who had been so friendly to Roger Williams had become the most dangerous of all in the east and runners from the Great Lakes and the southern Hudson River section caused revival of the report that alliance was being made with the Mohawks and Algonquins for concerted action against all whites. This was about the time of the disturbances in Farmington which in later years, local records having been burned, were considered to be simple matter of tradition in most part. It also closely followed the date of the massacre of the Hutchinson family near what is now New Rochelle. While Saybrook men went to the aid of Uncas, besieged in his fort, a special session of the Union commissioners was called and request sent to the Indians to report their intentions. The Narragansetts made disdainful response.

As no word from Roger Williams would longer avail and rumors were multiplying, the commissioners decided to prepare at once for war. By their proclamation three hundred men were to assemble, under proportionate levy on each of the four colonies, to be commanded by Major Edward Gibbons of Massachusetts and Captain Mason and Lieutenant Robert Seeley of Saybrook. Dismayed by this display of strength, the hostiles sent a messenger to Governor Winthrop, bearing presents and promises yet still desiring to avenge the death of Miantonomoh. The presents were returned with information to the sachems that they must at once attest their regret for all previous misdemeanors and pledge peace, with the understanding also that what they had said about Uncas and the death of Miantonomoh was false.

Thereupon Pessacus headed a body of sachems who lamented the misunderstandings while presenting a staff of the commissioners as emblem of their submission.

They put their signatures to a new treaty in which it was stipulated that they must give back to Uncas all captives, canoes and any other property, give hostages and pay "two thousand fathoms of good white wampum" in instalments.

That was a heavy price to pay. Wampum—the best of which came from a place on Long Island—was a precious medium of exchange. It was worked out from the inner part of the periwinkle or cockle, some of it white and some blue with touch of purple. The strings were of various lengths with value based on the fathom or six feet. Further, the shells were worked upon leathern belts for ornamentation and for recording events. Such records would be gone over frequently by the older men and squaws in the presence of the children in order that the memory of brave deeds or festivals or deaths might be carried on through the years. Value was determined in part by the color and in part by the workmanship. Drake in his *Making of New England* says "Wampum was sometimes given as pledge of private friendship. There is no instance of such a promise ever having been broken."

Again the Indians proved faithless. No wampum was forthcoming. Instead, a Massachusetts tribe, the Pocomtocks, together with Mohawks, were brought into alliance with the Narragansetts to fight the Mohegans. Word of this received from friendly Indians, Thomas Stanton was sent to Pocomtock with a few men. Stanton's message was of such nature that the Pocomtocks gave up before the Mohawks arrived yet did considerable damage to Rhode Island property on their way home.

His ambition to be considered the head of all Indian groups in southern New England Uncas had cleverly fostered from the time when he was plotting for the supremacy in his own tribe, the Mohegans, which dated back to the day of the arrival of the white men. Considerably above his race in intelligence, he immediately had perceived the superiority of the whites in weapons, genius and in increasing numbers; they could be brought to see that they needed him and he surely needed them—originally for personal aggrandizement and latterly for financial increment. When historians condemn him for trickery and double-dealing, they have to condemn also the selfish ambitions of white men in various lands and ages whose paths through ruin and bloodshed may have led to temporary glory, with pæans rather than curses. With this view of it, Uncas becomes one of the most notable men in New England lore.

Having removed the popular Miantonomoh—and by lawful method, somewhat theatrically advertised—he had to fight still more vigorously for existence. Had he killed Miantonomoh in any traditional manner, it would have remained for him simply to maintain his prestige among his own race. But when he had followed the white man's law and the inept directions of the court, together with the clergy's synod, he had chosen for himself a powerful, even if suspecting, alliance and an alliance full of peril for himself. His wisdom was almost certainly self-sacrificial but it placed him among the great of his day without regard to color. And, in the spirit of Anglo-Saxon fairness, whatever the error in court directions when viewed in retrospect, that alliance could but establish protection for him.

True to their instinct—not exclusively barbarian—and mastered by Uncas that day in open field with the treacherous Miantonomoh in his grasp—the next resort of the Narragansetts and their friends, the Niantics, was bound to be assassination. Accordingly those two vengeful tribes, still utterly disdainful of white men's principles, sent a bold fellow to kill Uncas on his boat. The knife, as once before, almost penetrated Uncas' heart.

On his recovery he went to the commissioners with his tale. Ninigret and Pessacus, charged with conspiracy, were haled to court and sent home with a warning to remember their pledges, including the wampum fine. The accused Indians were humble but forgetful. As time went by, the commissioners dispatched Captain Humphrey and twenty men to collect the wampum so long overdue from the Narragansetts. Pessacus detained the officer with details of the inability to keep the agreement, meanwhile slyly assembling his warriors. Humphrey put a pistol to his head and the wampum was forthcoming. Ninigret paid in like fashion. There were other bickerings with the Pequots, who finally were redistributed: with the Mohegans, whom Uncas still held in hand, and with the Narragansetts till the tragical King Philip's War in 1675. After Uncas had sold considerable land, after he had acquired a necessitous familiarity with land courts in his association with Captain Mason and after a formal agreement, between himself for the Mohegans and Governor Leete for the Colony, had been signed in 1681, he spent his last days in peace. For hours and days he would sit by his door, smoking his pipe dreamily and nodding his head to the white passersby. He was buried at Norwich near the site of his old fort and village.

The land he had deeded to the Norwich settlers in 1659 for \$350 included over nine square miles. One of the founders of the town was Lieutenant Thomas Tracy of an old English family who bought of the Indians the land on which stands today one of the most distinguished residences in New England, built in 1770 with a wealth of Grecian pillars and great fireplaces for Samuel Huntington, to be Governor from 1786 to 1796, a member of the Continental Congress and signer of the *Declaration of Independence*. The modern owner caused to be carved on a large granite chimney, above the roof of the house, a suggestive likeness of Uncas. Ethnologists far and wide had sought for guides in the sculpturing. The resultant conception differs somewhat from that of the bronze statue of the New York huntsman at Cooperstown, New York, erected as a tribute to James Fenimore Cooper, author of *The Last of the Mohicans*. Notwithstanding the difference in characters to be typified, the discussion in recent days drew so many people that it became necessary to close the house to the public for a considerable time.

The "Old Burying Grounds of Norwich Town," an acre and a half, were laid off in 1700 from what became the Huntington property. The tomb of Governor and Mrs. Huntington is located there. In the Indian burying ground at the "Falls" there is a memorial to Uncas, the corner stone of which was laid by President Andrew Jackson in 1833. The monument on Sachem Street was erected by the women of Norwich in 1842.

However well the discipline of the commissioners had brought the Indians under control, with Uncas a kind of over-lord for the Connecticut fire-eaters, dwellers in the settlements did not gain full peace of mind. While the town bell-ringers did not go around so long before daylight to make householders get up and light their fires, the number of guards at church or other public services was not diminished and men continued to carry weapons to the woodlots and fields. The only real offensiveness, however, was when the squaws with papooses on their backs and older offspring behind them appeared most inopportunately at doors or windows with some unneeded article to sell and with slanting glances from their keen eyes that were not wholly reassuring. Cleanliness is next to godliness, and they were a long way from that.

The reason why Farmington's efforts at schooling were not emulated may have been that the Suckiaugs of the South Meadow village at Hartford were not of a kind to lend encouragement. A sense of peril filled the air. It may have been this, on their side also, which finally caused their women to march in column in the middle of the road when they came to town for shopping, their children ahead, their men straggling along behind. Sale to them of liquor of any description was forbidden under heavy penalty. But their maize made an appetizing dish. So strong was their ancestral pride that few would accept any position of servitude, with the result, there being then few negro slaves, that the burden of domestic duties fell heavily upon unaccustomed shoulders.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arbitration—Preparedness

Character of Haynes—Ludlow's Office—"Treaty of Hartford"—
Stuyvesant's Diplomacy—Courageous New Haven.

With a total population of not more than a fair-sized village, much history was being crowded into the first ten years of the New Haven and Connecticut colonies. Absorbed in the laying of the novel and rough foundation stones for what was to become an unprecedented structure, one hardly has the time yet to look into the faces of the workmen in their homes—men and women in their wholly unwonted apparel and with crudest of implements, whether self-devised or brought with them, for field, kitchen and conveyance. Such items of household impatiently beckon the "human-interest" reader, but the jolts, the blunders and the steady achievements in affairs of state must, for further moment, command attention. While as a matter of fact boundary lines between colonies were the tares to threaten the vines, however lusty, the struggle for the mere right to exist in chosen places on God's earth was still in process of test. And that is the fundamental.

The wisdom in the forming of the confederation of the colonies had been signified in the handling of the Indian problems. An Englishman preëminently is guided by precedent. He had none here. In noting his blunders from our vantage point, which, indeed, we owe to him, one does not fail to note also his sustaining complacency. The Englishman had struck hard when danger came to his very door. After that he had resorted to his native diplomacy with no more error than still marks the exercise of that art.

There were among these some whose names do not appear frequently in discussions but are written high in the records. John Haynes of Hartford was one of them. In his native town of Holt, Essex, he had inherited and had acquired an estate, coming into the ownership of Copford Hall from which manor he derived a thousand pounds a year, a large sum for those days. One of his sons in later years wrote of him that "he nearly ruined his family" by having, in all, eight thousand pounds sent to him during his twenty years here and one thousand pounds of his second wife's estate, "so that the children by his first wife suffered exceedingly." An eminent Colonial biographer described him as of "heavenly" mind,

"dear to the people by his benevolent virtues and his disinterested conduct." As in so many other instances, his family was disrupted in the civil war. His son Robert by his first wife espoused the Royalist cause and was imprisoned in the Tower by Cromwell. His second son, Hezekiah, was a major-general in Cromwell's army and military-general of the eastern counties, and upon the accession of Charles II, he in turn was locked in the Tower. Pardoned in 1660, he was reimprisoned in 1661 and again set free the following year, after which he visited New England on business about Indian land held by the family. The Governor's second wife, after his death, married a son of Governor Eaton of New Haven. His grandfather, John, had been an esquire in the county of Hertford.



HIGHLAND LAKE, WINSTED

Haynes' career can be dwelt upon as giving an exceptionally good idea of the peculiarities at the beginning of free government in Connecticut. Under their unprecedented Fundamental Orders the founders had had to work out new formulas, experimental at the outset but perfectly adaptable not only under the Fundamental Orders but again under the charter of 1662 and, indeed, until the Constitutional Convention nearly two centuries later. Even then, and for modern times, under a Federal Constitution, the foundations did not have to be changed. In fact, they became the model in the matter of human rights.

At the time Haynes left England he had learned that he had incurred Royalty's wrath by his failing to inflict severe penalties upon dissenters in his minor court

and by his friendship with Winthrop and his associates. Cordially welcomed in the Bay Colony, he was chosen a magistrate in his second year at Cambridge and was appointed one of seven men in charge of "all military affairs whatsoever." It was not by his desire that he was chosen Governor of the Bay Colony in 1635, and that, too, over his friend Ludlow. He turned back his salary "partly in respect of the love showed toward him and partly because he observed how much people had been pressed lately with public charges, which the poorer part did much groan under." At the time of the building of the House of Hope at Suckiaug (Hartford), he had sent the message from Boston warning Governor Van Twiller of New Amsterdam that that territory belonged to England under Royal Charter.

Taken altogether he believed that there had been too much leniency in administering Massachusetts Government as a whole, in what particular it is hard to discover today. There apparently was more complacency among the different factions during his term of office than during his predecessors' but it fell to him to sign the unpopular decree for the banishment of Roger Williams after the long and complicated trial. For an opinion on the Governor's going to Connecticut with the Hooker party we can take this from Savage's history: "He was fortunate in being Governor of Massachusetts and more fortunate in removing after his first year of office, thereby avoiding our more bitter contentions to become the father of the new Colony of Connecticut."

Without this understanding, one cannot meet the frequent comment that Ludlow was the logical candidate for Connecticut's first Governor. It stands out that Ludlow as Deputy-Governor in Massachusetts had been passed over in the choice for Governor there but, on the other hand, according to the general belief, he had been foremost in the framing of the Fundamental Orders under which the Colony was to live and, as well known, possessed both the fighting and intellectual qualities that were likely to be needed. It is difficult to conceive that politics actually entered into the first act of the framers of the first free government. Ludlow was to be given first place for the first year and thereafter was to discharge the functions for which no one else was so well qualified, even though it should come about that he never was to be chief magistrate. It can be taken as further evidence, unrecognizable though it may be in courts, that in this little group there was a stronger guiding force than can be divined in our own days of politics.

While from the distance we can see that Haynes took no dramatic part, we have it from Trumbull that "he was not considered in any respect inferior to Winthrop," and from Bancroft that he was "of a very large estate and larger affections, of a heavenly mind and spotless life, of real sagacity and accurate but unassuming judgment, by nature tolerant, ever a friend to freedom." And the voters continued voting for him.

Aversion to the mere thought of a continuous head of government may have caused the regulation that no Governor should succeed himself, but individual efficiency made it in effect a dead letter; a good Governor should be kept in line as Deputy-Governor in off years. Thus Haynes was succeeded by Edward Hopkins in 1640 and Hopkins by Haynes in 1641. (Ludlow was Deputy in 1639, 1642 and

1648; George Wyllys in 1641.) Wyllys was Governor in 1642 and Haynes in 1643, after which he and Hopkins alternated till Haynes' death in 1654. The regulation was dropped when Deputy-Governor John Winthrop was elected Governor in 1659, he continuing as such till 1676.

What in particular had led New Haven to join the Union when her two older sisters were inaugurating it had been her anxiety about her Dutch neighbors. She had felt that she was being looked upon more or less as an interloper, one who has no formally stamped ticket of admission. But unexpected dangers tend to make friends. Kieft of New Amsterdam was being relieved, to be sure, but his mischief had been done and none knew aught about his successor. In New Haven, everyone was aware, was one of the most zealous and well-backed promoters in the person of Eaton. He had not hesitated when conditions showed the way for abandonment of his prospering enterprises in highly sophisticated homeland, nor yet in his selection of an American port.

He was pleased to see friendly settlements spring up around him what though they might not amalgamate church and State so perfunctorily as he and the stalwart Davenport liked. But the pretensions of the Dutch were an affront. He was an experienced investor. When he joined others with him to buy that land in Delaware, he was confident of his rights and assured of potential profits. The rough resistance he had met with twice could have been readily overcome in India.

The Netherlands West India Company was an upstart to begin with, a would-be rival of the British East India Company; its principles were somewhat too erratic, irreligious and undependable according to solid British standards. Minuit, founder of New Amsterdam in 1626 and purchaser of Manhattan Island a score of years after the first Dutch settlers had recognized the rights of England and backed away, had been recalled because of his irregularities after his case had been brought before the council for New England, only to come back to establish a Swedish colony in Delaware, soon now to be captured by the Dutch. This was well within the memory of the English, and Kieft was another suspicious character. There was no time to be lost in confederating the English. Another year and it would be too late, whoever was in power in England. Eaton often was in conference with the practical and sober-minded Haynes.

In grandiloquent Latin of Europe's diplomatic correspondence, hastening on his side to take advantage of the Indian situation and of strife in England—which later was in accord with Holland's private notice to all Dutch settlements when she was threatened by Cromwell—Kieft sent an ultimatum to Eaton. He accused New Haven of having "an unsatiable desire of possessing" what was not hers, "against the law of nations and against the ancient league betwixt the kings majesties of Great Britain and our superiors" and of having taken territory and not having paid for damage done, as so often requested. And now you "have fastened foot near Mauritius River in this province" not only to disturb trade but to destroy it utterly, when no other men have ever questioned our right"; "if you do not restore the places you have usurped and repair the losses we have suffered, we shall, by such

means as God affords, manfully recover them" and "cast the cause of the ensuing evil upon you."

This was filed with the Congress of the Union then in session in New Haven together with Eaton's reply. The reply first asks where the Mauritius River is located. It was true they had lately been upon the Pangaset River "in the midst of these plantations," "many leagues from the Monhattoes, from your trading house and from any part of Hudson's River, at which we expect little trade but can compel none." The Indians are free to trade with any colony, "nor did we build there till we had first purchased a due title from the true proprietors." The letter then reviews the damage done the English in Delaware and Manhattan for which they had received no satisfaction. The colony "never had done or returned anything but what doth agree with the laws of God and of nations" and with "ancient confederation and amity betwixt our superiors at home." Therefore, "we refer" everything to a hearing and examination, here or in England, assured the King and Parliament "will sustain rights and liberties, who would wrong them or theirs" and that "your own principals, upon a due and mature consideration" will approve of the "righteousness of our proceedings."

The Dutch trading company thereupon made a change in directors-general. Kieft was recalled and Peter Stuyvesant was sent over. He was taken from military service in Curacao where he had been wounded and had made a name for himself. In the company's correspondence file he doubtless found a letter from Lord Say and Sele prior to the Kieft ultimatum. In this the Lord had reviewed the relations with the Dutch and maintaining that the Dutch claims in Connecticut were very weak inasmuch as only five or eight people on the Connecticut River were Dutch while the English had over 2,000, he urged withdrawal in the interests of harmony. The latest letter was from Eaton in response to one Stuyvesant had sent him. Eaton remarked that Kieft had written him in Latin, that Stuyvesant had written previously in English and now he was writing in Low Dutch which it was difficult to translate, nor would the Dutch messenger help him.

There had been another affront: one William Waterhouse, having committed some offense in New Amsterdam, had been seized in the boat of one Goodyear of New Haven, without consultation with New Haven authorities; to protect their rights, the English would take up the matter with the home governments if necessary. Stuyvesant suggested arbitration and expressed his willingness to accept the Governors of Massachusetts and Plymouth as arbitrators. The mollifying effect of this attitude was shown in the tone of Eaton's next in which he gave the sad news of Governor Winthrop's death just prior to his writing, or on March 29 (1649), and inquired whom Stuyvesant would suggest in place of him as arbitrator.

With this the subject broadened out into the whole matter of boundaries and relations in general. Connecticut meanwhile had been noting the effect of Stuyvesant's handling of the Indian question. Instead of the tricks and harshness of his predecessor, he was moderate and fair. The fall session of the commissioners would be held in Hartford in September, 1650, at which he would be welcomed, with two arbitrators, the colonies also to have two. He left it to the colonies to

appoint his two. Thomas Prince and Simon Bradstreet were named for the English and Thomas Willet and George Baxter for the Dutch.

This marks the third of "firsts" in history—namely, the Constitution, the Union and now arbitration of an international controversy.

Stuyvesant and his escort arrived in Hartford September 12. He visited the House of Hope where he naturally took Dutch view of the case but, also, where Governor Haynes laid stress upon the unclean and generally obnoxious features in the settlement. Among other matters it was a refuge for those who committed offenses in the colony and was demoralizing on the Indians, constantly inviting even wrathful condemnation among the Hartford people. Stuyvesant's suggestion that this subject lie over for a year was accepted.

In the convention attention was called to reported agreement between the Dutch and the Indians to exterminate the English, citing as example the murder of John Whitmore, Deputy from Stamford in the New Haven General Court, when he was working in his field in 1648, along with other suspicious atrocities. Stuyvesant gave assurance that there would be no continuation of any policy Kieft might have introduced. Thus matters were brought down to the boundaries question. Kieft's contention had been, it was said, that the line of Cape Cod was the eastern boundary. Without difficulty the arbitrators agreed upon a line from Oyster Bay south on Long Island and ten miles from the Hudson (with no Dutch house within six miles of the line) from the west side of Greenwich Bay northerly twenty miles and beyond that such as should be agreed upon by the two governments thereafter; and that the Dutch retain the House of Hope for the present. New Haven's individual items were credited to a blunder by an underling and assurance given. This passed into history as "The Treaty of Hartford."

Whether Stuyvesant's conduct was sincere or whether it was mere trickery can be answered both ways by the events which followed during his lifetime. His New Amsterdam council and selectmen were bitter about it. Secretary Van der Donck's entry of the affair in the trading company's home office books in 1652 was based on data he had received from New Netherland stating: That the English had envied the rich soil and had stolen it in New England without regard for "a fort here and there," coming around Cape Cod, taking the Connecticut, New Haven and adjacent places, never "peaceable possessors" and always admitting "that boundaries must be determined by superior authorities." No precise copy of the Hartford Treaty was at hand. All the arbitrators were English. They "pulled the wool" over the director-general's eyes, so that he yielded the Long Island and Greenwich lines. In the sixty miles from Cape Cod there was ample room for many more than fifty colonies and fine rivers and harbors and islands. Long Island, considering its bays, had a coastage of two hundred leagues.

The English had occupied only a part, so the sovereignty should remain with the Dutch—at least Long Island and northward up the Connecticut, thereby leaving the English enough in justice; otherwise we shall be obliged to eat out of English hands, while the country would be "open, exposed and common."

There followed extracts from the journal of the *New Amsterdam* selectmen beginning with September, 1650, in effect:

Stuyvesant went to Hartford with notice to but without authorization of the selectmen. There he was entertained "with great pomp." He returned October 11, saying nothing special had occurred and that the memorandum was being translated; he understood that rights at Greenwich and in New Haven Harbor were waived. On the 14th, Director Stuyvesant and council in assembly, he had repeated that "nothing special" was transacted and that the Amsterdam Ambassador to England would discuss the boundary question.

The regular communication, "News from New England," of the Dutch to the West India Company said in part that Stuyvesant was "treated like a prince (which pleased him)" and "it looks as though everything shortly would be English." It had been admitted that the Dutch Governor never had any claim to New Haven; an alliance was entered into for purpose of defense and trade "as good neighbors." The English had no claim on Rhode Island, so the "Governor may seek satisfaction as best he can for the prize permitted there."

This report continued that Stuyvesant on hearing the arbitrators' finding at Hartford complained against his two (English) representatives and cried, "I've been betrayed!" so loudly that those outside, fearing he had gone mad, suggested that he should be tied up. "It seems he never thought such hard pills would be given him to digest. New England is thoroughly united with the Dutch Governor to her satisfaction and is well content with him; speaks of him in terms of great praise, especially because he is so liberal and allowed himself to be entrapped by her courtesy and hath conceded Greenwich. And he hath promised and persuaded his council to confine his acts as much as possible."

The Dutch government previously had written to New Amsterdam that "if it happens that New Englanders take part in the broils we should advise your honor to engage the Indians in your cause, who, we are informed, are not partial to the English." Investigation resulted in plans for preparedness, with five hundred men enrolled in the New England colonies. Delegates sent secretly to Stuyvesant returned immediately to say he resented all imputation of duplicity.

The significance of some of this diplomacy, recently after the arbitration, is more apparent when the sequence of events in England herself is reviewed. Charles I was executed January 30, 1649. Holland was the comparatively young United Provinces of the Netherland which were staking their continued independence on their success in excelling England in controlling the seas and establishing trade colonies, for which she had shown great aptitude. So long as England could stand off the Cromwellians, there must always be the chance of reestablishing the Monarchy and former power.

However the battle turned, it is here to be reemphasized, the time for Dutch development was while the war was being waged. Von Tromp had filled the English with anxiety but when, with a horse whip at his mast head in contempt for Von Tromp's broom, Admiral Blake pursued his enemy into port, it was another matter. In other words, after Holland's past severe experiences, she had to be a nation of cool-headed prospectors, without boastfulness, and her sympathies must

follow along the line of least resistance to her development. The very change in the character of the government at New Amsterdam reflects this, with its director-general and council of selectmen and the meticulous care of the great West India Company.

It can but be noticed that Van der Donck's entry in the home office books was made in 1652, two years after the treaty, and much had taken place since, to influence Holland's sentiments. In 1650, at the time of the convention, the Dutch government had known well that war in any event could no longer be to its advantage, because of New England's strength. All that could be hoped for was the retention of the fort at Hartford. Attempt at anything else might mean loss of the upper Hudson and the fur trade. Stuyvesant had been so informed. If the New Amsterdam Council was seeking to undermine Stuyvesant, it was to fail in its attempt. He was getting a firmer grip on Delaware; hence, perhaps, his rebuff when Eaton sent another ship, in 1651, to reëstablish his Delaware settlement. Stuyvesant, upon whom a call of courtesy was made, arrested them all and released them only on their promise to return home—as he interpreted it. Eaton's wrath, with the protest of the colonies on violation of treaty only added to the jangling of the mixed races in New Amsterdam itself. Their condition grew riotous; some rejoiced over rumor that Cromwell himself would desire this territory. But Stuyvesant was to withstand it all till Charles II was to send his brother to seize everything and New Amsterdam became New York. Stuyvesant returned to it to spend his last days.

These were events that could be seen in no horoscope; the events of the hour were sufficient to demand full attention of the New England Union. New Haven's complaint was justifiable. Almost simultaneously Uncas was reporting to Governor Haynes that the Dutch were conspiring with the Indians. The commissioners charged the sachems with complicity. A delegation was sent to Stuyvesant to present complaints and demand satisfaction, to which Stuyvesant, with those instructions from home that war must be avoided, replied: "This only we know, that what you lay unto our charge are false reports and forged information." The terms of compromise which he suggested were promptly rejected by the New England delegates who left what they called "the enemy's country" in the night time.

In the council of the Union, a majority of the whole voted for war. Massachusetts, where Endicott was Governor, did not. New Haven, which had been maintaining a guard vessel in the sound, and Connecticut, both accusing Massachusetts of not living up to the terms of the compact, carried the matter to Cromwell who acted quickly. Cromwell now was strong enough not to allow his Colonial matters longer to suffer; he was not unconscious of the advantages the Dutch had been gaining. Four ships with two hundred men appeared in Boston Harbor as expeditiously as possible. The General Court of New Haven sent two plenipotentiaries to Boston to confer with Major Sedgwick and Captain John Leveret, commanding the Cromwell expedition, and to representatives of the other three New England colonies a request to plan for both men and provisions for the campaign. The plenipotentiaries were William Leete and Thomas Jordan.

Their instructions as agents were prefaced with a courageous statement to this effect: The previous September Massachusetts, though "not on the grounds of unrighteousness," had refused to act with the other three colonies and thus had broken the Covenant of the Confederation. Queries from the Massachusetts General Court had been answered by New Haven and Connecticut in November but nothing further had been heard from Massachusetts. In accord with directions from Cromwell, the New Haven agents were being sent to act with the officers from England and "such others as shall be deputed for the said treaty from the other three colonies or any of them." If all four colonies concurred, New Haven would rejoice. If Massachusetts delayed, New Haven would go on with the others, "or, yea, this colony alone would, of its utmost ability, show submission to the authority of England in a matter wherein all the colonies, or at least these western ones, are concerned."

Massachusetts had favored delay; the opinion of the elders was quoted, they saying, "it was most agreeable to the gospel to forbear the use of the sword." Finally there was refusal to abide by the decision of the majority, though enlistment of volunteers could be made within the borders. A total of three hundred volunteers responded to the call. Connecticut and New Haven each sent two hundred. A troop of horse also was formed. At New Haven, that colony's vessel and men were to be added to the fleet. But before they could get under way, June, 23, 1654, for New Amsterdam word came that peace had been declared. The English portion of the force sailed up the New England coast for the capture of Acadia, where the swarming French were to be subdued.

What the late Governor and Chief Justice Baldwin considered "the most considerable event in the life of the Connecticut Colony was in the summer of 1654." Two hundred volunteers went to Canada and the Rev. Abraham Pierson (the second), who was still a very young man, accompanied them for "their encouragement, comfort and spiritual instruction."

There had been a fair enough display of possible strength to impress New Amsterdam but the only tangible result was the achievement of Captain John Underhill who was conspicuous at intervals throughout early Colonial history, and Hartford's celebrated House of Hope was the place he chose for his exploit. The Treaty of Hartford had left it, in detail, that the Dutch could continue to occupy the house and its surroundings—which was all that they actually possessed—and the remainder, both sides of the river, should belong to the English. When hostilities threatened, the place was deserted till Underhill appeared there June 27, 1653, for two days. When he left this notice was found nailed on the door of the blockhouse:

I, John Underhill, do seize this house and land for the State of England, by virtue of the commission granted by the Provident Plantation.

It was an easy but profitable victory. Before news of the peace had become general, Underhill sold the property to Ralph Earl, of Providence, Rhode Island, for twenty dollars. On May 17, 1655, he went to the General Court for permission to sell and convey. He was refused the privilege and the General Court looked into

matters for itself. What arrangements were made subsequently do not appear but on July 18, he did sell to adjoining property owners, William Gibbons and Richard Lord. Lord's share was Dutch Point—still the name for what is left of it—the island opposite it, so infamous, and nine acres and a half of the "bouwerie" east of Gibson's lot. The Colony took over the remaining half of the "bouwerie" and one acre tract, all of which it sold in 1663 to John Gilbert. The mouth of Little River, tributary to the Connecticut, furnished harborage. The "house" was probably like others of its kind, built of logs with stone or brick at the corners. The blockhouse inside was of two-story construction, with cellar beneath and a large fireplace. The first story was divided into two parts. The storage room above was reached by a ladder. Rotted timbers, a few Dutch bricks, one of which is in the Connecticut Historical Society's rooms, and bones in the burying grounds were found in the first half of the nineteenth century. When the Hartford Electric Light Company built its great plant there in 1918, it gave the city a piece of land on Vandyke Avenue for a memorial site in the course of time.

Throughout this period of alarm there was constant fear of an Indian uprising. The settlers along the coast who did not abandon their fields went to their work well armed and at night stood guard. Friendly Indians spread the word that there would be an attack on election day, when voters would be away from home. Stamford asked permission to raise companies in other towns and appealed to New Haven General Court to pay for fortifications and guards.

A sense of undependability, caused by the attitude of Massachusetts at the beginning of the war, was token of the end of the Union in 1684. New Haven's resentment took the shape of proposing to let the institution die out. The Bay Colony, however, advocated a continuance so earnestly that the usual meetings of the commissioners were held.

It was ten years after the charter of 1662 had been obtained before Connecticut and New Haven were considered as one colony. Then the Articles of Confederation were amended by adding Article 15, to conform with existing circumstances. It said that "finally, whereas" the "first confederation," "whereby . . . the said colonies have been as hath proved very beneficial to all his majesties' subjects in these parts for their peace and security" and "the general courts have seen cause to renew," the new commissioners have approved and have been approved. John Winthrop, Jr., was a commissioner for Connecticut and his colleague, James Richards. Another Dutch war was brewing.

In August of the following year, Connecticut had addressed a stern letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the Dutch Fleet on the Hudson and had received answer that the fleet was there to "do all manner of damage unto the enemies of said States General of the United Netherlands" by land and water. The Connecticut letter was commended and it was resolved that damage to any one colony was damage to all; thus all should put themselves on a war basis with men, ammunition and means of defense—this to be proclaimed "by sound of the trumpet or beat of the drum." Connecticut's letter said that while "the chief trust of these parts did reside in other hands, from whom you have too suddenly surprised it," it must be

understood that the people on Long Island eastward from Oyster Bay, are the King's subjects, and agents have been sent to learn why Mr. Sellick's vessel was seized, and so near one of Connecticut's harbors.

Stuyvesant, so successfully maintaining the Dutch rights to everything around New York, had been before the commissioners the year before relative to Connecticut's assuming too much on Long Island and an embassy had journeyed to Hartford this same year. Connecticut asserted England's rights from the beginning as far as the Pacific, and when the embassy inquired where, then, was New Netherlands, the Yankee-like answer was, "We do not know." Meanwhile, the uneasy people of the New Netherlands were demanding that he secure satisfaction. Long Island was in revolt; the friendship of the Five Nations was being cultivated and now, in 1664, the coast was astir with anti-English agitation. How Charles II reacted is a bitter memory. The ships came over. They brought the dictum, as of March 12, 1664, which gave the King's brother, Duke of York, the territory from the Connecticut to the shores of Delaware. The fleet, under directions of Richard Nicolls, the Duke's groom of the bedchamber, demanded recruits in Massachusetts and, taking Governor Winthrop aboard, anchored at New York; New England soldiers, hardly knowing what it was all about, made their camp near Breukelen Ferry. Stuyvesant was unable to control the uproar in the city where thousands believed the hour for liberty like that of New England had come. Winthrop and Pynchon, of Massachusetts, both advocated peace.

The story of the next year and a half made an epoch in world history. Exasperation over seizures of land, high taxes and all manner of intolerable government were to involve Europe till Parliament had stayed the hand of Charles II and William of Orange had established the principle of the freedom of the seas. After the "tumult and the shouting," England resumed her sway over the provinces, and under that sway, the Indians involved, Connecticut was to suffer severely in the cause of her Mother Land.

The early military regulations called for the enrollment of all males between the ages of sixteen and twenty, except magistrates and church officers. Equipment, including two pounds of powder and twenty lead bullets, was inspected monthly. Heavy fines were imposed for absence from drills. The "train band" was composed of pikemen (the taller men) and the musketeers who were two-thirds of the total. The regulations prohibited swearing, lying, drunkenness and gaming and required contentment with their stipends. Drummers and fifers were depended upon for "call," "troop," "march," "preparation," "charge," "retreat," and "reveille."

The muskets were match-locks with bandoliers (like cartridge boxes) and the rest, a forked stick attached to the wrist for the support of the gun in action. The "match" was of tow, in three strands. Ignition was by flint striking metal. Pikes were ten feet long, spear-tipped. In addition, officers wore swords. Pistols and daggers were for use at close quarters. The men wore corselets and arrow-proof coats basted with wool—breeches of coarse linen or shag-cotton. Hats and helmets were of animals' hides, often adorned with tails. The outfits never were to appear "slovenly habited."

Drill commands were of great length and complexity, especially for pikemen. Familiar musket commands were to open, clear, prime and shut the pan, find and open the charge, charge, draw, cock and fix the match, present upon rest, give fire breast high. In formation, pikemen were flanked by musketeers.

These fundamentals in drill and exercises continued till Von Steuben came here to drill Washington's forces in the Revolution and lay the foundations of present regulations.

CHAPTER XVII.

Ludlow's Departure

Career Under Cromwell—Hopkins' Life Cut Short—Bequests Recognize
School Needs—Foundations Laid for Both Colonies.

It may be interesting to theorize upon probable effect had the colonies executed their threat to make war upon the Dutch, so promptly ended. There were still questions to be answered in the short time before there was to be another alarm. Assurance of peaceful conditions were not to be found either side of the Atlantic Ocean. People elsewhere uneasy had arrived to increase the population, not a few with the idea that this was a land of plenty aside from its being a land of free thought. The pamphlet advertising, originated by the Plymouth colonists, had had its effect.

In reality it was a time to try men's souls in a way they never have been tried since. Hooker had said with his last breath that he was going to seek mercy, not reward. "Stern, rigorous old Puritans" is an expression used by many people today whose readings have not enabled them to understand the why of it nor how, in that stress of colonizing and of variance in both biblical and governmental interpretation. There scarcely could be full harmony.

Ludlow furnishes a case in point. He was not so "tempestuous" as he has been called. He had been as severe in the Massachusetts Court as in handling the Plymouth traders at Windsor. The severity in such unwonted conditions was begot of one of the best of professional trainings in university and practice. He endured and served valiantly in a variety of capacities but was quietly to give up and leave in 1654. While holding his friends in kindly remembrance, he was ready to try other fields, and did so with distinction.

Few characters of that day better invite analysis, in this connection, and his last days were teeming with State history. He came of a distinguished family. Son of Thomas Ludlow, Knight, of Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire, and his mother, the sister of a knight, he was born in March, 1590. Sir Henry, a cousin of his, was a leader of the Puritans in the Long Parliament; and another of the Ludlow family, Sir Edmund, became a lieutenant-general, a member of Parliament and a member of the court that tried Charles I. Macaulay said of Sir Edmund, after he had been stripped of all honors and had died in exile: "He was the most illustrious

survivor of a mighty race of men, the judges of a king, the founders of a republic." Nearly all the Ludlows were lawyers. Roger's wife was a sister of Governor Endicott of Massachusetts and was related to Chief Justice Popham, a Maine founder.

Graduating at Baliol, Oxford, Roger took the course at Inner Temple and had gained experience in his profession before he came here, especially in constitutional law. His career in Massachusetts has been briefly referred to, without the emphasis which should be laid upon his influence in building up an utterly new kind of government from the foundations. He was a strict religionist but finally would not go to the extent of John Cotton. It can be said of him that his course there as in Connecticut and in the formation of the New England Union was masterful. The code which bears his name was fitting companion in free government with the Fundamental Orders which also were, in considerable measure, his work, carrying out the idea Hooker had so aptly phrased.



COVERED CORNWALL BRIDGE

If it proved to be a rough path as time went on, he had as his companions men like Haynes, Winthrop, Hopkins, Eaton and Davenport, all of the highly trained and cultured type though not as assertive as he. He never was a politician. From the outset in Massachusetts, without that training or experience in arms he had served on military commissions, and as a commissioner in the Union he was one of those in charge of military affairs. There were many duties for him to perform besides those as Deputy Governor for three terms. He performed them well and, apparently, cheerfully.

But, as in the matter of his founding Windsor, he had a predilection for development of territory in the boundless new land. And his vision of a solid, well

regulated State is marvelously indicated in the Ludlow Code. He was in the Pequot Punitive Expedition when he first saw Uncowa, present Fairfield—still one of the most inviting towns on the New England coast—and marked its strong features for commerce and for residence.

As has been said, his removal thither, with a few Windsor neighbors, for a specific location, was approved and conducted very quietly. He wanted only those of the best type to share with him in his purchases and he did not wish to lock horns with enterprising and jealous New Haven. He knew the contents of the Warwick Charter and its far-reaching western boundary, but New Haven, without a legal privilege, was doing well independently, with its federation of its own little hamlets, and possession of land was nine points of the law. When it developed that defense of possession against the Indians and the Dutch was to be most effective in attesting right, he was especially qualified for that.

From what we can see of his character, he had sensed Governor Eaton to be a man with one purpose, and that purpose to be to improve all possibilities, to acquire wealth by commerce. His independence in motive, Ludlow must have revealed on sundry occasions in the meetings of the commissioners of the Union. In discussion, especially of the ever prominent question of boundaries, they usually were in accord. He did not consider Eaton to be a man of State affairs. His own purpose, on the contrary, had to do emphatically with State and with occupancy of land to promote the carrying-out of the idea of Hooker and the extension of government. Connecticut interests were progressing well with more promise of expansion than was in evidence elsewhere, and Fairfield offered the best opportunity for the worth-while in extension in a new direction. The permission he had received from the court in 1639 to locate in that region he found to be not broad enough to cover the requirements as they were developing, inasmuch as someone else, "with purpose that might be prejudicial to the commonwealth," was stealing in. Accordingly he mapped out a larger tract. This elicited a reprimand from the General Court because it had not been consulted. Governor Haynes and Thomas Welles were sent to investigate. Upon their report it was "thought fit, upon Mr. Ludlow's assenting to the terms proposed by them, to confirm the same."

He had had enough of bickerings. His mind dwelt on large possibilities. The natural obstacles were sufficient unto the hour without internal disputes. Matters should progress to a point where harmony should be the rule with no more petty pretensions. His settlers were of like mind. The annoyances of the Dutch were more exasperating than those of the Indians because their threat was likely to be of longer duration. Let them be taught their place and civilization would advance. It was with such sentiment that he purchased land in Norwalk also. But he was destined to have an experience in bickering that wearied him.

At the time of the fear created by the reported Dutch-Indian Conspiracy, in 1653, Stamford settlers, exasperated by the delay of the colonies in getting into action, rebelled, raised a company and sought to enlist men from other towns. Goodyear and Newman were sent from New Haven to order them to respect the command of a Parliament committee that they obey the Colonial authorities, where-

upon the rebellious demanded aid in building their fortifications and a guard for the winter. A few insurrectionists were placed under arrest.

There was like dissatisfaction in Fairfield. Ludlow shared in the contempt for the Union's action in voting for war and then in delaying when Massachusetts had held back. At the time of that vote he had been attending a meeting of the Union commissioners in Boston, insisting then that soldiers should be dispatched to the Fairfield-Stamford region. He and John Cullick, another Connecticut commissioner, had been appointed at that session with power to "agitate such occasions as concern the United colonies," for Connecticut, "according to their former commission."

After Thomas Baxter, of Rhode Island, had captured a Dutch boat and brought it into the Fairfield Harbor and two Dutch war vessels with a hundred men had threatened attack, the settlers assembled in town meeting and voted unanimously to enroll in their own defense with Ludlow as their chief officer. In due form he wrote Governor Eaton, with expectation of appreciation since, as has been told, the Governor had written the commissioners that New Haven would go to war against the Dutchmen even if it had to go alone. Moreover, war had been declared by a majority of the commissioners and Parliament had ordered that the Dutch should be treated as formal enemies of England.

Governor Eaton laid the letter before the General Court which replied that "after much debate and consultation . . . the court by vote declared that . . . they saw not themselves called to vote for a present warr. . . ."

It was in the days of the witchcraft obsession. Witchcraft was being punished with death. Such a serious matter was it then that even to whisper that a person was a witch exposed the whisperer to prosecution for heavy slander damages. Two women, in Fairfield and Stratford, had recently been executed. A Fairfield man brought a damage suit against Ludlow for having said that the plaintiff's wife was suspected of witchcraft. Testimony indicated that Ludlow had said to a friend (Davenport), in the excitement attending the executions, something about intimations to the effect that the plaintiff's wife (who later was indicted for "familiarity with Satan") was a witch; he himself did not believe it. However, Ludlow made no particular defense and had to pay forty pounds damages and endure the obloquy.

This was the last straw. It is probable that at the same time it had been made known to him that Cromwell would like to obtain his services, after the manner in which he had written to others. Whatever the reason, with kindly expressions to his old friends he chartered a New Haven vessel for Virginia to visit his brother there, early in the following year. The ship's captain being found guilty of illicit trade in Virginia, at the last moment, and his ship confiscated and sold, Ludlow had to charter another.

From Virginia that fall he sailed directly for England. He arrived just as Sir Edmund Ludlow was starting to return to his post in Ireland as lieutenant-general commanding forces. In a letter the general told of his cousin's arrival and of his persuading him to sail at once with him for Ireland. The particulars of the rest of this remarkable career never were known until John M. Taylor, of Hart-

ford, in recent years discovered them in masses of record books. The man so eminent in New England history and the history of free government was named by Cromwell immediately, in November, 1654, for the important post of councillor on the commission to determine claims to land forfeited by rebels or by Charles's Parliament, or once belonging to the Crown or to officers of the church under Ireland's hierarchy.

He was assigned to duty in Dublin itself "in the administration of justice," "until he shall be otherwise disposed of as there may be occasion for the most advantage of the commonwealth." Cromwell's ambition was to repopulate Ireland after its years of rapine and bloodshed. His efforts to draw Puritans to the work already had evoked protests from leading colonials, especially after he had appealed to men like Cotton of Boston, William Hooke of New Haven, Samuel Desborough and William Leete of Guilford, and to groups of Puritans, promising them all of New England's freedom, lands, houses, schools and colleges, their own choice of military Governor, the best of lands all immune from public charges, only the worthiest of the Irish to abide with them and their own convenience in the time of coming.

Special efforts were made to secure favorable response in New Haven, the disappointments of which Colony were well known. Cromwell further appealed, by special messengers, for recruits for Jamaica till in 1656 the New Haven General Court, after a long discussion, resolved that, with all esteem for Cromwell, "for divers reasons they cannot conclude that God calls them to a present removal to Jamaica."

On the completion of the work for the first Irish Commission, Ludlow was one of two of that board to be appointed on a new one in 1668 and also was given the lucrative office of a master in chancery, performing both judicial and ministerial duties. Near the close of the Cromwellian Régime, or in 1659, the receiver-general's accounts show payment to him "for his care and pains taken in several public services in this nation." He and his family were living in Saint Michan's Parish in Dublin. Further records are lost. It is presumed he was buried in Dublin about 1668.

At about the same time Ludlow was leaving, Connecticut Colony was losing another "original proprietor" in the person of Governor Hopkins, as popular in New Haven as he was in Connecticut. He had gone back to England in 1652 on a business trip with full expectation to return to Hartford within two years, but fate ruled otherwise. He was first of all a business man, with a breadth of understanding and a quiet efficiency which commended him to the communities. He was born in 1600, of Shrewsbury ancestry, and had attained position as a wealthy merchant in Turkish commerce when he came over with the Eaton-Davenport party in 1637. His wife, Anne, sister of Davenport and aunt of Elihu Yale, was a woman of literary instincts. Instead of going to New Haven with his special friend, Eaton, he chose Hartford though having a house built for himself in New

Haven. His name appears on the list of Hartford's "Original Proprietors," they being those who bought title to the undistributed land which had been acquired of the Indians. His Hartford house lot was opposite the Meeting House Yard on Main Street and he owned a large tract of land in the South Meadows across Little River from present Front Street.

With such a small population and so efficient a Governor as Haynes, the first Governor, it would seem to the modern reader that a man like him would have been continued in office but, as has been explained, the ingrained horror of perpetuity in rulership led to the provision that no Governor should hold office more than the term of one year at a time. Accordingly Hopkins, who had been chosen an assistant in the first election in 1639, was elected to succeed Haynes in 1640 and after that was Governor six times and Deputy Governor five times, alternating with Haynes except the years George Wyllys was Governor and Deputy Governor. Hopkins was Deputy Governor when he went to England in 1652 and, though he had not returned and was holding office under Cromwell, custom was so strong, strengthened by faith in his devotion to the Colony, that he was chosen Governor for 1654. He also was an efficient commissioner of the Union.

His chief activity in America was the fur trade, fisheries and milling. For seven years he held exclusive right to deal in furs at Westfield, Massachusetts, across the Connecticut from Pynchon's similar establishments in Springfield and other places. There likewise was considerable profit on his imports of cotton and wool. He must have been about to return to the Colony when, in December of 1652, Cromwell appointed him navy commissioner. Under the conditions then existing Hopkins must have felt bound to give his services, and again three years later when he was appointed admiralty commissioner. His brother Henry, dying about this time, left him in a will dated December, 1654, his office as warden of the fleet and keeper of the palace of Westminster. For the important Parliament that assembled in 1656 he was chosen as a member from Dartmouth. He died in March, 1657.

His will drawn a few days before his death shows that his heart was true to New England and his friends there, especially the relatives of the man he revered, Thomas Hooker. For Mrs. Hooker he wiped out all indebtedness which had been occurred. To her daughter, Sarah, wife of the Rev. John Wilson, of Boston, he gave his fine farm in Farmington; to her daughter Mary, wife of the Rev. Roger Newton, of Farmington, thirty pounds. He remembered his associate John Cullick by leaving thirty pounds to his eldest son by his present wife.

Then he disposed of his residuary estate in a manner which preserves his memory in the history of education in Connecticut for all time. With Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport of New Haven and John Cullick, colonial secretary of Connecticut, and William Goodwin, original presiding elder of the First Church of Hartford, as trustees, this property should go for the "encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youth in a way of learning, both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times."

It was with these funds that the famous Hopkins Grammar School of New Haven was established and with additions, has been continued ever since. And

for Hartford, the Hartford Public High School has been the beneficiary, the proceeds now being devoted to support instruction in certain fundamental subjects. In the development of both of these widely beneficial institutions the "Hopkins Fund" has been of great value.

Out of the estate in England, the Governor set aside enough for an income of one hundred and fifty pounds for his "dear distressed wife," for her comfortable maintenance, which recalls the similar but more violent tragedy in the life of Governor Eaton. Winthrop refers to it in his writings as of the time Hopkins was sailing for England and called on him in Boston, where he was to leave his wife till his return. The Governor laments Mrs. Hopkins' serious mental condition and says it was due to over-reading and the writing of many books, and that she would not have had such infliction if she had not meddled with things proper for men "whose minds are stronger," and had devoted herself more to the domestic affairs of life, as a woman should. Her husband "saw his error when it was too late."

Withal Hopkins further provided that within six months after his wife's death five hundred pounds be "made over into New England," according to the advice of Robert Thompson and Francis Willoughby "for public ends." By a decree in chancery in 1710 the amount was turned over to Harvard College; with it, in part, land was bought for a township in Middlesex County, Massachusetts, which was named Hopkinton in the donor's memory.

In this period of the loss of leaders, New Haven's mourning over the death of Governor Eaton in 1658, as earlier mentioned, was hardly less than that in Hartford, where he had many admirers. The grief was in a measure assuaged by the succession of William Leete, Guilford's store-keeper, and prominent in all affairs, to the governorship.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Schools and Settlements

Ezekiel Cheever in New Haven—The Wyllys Family—Indian Problems and Others in Various Localities, Middletown, Bridgeport and Stamford in Particular.

While the loss of Governor Hopkins as a balance wheel was very considerable for both colonies, his token of appreciation of educational need was indeed timely. The needs of the middle and lower classes in England herself at this period were hardly less, but in New England they were absolutely vital if government of the kind desired was to be perpetuated. Earliest documents reveal that not a few of the townsmen, deacons and some constables had to use their "mark" like the Indians, instead of their names.

The first Connecticut laws required that every town of fifty families must maintain a school for the teaching of reading and "wrighting." (Most spelling, among all Englishmen, was somewhat different from that of later days, and little regularity among the spellers.)

The laws were strengthened in 1655 by reducing to thirty-eight the number of families put under compulsion as a town, and until 1672 it was decreed that every town of one hundred families should maintain a grammar school or join with another town in the undertaking. A grammar school was supposed to be qualified to prepare youths for John Harvard's college, which had succeeded to the possession of the Connecticut colonists' holdings in Cambridge, and to the support of which all colonies were supposed to contribute.

Will was good but flesh was weak if we may judge by a legislative order as late as 1690, namely that since there were so "many persons unable to read the English tongue," the grand jurymen once a year at least must visit each delinquent family; if any children had not been taught, the families must be fined twenty shillings. That was about one-tenth of an ordinary man's income.

The first mention of a school in Hartford records is of December 6, 1642, when thirty pounds was voted for one. "Goody" Betts at the time was going to some of the families with her horn-book to help out the overworked mothers in guiding toward the right path. With husky children in a barbarian atmosphere, however, it was a man's task, and thus the first instructor engaged by vote of town meeting was William Andrews. The children came to him at his little house at almost the

identical spot where the marble capitol now stands. His pay was sixty pounds a year, enough to give him place among the dignitaries. And the town was to pay for all "deficiencies," perhaps a more liberable vote than could be put through today. We know some kind of a school building was erected about that time since the records read that in 1648 it was voted to replace the first schoolhouse at an expense of forty pounds, there being "lack of conveniency"—"uncomfortable" and "prejudicial" for present and future.

In New Haven appeared first Ezekiel Cheever who was to become a notable man in New England's colonial history. "The echo straight upon that name, Good Latin, will repeat," wrote the perfect commentator, John Cotton, of Boston. Cheever was a graduate of that Puritan stronghold, Baliol College, Oxford, and was teaching in the Colony its first year. He was one of the twelve "godly men," who chose the "seven pillars." Leonard Woolsey Bacon, in 1860, was to say of him that he was the most picturesque character in the history of the Colony. Being a deputy he was a trial judge. In 1649 he fell under rebuke by refusing to vote to censure certain elders of the church for "partiality" and "usurpation."

The famous "Accidence," an introduction to the study of Latin, was written by him in New Haven. Whether the children interpreted the word in its present sense of "chance" or "mishap" there is no way of knowing, but it is a matter of fact that the work continued as the handbook in the schools of New England for over a century. Leaving New Haven in 1650, Cheever located in Ipswich, Massachusetts, and later in Boston itself, where nearly forty years he was master of the eminent Boston Latin School, and a promoter of education throughout the colonies.

New Haven progressed favorably in the matter of schools through Cheever's inspiration, but in Hartford there was difficulty to be met with. Of books aside from the Bible there were few. Certain leaders of the church gave of their time to eke out the efforts of the widow Mary Betts at her little home on the banks of Little River at the foot of present Trumbull Street, and of William Andrews, whose time was limited and whose schoolhouse was inadequate. John Higginson, later chaplain at Saybrook fort, deserves mention among the auxiliaries. He was the son of the eminent Rev. Francis Higginson, of Salem, and had come to Hartford with his mother after his father's death.

The Rev. William Collins from the Barbados, who had left Salem to come with the settlers to Hartford, though having no land allotment, was helpful from the outset. The year after he had bought a house lot, or 1641, he sold to go as colleague of the Rev. Henry Whitfield, his wife's father, in Guilford. He imbibed the doctrines of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, married her daughter for his second wife, and was one of the victims of the Greenwich massacre along with all the others of the family.

It is believed that the first regular schoolhouse in Hartford was at the corner of present Sheldon and Governor streets, and was more generally known as the "town house," since that was where the town's reserve military supplies were stored. Andrews was the one who inspired the construction of the second schoolhouse which was conditional upon the subscription of a second forty dollars from the inhabitants. He had been a constable in Newtown and was an original proprietor of Hartford. In 1658 he was chosen town clerk. His death the next year cut short his work

that was counting for so much as a teacher. His ambition was to make this a grammar school as good as that in New Haven, and "to provide that learning may not be buried with the fathers in church and commonwealth." Both the church and Mr. Hooker's study were available for the more progressive students.

When in 1652 the town had provided the funds for the new schoolhouse, Elder William Goodwin and Mr. Hopkins selected a central site on Main Street between Little River and present Buckingham Street, but it was owned in part by Jeremy Adams, the inn-keeper, and he would not part with it. Governor Hopkins, who was expecting to cover any shortage in building, went to England, as has been said, and in 1654 Elder Goodwin was constrained to return to the town the fund that had been raised. The lot that had been selected was ordered sold. The friction in the church then so engrossed the minds of all that school matters were postponed. John Talcott, in his will in 1659, left five pounds to be used in founding a Latin school "if any be kept here." The following year William Pitkin came as a private school teacher, without town appropriation. Elder Goodwin and other "withdrawers" from the original church had removed to Hadley, Massachusetts, and "grammar" schools were the only public schools during Hartford's first thirty years. What eventuated will best be considered in connection with the great colonial changes in the 1660's.

Hartford's grand list was dropping from 22,404½ pounds in 1651 to 19,365 pounds in 1665.

There were two notable hegiras in 1650. One had been brought about by the clear vision of Governor Haynes—the one to Middletown. Impressed by the qualities of that section since he had first beheld it following the Pequot War, he had made a large purchase there from the old Chief Sowheag. After his death, or in 1662, Samuel Wyllys bought more and went there with men, several of whose names have continued prominent in the annals of that town ever since. They were John Hall, John Kirby, Alexander Bow, George Hubbard, Joseph Hubbard, Daniel Hubbard, Thomas Hubbard, Anthony Martin, John Savage, Samuel Stocking, Samuel White, Thomas Wilcox and John Wilcox. This may have been like a move on the checkerboard, for New Haven colonists also were casting their eyes that way.

However much may be said about the supposition that Eaton and Davenport were content with their port at New Haven for the building up of great commercial enterprises, it had become noticeable that there were among their settlers those who looked beyond East Rock and West Rock and were pleased to find "easy" Indians to negotiate with. Connecticut knew that by the terms of the Warwick patent proper, the wide-west territory came under it, but it had been only the portion eastward from the Connecticut River that it had fastened with a claim. For the rest it seemed to be assumed that either colony could issue rights, as in the instance of Stamford for New Haven and Fairfield for Connecticut, but with New Haven becoming somewhat jealous with a sentiment that soon was to take form.

Samuel Wyllys, who headed the Middletown party, was of a family endowed with foresight and with wealth to carry through its ideas. In the Mother Country they had come

From England's gentlest blood, and honored name,
In virtues, arts and arms, long known to fame,

as wrote one who knew so well all of the colonists. For public service and outstanding social rank, in the opinion of George Dudley Seymour, of New Haven, profound student of early colonial days, "the Wyllys family for nearly two hundred years was the leading family in Hartford if not in the colony and state." The ancestral estate was the manor of Fenny Compton, in Warwickshire. George Wyllys was one of those who came to New England "for conscience sake." His steward, William Gibbons, with a score of indentured servants and complete building and landscape plans came to Hartford, whither his friends had removed in 1636 to prepare the way for him and his family on Wyllys Hill. It was a section south of Little River, nearly as large as that of his neighbor Edward Hopkins or about three times as large as that of most sections. On it stood the tree to be famous in history as the Charter Oak. Of high land there were seven fertile acres, overlooking the settlement north of the winding stream.

In two years the mansion had been completed along with the landscape gardening, making one of the most beautiful residences in all New England, and for nearly two centuries to be the home of a family whose members rendered distinguished service and whose descendants are among the cultural leaders in Hartford and other communities. Always it was a center of social life and entertainment. In this house the famous charter of 1662 was hidden after it had been deposited in the Charter Oak.

Wyllys at once was made an original proprietor, then a magistrate, deputy and in 1642 Governor. He died in 1644. His descendants were prominent in public life for many years. Samuel was a commissioner of the Union and one of the custodians of the charter. His son Hezekiah was colony secretary from 1712 to 1734 when, on his resignation, he was succeeded by his son George, who continued in the office till his death sixty-six years later, when the office was given to his son, General Samuel, who resigned in 1809 on account of failing health.

To return to the settlement of Middletown: Samuel Wyllys did not remain long in the wide territory which was called, vicariously, Mettabeseck or Mettabessett, but, all explorations being exceptionally favorable, men from Wethersfield and newcomers from England joined with the Hartford group and the formalities essential to recognition by the General Court were completed in 1651.

The other settlement-undertaking of 1650 was due to the enterprise of the Seymour family of Hartford, the spirit of which was to be signified through many years to come. That year, with Surveyor Richard Olmsted, Matthew Marvin, Ralph Keeler and Nathaniel Richards, Richard Seymour, an "original proprietor," ventured into the troublous territory of present Fairfield County, where Ludlow was having his experiences, and laid out lands in present Norwalk.

The settlements in present Fairfield County were more perplexing for the General Court than even those of New London County. The reasons therefore have been no more apparent in local histories than they seem to have been to the court. There were only hints of them in the records of 1639, as already has been told herein relative to Ludlow's episodes, where it is said Ludlow was allowed to keep his settlement at Fairfield after he had consented to the "arrangement" made—to be dwelt upon here because lack of formulated data was to mystify Fairfield County people years later.

What may appear like a mass of stupidity is really the best illustration of a lack of contemporaneous information over a considerable period. The whole came to center on the question: Whom did the English conquer in the Pequot War?

It persisted in general history that the Pequot territory was confined to southeastern Connecticut and that there were no Indians of consequence along the shore as far as Fairfield. In reality at least three strong clans lived there. And they were not Mohawks as sometimes assumed, but hybrids, not especially valorous, but full of guile. Study of all records down to 1660 reveals that the Pequots actually had conquered these Indians in former times, and had sold some of their women as slaves. To the white men in Ludlow's time they were as simple and honest as any barbarian could be.

It is to be marked at this juncture that little is said about Ludlow's buying rights. In his blind statement to his own court he had referred to his taking more land than his rights covered because certain undesirable people—not otherwise indicated—might get possession. Now Fairfield's Indian community practically included Stratford, which is separated from Milford (New Haven settlement) by the Housatonic River, and that would include present Bridgeport. Just west of Fairfield and its Black Rock harbor are Westport and Norwalk.

The Paquannocks were the most numerous or powerful Indians thereabouts. They gave their name to the river that flows into Bridgeport harbor. Why that harbor was not chosen by the settlers is an open question. Ash Creek flows into Black Rock harbor in Fairfield with Westport and Norwalk just beyond, to the west, and then Darien, Stamford and Greenwich. The first settlers dealt with the Stratford and Fairfield Indians in 1639. It was held on the one hand that the Indians welcomed the white men as protectors against marauding neighbors, and on the other hand that the white men were demanding "tribute long overdue." Any reason for tribute does not appear in the immediate discussions. It must be noted that Major Mason, conqueror of the Pequots, went with Governor Haynes and Welles at the time of the first investigation of Ludlow's procedure, when approval was given. From then on, history accounts run smoothly.

But going forward twenty years, or five years after Ludlow had left, other incidents occur. Indians are refusing to pay "tribute" and the General Court has to order its Norwalk deputies to order its local constable "that they abide by boundary agreements"; and at the same time the "deputies of Norwalk" must assist or "do it themselves." The "it" is not plain. Agreement was reached, however, by setting off Golden Hill (near the heart of prosperous Bridgeport today) for Indians in return for land near Black Rock, while they retained the hills farther on, in from Black Rock. Trouble followed peace. The General Court insisted upon decisions already made. The complaints redoubled. Both parties wanted Golden Hill. The court entered upon a long-drawn-out investigation. The Rev. John Higginson, then of Guilford, wrote a statement of what took place at the time of the first investigation, he apparently having been present as a recorder. At that time word had been sent out, it appears, and "all" the Indians from Milford to the Hudson had assembled with expressions of highest good will for the English, even to presents of wampum to be carried by their own sachems to the men in Hartford, and like

presents for the commissioners. The recorder remarks that "this was not long after the English conquest of the Pequots and fame of the English being with them." (This convention was about two weeks before the arrival of the Davenport party at New Haven.) The sachems presented the wampum to the Hartford men in "Mr. Hooker's barn, the meeting-house not yet builded."

To corroborate the statement that Indians gave land to planters to win protection, it was told how Lieutenant Thomas Wheeler, of Fairfield, obtained land in present Derby in that way, and after five years sold it for two hundred pounds.



SPERRY POOL, WOODBRIDGE

Part of the West River System of New Haven Water Company
(Courtesy of E. G. Wooster, New Haven)

Thomas Stanton, official government interpreter, confirmed the account of the convention with the gratified Indians and added that the protection was wanted as against the Pequots and the Paquannocks. He declared that the Pequots had conquered these shore Indians two years before the English came and that the Paquannocks had fought as allies with Pequots in the swamp on the west boundary of Fairfield—the fight which ended the campaign. Of this, he said, there had been other evidence furnished by Thomas Bull.

Stratford and Fairfield meantime were holding their sections subject to financial adjustment should the Indians break the Golden Hill reservation plan. No deed as yet appears by the records to have been entered for any land anywhere. Just before the court completed its investigation and ruled that the original understanding should be continued, for the balance of the twenty-five years, Moses Wheeler, of Stratford, filed such a deed for a large part of that town's property, alleging

that it was at the solicitation of the inhabitants and to "prevent the property's falling into other hands." He had paid forty pounds to the Indians for the section. After the court's decision that Stratford owned the property anyway, Wheeler was allowed by the town to keep the property for twenty-five years, and then the town divided it into home lots to be sold by the town. On intervention, the General Court declared that he should retain one-half as his own.

A year after the court's 1659 decision Bray Rossiter, of Guilford (and originally of Windsor) paid the Indians for one hundred acres close to the Housatonic, north of Stratford.

By the international rules of colonization, if these Indians were subjects or allies of the Pequots the white men were entitled to settlement without purchase according to the regulations of their own governments. By the court's decision, it had been shown that the Paquannocks were allies or subjects or both. There was no detailed finding. The court's supposition, possibly, that the fact was well known was not substantiated by the settlers as a whole, even though, failing therein, they had to pay money.

Stamford (Rippowams), which originally had been bought of the Indians by Captain Turner as agent for New Haven in 1640, had been sold immediately to Andrew Ward and Robert Coe, representing some twenty families who were to come the next year. The planters mainly were disaffected people from Wethersfield. They included Major Matthew Mitchell, the leader, Samuel Sherman, founder of the distinguished Sherman family of America, the Rev. Richard Denton and Constable Daniel Finch. The town became a part of the New Haven federation or "jurisdiction," along with Milford, Guilford and Southold, Long Island. Greenwich came to be considered a part of Stamford.

In present New London County Uncas and his two sons visited Saybrook, in June, 1659, and signed the deeds which gave Major John Mason possession of present Norwich, the introductory history of which has been given. It was the Indian's evidence of his appreciation of the food that was sent by Leffingwell when Uncas was besieged by the Narragansetts. A deed of cession of the rest of the Mohegan territory was signed the same year. This completes the list of town settlements prior to obtaining the colony charter.

CHAPTER XIX.

Foundations Threatened

Half-Way Covenant Shock Follows Departure of Goodwin Party After School Episode—Second Church Established in Hartford.

A shock felt throughout Puritan New England, hardly less than that of the downfall of Cromwell and the restoration of the royal house of Stuart, had its center in Hartford in the 1660 period. It threatened the foundations upon which the colonies were being built, if not to the point of their utter ruin, then at least to the point of perilous readjustment. It divided families and promised to disrupt more churches than that in Hartford. In generality, it was the "Half-way Covenant."

The severity of it at its point of origin requires an explanation that takes one back to the seemingly calm consideration of the Hartford school subject. William Goodwin as ruling elder of the church was, by nature of the then churchly people, the embodiment of popular faith and power and trust. As the previously mentioned school matter now stood, he was holding the funds voted for the new schoolhouse and had been thwarted in his plans by a tavern keeper. He had sought to make the most of the kindly interest Governor Hopkins had manifested during his life. As one of the trustees under the Governor's will he was to see the possibilities for both New Haven and Hartford. The inventory of the Hopkins estate returned to the General Court revealed £1,382, and Hopkins's lands were valued at 545 pounds, as shown in "The Hopkins Fund in Hadley."

In the vote for a new school the town had turned forty pounds over to Goodwin. He and Hopkins had favored the house lot of Samuel Greenhill for the site, on the west side of Main Street and between Little River and Buckingham Street. Greenhill died and his widow married Jeremy Adams. Adams bought the John Steele lot, where he was to have his celebrated tavern, and where the main building of the Travelers Insurance Company now stands. The mortgage he had placed resulted in prolonged litigation which involved the Greenhill property. Goodwin had tried to buy that place, but Adams had prevented, despite the protests of leading men like John Talcott. Patience exhausted, the town voted—according to a recorder who unconsciously illustrated the pressing need of a school—"to end the Biusenenes Between Mr. Goodwin and the Town about a schole Hous and order it as they see cause." Goodwin thereupon had returned the funds to the town.

Along with Adams's stubbornness, if not supporting it, was the attitude of members of the faction who were opposing Goodwin's recommendation of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, of New Haven, as a successor to Hooker. The Rev. Mr. Stone, who had served alone since 1647, refused to allow the proposition to be received. Incidentally the selection, in 1655, of William Davis, of New Haven, a Harvard classmate of Wigglesworth's, for "preaching and schooling," had been supplemented by Goodwin's friends south of Little River and voted, but not with official town record. A balance of forty pounds due Davis the next February was appropriated by the town, after being advanced by six individuals, "south-siders," friends of Goodwin. Davis was lost at sea that summer.

After that all energy was thrown into the church controversy, though indeed a new committee was appointed—two from each side of Little River—to act either in "Bying or bilding a Hoose for a schole House," at a sum not to exceed the sum Goodwin was turning back. Nothing resulted from that and the old house was sold. Meanwhile there were two small legacies for a fund. William Pitkin, as said, a young lawyer, was given privilege to teach, in a private house, subsequently with a small allowance from the town.

The trustees in 1660 had allowed half of the Hopkins fund "to further the colledge" at New Haven and the other half should be used when they had "power to perform this trust which, because they could not expect to have it at Hartford, they concluded it would be best done by them in that new plantation into which sundry of Hartford men were to remove or were even now gone," yet they agreed that, out of the whole, a hundred pounds should be given "to the college at Cambridge in the Bay." The surviving trustees, Davenport and Goodwin, settled upon four hundred pounds for Hartford; the balance, including the amount contingent upon the death of Mrs. Hopkins, was to be divided between New Haven and Hadley, and the one hundred pounds for Harvard to be taken from the Hadley portion—provided the General Court "or anyone" should agree not to interfere. The house in Hartford should be upon the lot Hopkins and Goodwin had favored.

Samuel Wyllys, James Richards and William Wadsworth as the town's committee received the four hundred pounds to be combined with what more might be raised for the "promotering" of learning. That committee acted independently in selecting the lot of Deacon Andrew Warner, who by this time had gone to Hadley with Goodwin's party. This lot was the second west of where the original humble school house had stood. The lot was then owned by a hatter, William Loveridge, who was influenced to sell by the proposal to pay certain fines he had incurred and leave town. The Hopkins farm of fifty-six acres across the river in Hockanum also was bought, together with all rights in further land distribution thereabouts. The estimated value thereof was two hundred pounds.

The final chapter in this matter which was developing friction may best be postponed till after the account of the wide church upheaval so closely associated with it. Enough has been given to indicate how people were being affected by lack of harmony, with the church disputes furnishing the atmosphere.

The countryside was already beginning to ring with the discussion of the new idea, a "half-way covenant." The rule of the New England churches was that, to acquire membership in a church society, proof should be given of conversion. After such admission had been gained, there was the right to have one's children baptized, and, in Massachusetts and New Haven, the right to vote. The new idea was begotten of the fact that too often children of the second generation would be unable to present satisfactory proof of religious experience, and that fact would bar their children from membership and all that went with it. In the Mother Country, the "parish way" of the Church of England had been adopted, by which good moral character was sufficient attest for membership and baptism of offspring.

The result of a ministerial council in Massachusetts in 1657 had been that the rules for admission to the church should be relaxed. In every church in the land there now were parties taking each side of the question. In New Haven Davenport frowned upon the Massachusetts decision, but finally acceded. It meant that children baptized could be admitted on arriving at years of discretion and become members. The church was obliged to accept them without question unless there were special reasons to the contrary, and in turn their children could be given the rite. The objection in New Haven was that this reduced to mere formality, with a duality that was not consistent with the purpose of church fellowship. In place of Puritanism there was to be a mixed national body.

In 1662, a synod held in Boston, neither Connecticut nor New Haven sending representatives, also decided in favor of the new half-way covenant plan, and two years later the Connecticut General Court formally adopted this view of it, urging all the churches within its jurisdiction, which included Connecticut and New Haven, to concur.

In the instance of Hartford there were still other seeds of discord than those sown by the school question and the elder's course. After Mr. Hooker's death candidates for his position came to preach. They were the Rev. John Mitchell in 1649, Michael Wigglesworth in 1653 and 1654, John Davis in 1655, and John Cotton, son of the Boston minister, in 1659. Then Elder Goodwin sought to submit the name of Mr. Wigglesworth, prominent in New Haven, and the Rev. Mr. Stone sharply opposed it, as has been said. Goodwin considered this an infringement of the rights of brotherhood and an improper assumption of power. Stone immediately resigned, but as immediately resumed his functions. The "society" elected a "moderator" which meant the retirement of Elder Goodwin with his friends, mostly "southside" people.

Ecclesiastical councils were appealed to. There were days of humiliation and prayer, offered by the Massachusetts churches. The General Court undertook to interfere, adding fuel to the flames. In September and October, 1659, there was a summing-up, for final decision in favor of the Goodwin group's removal, by a council in Boston, with acceptance by both parties and permission from the Massachusetts General Court for removal to Hadley.

It is a question whether removal would have followed had it not been for the meddling of the Connecticut General Court in the trusteeship of the Hopkins fund. Goodwin's effort all along had been to secure the Hopkins estate for the benefit of

the Commonwealth, as it was acknowledged Hopkins would have desired it; in fact, the court's restraint had been lifted in 1659 when it was surmised that the Hadley plan had fallen through. All that the court conceded was the appointment in 1661 of Deacon Edward Stebbins and Lieutenant Thomas Bull to manage the estate. When Goodwin sent down from Hadley a proffer of three hundred and fifty pounds it was not accepted. Instead a committee was appointed to confer with the trustees. The trustees resented the action. Contention followed until March, 1664, when the court withdrew the proposition sequestrating the estate, which may have been due to Goodwin's threatening to appeal to the chancery court in England, or to the sage advice of Governor Winthrop on his return from England with the colony charter. Several Wethersfield people, including John Webster, Governor in 1656, went to Hadley with the Goodwin party, under the Rev. John Russell, of Wethersfield, as pastor.

After another year, New England still buzzing with the new-deal dispute, and after a heated controversy over it in the Hartford church, the backers of the Rev. John Whiting, son of a prominent Hartford man and a graduate of Harvard, was ordained colleague with Mr. Stone. Three years later Mr. Stone, the great friend and aid of Mr. Hooker, died, on July 20, 1663. His griefs in his later years had been many, among them the loss of his son by drowning in Little River a short distance from the church, on his return from a country pastorate. Adhering to the old custom of a dual ministry, the Rev. Joseph Haynes, son of Governor Haynes, and likewise a graduate of Harvard, was installed as pastor to succeed Mr. Stone.

It would seem now that the prospect for the church was again bright. There was universal rejoicing over the obtaining of the charter for the Colony, and evidence of new life and aspiration on every side. However, two years had barely passed when the two young and native ministers were clashing. Again it can be said it was not a personal clash; it was the "new deal" of the half-way covenant, now reaching a climax locally as was the case also elsewhere through New England. The elder minister, Mr. Whiting, insisted on the old principles of Hooker's day relative to "visible saints" and "fit matter" for fellowship with them.

Mr. Haynes, on the contrary, and the majority with him, was in accord with the ministerial conclave as confirmed by the synod of 1662, in support of the half-way covenant. One section—as in so many churches—was for what was called "full communion," and the other, the "half-way," or "state of education." It involved the question of church liberty as compared with synod control and dictation. Families were divided; business men differed with their partners. Thus till February 22, 1670, when Mr. Whiting with his following of thirty-one people—most of them of the original church-member type, but now in the minority—broke away and pledged themselves to a new church, the Second Congregational or "South Church." It was to be no great length of time before Mr. Whiting's people were swept along by the tide of the half-way covenant.

There was no change at the First Church till Mr. Haynes was fatally stricken in his prime, May 24, 1679. The Rev. Isaac Foster soon succeeded him, a native of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who had graduated at Harvard in 1671. He had

been captured by the Turks on a trip to Balboa and had been ransomed in 1673. When the strongly orthodox church at Windsor called him to succeed the Rev. John Warham, who had died April 1, 1670, he declined and later accepted the call to the First Church, but it was to be only for a brief term of service. Death came in an epidemic August 21, 1682.

His successor was the Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, son of the Rev. John Woodbridge, of Andover, Massachusetts, who had gone to England in 1645, and had returned in 1663, when his son, born at Barton Saint Martin's, Wiltshire, was seven years old. After graduating at Harvard in 1675, the son came to Hartford in 1683, but was not ordained till November 18, 1685, at the time of the depression after King Philip's War, and when church spirit was at a low ebb, largely because of half-way covenant laxity. As in so many instances in history, a defective yardstick, applied to a composite evil, was to leave maladjustments to create vexation through generations to come. In the present instance it was near the time of the accession of James II and the arrival in New England of Sir Edmund Andros, with all the exciting incidents that were to follow, down to and including the enthusiastic but rather vacuous revival of 1695-96, when one hundred and ninety-four people in this community assented to come into "full communion," but only ten were admitted to church membership. The East Hartford church was set off with the pastor's nephew, Timothy, as minister as of March 30, 1705, and the West Hartford church in 1713.

Mr. Woodbridge served effectively for forty-eight years, during which three hundred and sixteen people were admitted to "full communion," and four hundred and twenty-eight "owned the covenant." In the legislative contest of Wethersfield against New Haven for the site of Yale College, Mr. Woodbridge espoused the cause of the former town so heartily that he presided at the rival commencement exercises there in 1718, after the Legislature had decided in New Haven's favor. Thereupon he was chosen representative to the Legislature the following year. After he had made the opening prayer, his seat was challenged on the ground that he was guilty of accusing the Governor and Council of violation of the sixth and eighth commandments. This carries the history of the Hooker church into another era.

Hartford was the first town in New England, outside of Boston, to have more than one church. "The Second Church of Christ in Hartford"—to use its corporate title—was organized by authority of the General Court in solemn conclave (and with four assistants and fourteen deputies voting against it), February 22, 1670, with Mr. Whiting as pastor. It began at great disadvantage. The commissioners of the Union of the Colonies had legislated that taxes in each Colony should be laid for maintenance of the minister, with thought that there would be only one church in a town—one of the many evidences of lack of foresight in details, one of the many indications of the tremendous developments to follow. Thereby only the Rev. Mr. Haynes of the First Church could be paid in 1670. The next year the law was revised to meet such possibility. Further, the Whiting group in the beginning could not hold real estate because it was not incorporated. Hence it was obliged to find a home on private land.

The land was that of Lieutenant Thomas Bull, son of Major Jonathan Bull, just south of the rickety Little River bridge, where the private residence could be utilized. The place is best identified today by saying that it is on Main Street nearly opposite the junction of Capitol Avenue on the west side of Main. The McCook estate embraces a fraction of the old Bull estate. The plain fifty-by-fifty foot house was put up south of the dwelling, which was nearly opposite the school-house. Dr. Love says that "within the first fifteen years of the church's history, no less than ten of Mr. Whiting's loyal supporters made bequests to him in their wills." Fifty-six years later, both churches needing new houses, the First Society voted for a reuniting of the societies, but the plan was disapproved by a joint committee of the churches. As will be told, the next edifice of the South Church was in the highway near Buckingham Street, and the third was at the present location nearby, on the east side of Main Street.

CHAPTER XX.

Tavern Legislature

Meetinghouse Too Frigid—Requirements of Inn Keepers—New Haven's Advantage—Eaton's House Again—Sumptuary Laws—Agriculture and Commerce—New London's Growth—Captain Lord and Military Development.

It may be that, in the modern frolicsome days of fancy-paper balls, burden of national taxes, support of millions of unemployed and worriment about Congress and government in general, "severity of the old Puritans" is a frequent expression. But the Puritans had stepped out of the country the most advanced in the civilization of that day, many of them graduates of the noblest seats of learning and accustomed to such luxuries as the English then knew. They were to be almost infinitesimal items on a practically unknown continent of forests, waters and mountains. There they could worship freely, but soon it was made apparent that mere existence set a first law of nature and they themselves and alone must enforce it. A restless population, always drawn by adventure or impelled by employment possibilities, naturally followed them. How to deal with them in self-defense became a question hardly less serious than protection against Dutch and Indians.

And the curse was strong drink. The promoters of the Colonies always had been accustomed to wines and liquors in their own homes and taverns, but rarely had they seen abuse of them near their own doors. Here in America it was quite a different situation, both for the promoters and the followers. Not alone the perils, but the constant and severe physical exertion made inducement to revelry a relief. Their leaders early realized that if this got out of hand by reason of the principles of human liberty which they were establishing, the result would be fatal to progress. Laws with teeth in them had to be made and stern men be selected to enforce them.

But what of the makers of those laws? By the great fireplaces in their homes they could keep comfortable when not undergoing sturdiest and necessary exercise out of doors. When assembled for long hours of legislation and court affairs, it was another matter. In the church they could keep well bundled up and warm their feet on the ember receptacles they could manufacture; in public business and assemblages a reposeful posture could not be maintained. And sessions were long.

With time measured in retrospect it was only a short while—some twenty years—before the second meetinghouse was felt to be inadequate in comfort as well as size for the General Court. Simultaneously they were regulating the use of liquors and tobacco—or the crude mixtures which passed under that name till Indians blessed the world with theirs. They also blessed the world with their unbotanized supply of roots and plants.

Another item the parental lawgivers must attend to was the wants of travelers. Inducement to travel was not infrequent for those who were hoping there were better conditions than those furnished by a settlement previously adopted, while to New Haven and Hartford, of course, many had to travel to get assurance in their rights. In New Haven, open-house hospitality could prevail, but in Hartford fly-by-night transients had to be, and immediately were, regulated by injunction on householders to have permits from the selectmen. Moreover, coming from a land of inns and taverns, where the courts often were held, provision for such institutions was inherited or instinctive. It was to prove to be an ideal continent for them.

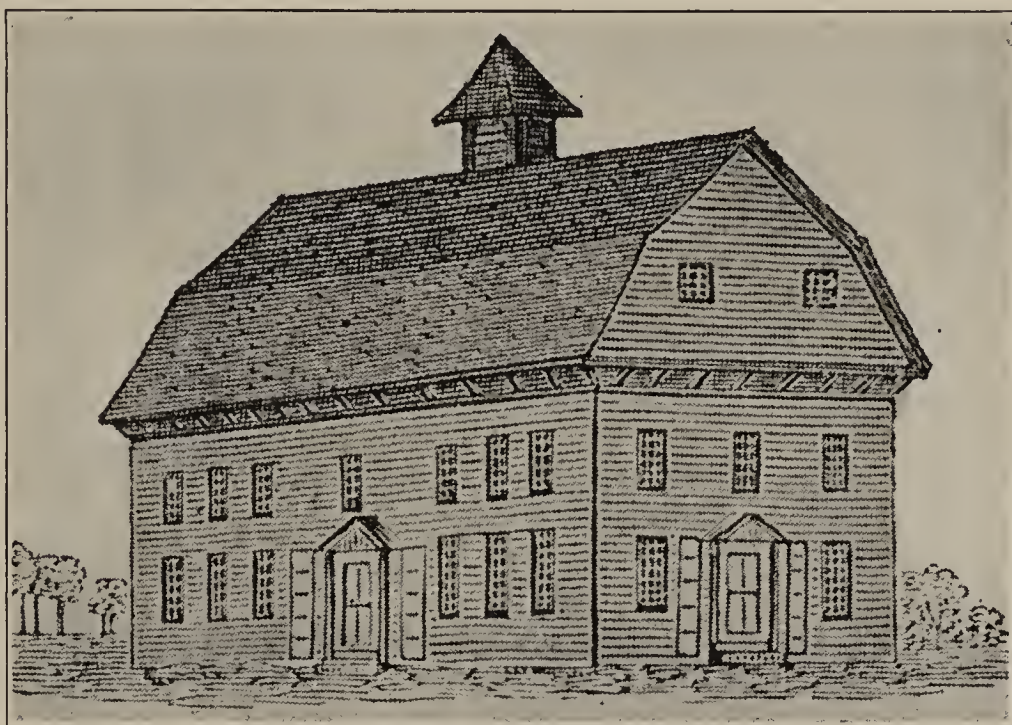
Altogether, as early as 1644, stating the needs in a few words, the General Court decreed that every town not only might but must have an inn or ordinary. This was impending when, in its regular turn, Hartford was to have a session of the eight commissioners of the four United Colonies of New England. What may have been the connection between these incidents of tavern and congress is only surmise today, but colorless records have preserved the fact that Thomas Ford, worthy church member and deputy from Windsor, married the widow of Thomas Scott, of Hartford, in November, and at once opened an inn at the widow's home. John Winthrop, Jr., put it in his diary that he stopped there the next year and went with the Governor and magistrates to Tunxis village, meaning Farmington. The inn enjoyed a central location for business, it being at the corner of Front and Ford streets, down near the landing. Thomas Cadwell was the next landlord there.

Jeremy Adams, whose temper had upset the Hopkins and Goodwin school plans (in an earlier chapter), opened his tavern, which was to become history-famous a little later. No official minute of it appears till 1660, when it was decreed that no one but an inn-keeper, Adams excepted, could sell drinks. There is reason to suppose that at this time the General Court had abandoned the church, as a meeting place, for the comforts a private house could afford. Adams's establishment for travelers was located conveniently on Main Street, which in modern times was chosen as the site for a great insurance company with "travelers" in its corporate title. The inn was officially recognized as an "ordinary" in 1651, with special directions to make it what it should be, including provision for court meetings. The combined wisdom of the court never has been excelled in any court in defining what a landlord should be:

"He is not to challenge a lordlie authority over him, but clean otherwise, since any man may use the inne as his owne house, and have for monie how great and how little varieties of vittals and what ever other service himself shall think expediant to call for, and have clean sheets to lie in wherein no man had been lodged since they came from the landresser and have a servante to kindle his fire and one to pull on his boots and make them clean, and have the hoste and hostess to visit

him, and to eat with the hoste, or at a common table if he pleases, or eat in his chamber, commanding what meat he will according to his appetite. Yea, the kitchen being open to him to order the meat to be dressed as he liketh it best."

Adams accepted the entire proposition despite the fact that the General Court patronage could not avail him as much as it ordinarily could, since there was a wave of financial depression necessitating the reduction in number of deputies from twenty-three. The governmental body felt that economy in public expenditures should begin at home. From that time on till Adams's death, in 1683, his inn was the Court's meeting place, and as such it was continued with perpetual license under his grandson, Zachary Sanford.



CONNECTICUT'S FIRST STATE HOUSE

(Drawn from description preserved in the records)

Thanks to the fact in New Haven that Governor Eaton's house was so commodious, there was no necessity for an inn to accommodate the special meetings of the members of the General Court. In his house there were tapestry hangings, two Turkey carpets, a tapestry carpet, a green carpet fringed, and several rugs in the great hall with its fireplace. With all the belongings which the wealthy merchant's inventory showed at his death there was no clock, nor was there one in the home of any other colonist except Davenport, which was appraised at five pounds. Mrs. Eaton, while in England, had received as a present from the Eastland Fellowship a silver basin and ewer, appraised at one hundred and fifty pounds plate. Most people had only wooden or pewter plates and bowls. A chest of drawers was about the most useful thing in the homes of the better class; if it was fitted with a place for writing it was called a cabinet.

Jeremy Adams cooked the food for his establishment in the fireplace and its side oven in the dining room, as did all householders. A long-handled frying pan, a

roasting spit and the brass bed-warming pans stood near the fireplace; the pewter platters and mugs were arranged on shelves and over the fireplace. Food was transferred from the fireplace to the table on pewter or wooden platters and there placed upon good old English wooden trenchers. For the most part the dining-room was also the living-room, the other rooms being too small for more than a few at a time, and they mostly occupied by the family. In later years a special room on the second floor was arranged for meetings of members of the General Court. Birds, fish and wild game in abundance and particularly the dishes made from Indian corn atoned for the absence of the beef and mutton of England, Tea and coffee were little known either side of the water, but the Englishman had his beer and ale. In the Colonies nearly every homestead had its brew-house. The one appearing in Mr. Hooker's inventory astonishes readers who are not versed in the customs of the times.

Sumptuary laws were not peculiar to the New World. In New Haven they were somewhat more elaborate than in Connecticut. They included the regulating of Mr. Adams's tavern prices and checked extravagance in women's apparel. Laws which persisted till the latter part of the eighteenth century regulated the price of labor and of manufactures. In the 1660's a constable had to check up on the clothing of women which seemed to him a little too luxurious, but that was only following the custom of the Mother Country.

The wages of a day laborer varied from eighteen pence to two shillings a day, a day being eleven hours in the summer and nine in the winter. The pay for use of cattle varied according to quality, but was around fourteen to eighteen pence a day; a cart, from three pence to six pence a day. The phraseology of some of these laws is blunt. "No man shall take above 4s. 6p. for sawing of boards and 5s. 6p. for slit work, the timber being squared and laid at the pit; nor above 8p. a C (hundred) for riving six foot poles or clapboard, and 6p. a C for three feet; nor above 7s. for boards and 2s. 6p. for three foot clapboards; and whosoever gives or takes more, directly or indirectly, shall forfeit for every time 5s."

There should be arbitration by townsmen of any difficulties, involving oppression, arising from labor contracts of importance, and there were penalties for workman or employer. Such regulations were adopted by both the towns and the General Court. Occasionally they were rescinded with the idea that "men would be a law unto themselves," but were reenacted when despair followed faith in political economy. These men were from England, where the "statute for laborers" had been in force three centuries. The laws were especially exacting in the matter of tanning and fur dressing. Inspectors were appointed to see to these important matters upon which so much of commerce depended. New Haven had an experience that involved about all of the shoemakers. Children were unable to go to school in the winter because the leather in their shoes was so bad and was stitched with such worthless thread. In Connecticut, in 1645, a law was passed prohibiting the killing of any calves "without the approbation of two men within each town, upon forfeiture of ten shillings to the country." That largely was because of the scarcity of calves. The fault with the shoes was in the dressing of the leather.

Pay for most part was in kind or its equivalent. The Indian wampum soon became a too uncertain quantity except in dealings with the natives themselves. This resulted in the early spread of warehouses. In 1645 each town had two fairs a year in addition to its public "market" on meetinghouse square. At these there was exchange of "all manner of commodities that should be brought in, for cattle or any merchandize whatever." In the earliest days this was the custom in Hartford. Standards were fixed by the court and it was a duty of the town clerk to see that they were kept constant and observed. Governor Hopkins and William Whiting, later treasurer of the Colony, were the chief merchants. When, by 1644, the inhabitants had profited so much from the teachings of the Indians that there was a surplus of corn, coming in from all sides, these two dealers arranged for exporting to "parts beyond the seas."

"Pipestaves," so frequently mentioned, were what are now called simply staves, for the making of casks. There was a heavy demand for them, and strict regulations on their manufacture. The large business in skins was limited to Whiting and Thomas Stanton. Grain exports were taxed two pence a bushel, biscuit sixpence a hundred-weight, beaver skins two pence a pound. On hogs at slaughter there was a tax of twelve pence for each year of the hog's life, and the same on milch cows above three years old. Payments were in wampum, beaver, wheat, barley or pease at the common rates, and turned over to the Saybrook customs house till terms of the bargain were met.

Some of their largest shallops were of ninety tons burthen. There was material in abundance for boats of all kinds. The boats for distant ports brought home clothing, tools for the farms, sugar, firearms, glass, pewter, nails, cotton-wool, rum and wine.

Hemp and flax were such desiderata, after the Indians had taught how to raise them, that the raising of large crops was made compulsory—valuable not only for fishing tackle and boats but for clothing. As early as 1640 every family must plant at least one spoonful of English hempseed "at least a foot distant betwixt every seed and the same so planted to preserve and keep in a husbandly manner for supply of seed another year." The following year owners of a team must sow at least a rood of hemp or flax; owners of cattle to sow twenty perches, or if not owning cattle, ten perches; likewise to produce a half pound of hemp or flax or undergo punishment. When seed ran short, those who had more than a spoonful and would not sell to others must plant the more themselves. How to manipulate the fibre and how to weave with the looms they imported or built themselves were matters that several had learned in England, and thus were competent to teach those who never had had to do such work.

Thanks to good soil, gardens yielded abundantly with melons, grapes, and strawberries which, after being dried and ground, made an excellent flour for bread. There also were squashes ("vine apples"), radishes and pumpkins of which Johnson says in his *Wonder-Working Providence*, "Let no man make a jest, for with this fruit the Lord was pleased to feed his people to their good content till corn and cattle were increased." Pear and apple trees flourished abundantly.

Notwithstanding the tremendous strain upon unwonted bodies, the mortality percentage was not high. In Hartford, it was early perceived, however, that the original burying ground, across the "yard" from the first church building was not well located for a growing community. The "yard" was becoming more and more of a mart. Accordingly Richard Olmstead, in 1640, was given a lot at the common cow-yard on the road to Windsor in exchange for his. His was located on the original holding of Sergeant Thomas Stanley who performed watch-and-guard duty at the palisado down Main Street, at Little River, and included land between present Gold and Pearl streets, running out into present Main Street. A part of it was to become the site of the present First Church of Christ.

Bell Ringer and Crier Thomas Woodford was the first sexton. Strict rules were provided for him. No corpses were to be buried less than four feet deep, and none, of persons over four years old, less than five feet. He should keep each grave in such condition that its location would be known in coming years. His pay was to be two shillings, sixpence for one of "the lesser sort," three shillings for one of "the middle sort," and three-six for one of "the highest sort." Among the first to be buried there was the first wife of Teacher Samuel Stone of the church of whom Mr. Hooker said she "smoked out her days in the darkness of melancholie." The condition of the highways in itself was enough to make wonder that such a disease did not become an epidemic.

In New London, where they were rejoicing in a five-fathom harbor, conditions were quite the reverse; granite, roughly protruding, made land travel about the town almost impossible. It was not to be till some years later that the rocks were blasted out and utilized as the best kind of building material. The town, like the others under the Connecticut jurisdiction, obeyed the injunctions of the General Court so far as possible under its circumstances.

There had been discouragement in the beginning but Winthrop inspired hope. A number had deserted when the Rev. Richard Blinman came down from Gloucester the year after the founding. By 1648 forty families had joined the settlers and under the inspiration of John Winthrop, Jr., and Mr. Blinman, it came easier to follow the injunctions of the General Court.

It was by commerce rather than by agriculture that New London was to flourish. Under the original name of Pequot it continued till, as said, the change was made to New London out of respect for England's London, in March, 1658. The limits of the town included present Montville, Waterford and Groton, each of which was eventually to be counted among the most attractive places along the shore of the sound.

The first meetinghouse and courthouse were in the north part of the present city and the burying ground not far away. One of the earliest monuments was in honor of Captain Richard Lord who died in 1662. He was one of the body corporate to whom the King Charles Charter was granted and had been commander of the Hartford Troop of Horse.

Captain Lord was one of the foremost and wealthiest of Hartford's original proprietors. He was assigned the lot next to his father's. His wife was the

daughter of Governor Haynes. As deputy he was a member of the General Court from 1656 to his death. His estate was, with one exception, the largest in Hartford. Mrs. Lord, after the captain's death, married Dr. Thomas Hooker, son of the Rev. Samuel Hooker of Farmington, and his son, Richard, married the daughter of the Rev. Joseph Haynes of Hartford.

The epitaph on Captain Lord's tombstone in New London reads:

Bright star of our chivallrie lyes here
To the state a counsellour full deare
And to the truth a friend of sweete content
To Hartford towne a silver ornament
Who can deny to poore he was reliefe
And in composing paroxyies he was chiefe
To merchantes as a patterne he might stand
Adventring dangers new by sea and land.

He was one of those relied upon, with Pynchon of Springfield, to assist in the capture of the regicides but it does not appear that he greatly bestirred himself. It was largely by his energy that during the war alarms of the 1650 period the Connecticut Colony had strengthened its military organization and increased the drill requirements. New legislation had compelled the train bands to clothe and equip themselves; if without the means, the men must pay the cost by day labor, under direction of the constables.

In each of the three original towns they had six training days a year with two inspections; defect was punishable by heavy fine. In 1654 the court ordered a general review once in two years and a joint organization of Captain Richard Lord's troop of horse. Daniel Clark of Windsor was lieutenant and John Allyn of Hartford cornet. As major, the veteran John Mason was the commanding officer over all.

Magazines of powder and shot were maintained in every town. Hartford's supply had to be two barrels of powder, six hundred weight of lead, six score fathoms of match, twelve corselets with pikes, twelve firelock muskets and twelve cutlasses. All inhabitants over sixteen, soldiers or not, must have ready for use half a pound of powder, two pounds of shot and two fathoms of match and also two fathoms of match to every matchlock. Restrictions were put upon local Indians and trade strictly limited—that with outsiders prohibited. No one should sell to the Indians any weapons whatsoever or any kind of a dog, nor buy of their timber, candlewood or trees, or settle among them. At the same time all efforts were made to christianize them. One of the church elders twice a year went among them to make known "the councils of God." And in 1654 a Pequot was invited to Hartford to be prepared by Teacher Stone to go among the Indians to teach, at the Colony's expense. John Eliot, the great apostle to the Indians, came to Hartford in 1657 and preached to the Podunks in their own language. When at the close he asked if they would receive the Lord's words, they replied: "You have taken away our lands and now you want to make us servants."

CHAPTER XXI.

New Haven's School Woe

Effort for a College—Grammar School Instead—Davenport's Grief and Tragic End—Colony's Status in that Period—Stamford-Greenwich Problems.

If the path of liberal education in Hartford had been a rough one, that in New Haven was even more so. Ambition and zeal exceeded means; patience had to be long-enduring. In the case of forceful but overwrought Davenport it was to prove to be the last grain of disappointment and to hasten the end of an historic career with one of the saddest tragedies in all New England. With ambition for a college—to be fulfilled a half century later but in an undreamed-of-way—it won through with a model grammar school after years of heart-breaking disappointments for the leaders.

Goodwin of Hartford and Davenport of New Haven were similar in their ideals but in power of adaptability Goodwin excelled, however much church entanglements were to bring him grief. To Davenport, with his soaring ambition, greater promise was held out; his side entanglements were greater because of the heavier burdens he had assumed for church and State and the pain he was to suffer from loss of governmental independence and, in his last hours, from the good intention but fatal error of his son and namesake.

In New Haven Governor Eaton had his General Court for which he furnished the energy, or leastwise for the separate New Haven section; the "jurisdiction" or federation of outlying settlements, was another matter yet all one except in New Haven management. It was a peculiar combination of a court of common council and a Legislature, a modification of a satrapal plan. All differences can be traced back to the incipency of the two colonies in England, as already has appeared. The Connecticut Colony was better adapted for unknown wilds because humbler and more open in its general purpose.

In the minds of both colonies, schooling was a cardinal principle, though neither had given it much thought in the haste of their departure from England with its institutions so long since established. Emigration had been a plunge into the unknown, greatly over-colored by the pamphleteers of the *Mayflower* party. In the case of Connecticut the fundamental ideal was religious; in New Haven, it was religious plus commercial. For the carriers of the germ of democracy, it is best

expressed by the word "faith." "He who brought us over will sustain," Connecticut's motto, precisely phrases it.

The appearance of the to-be great Ezekiel Cheever in New Haven at its beginning has been touched upon. Michael Wigglesworth of Hartford got his elementary Latin from him. There also was William Jeanes, at the corner of Chapel and Church streets, an original proprietor who taught for two years, or until 1651, at ten pounds a year, increased to twenty with five shillings a week for room and board. John Hanford, afterwards a teacher in Norwalk, gave lessons. The Rev. William Hooke, ordained teacher in the church, his successor, the Rev. Nicholas Street, and Ruling Elder Robert Newman gave of their time to the work, though Mr. Hooke and Mr. Newman early returned to England. Hanford's term was short but during it he filed caustic complaint because he had to teach so many how to spell. With the majority of the inhabitants the complaint must have fallen on deaf ears. The complaint of Mr. Bowers from Plymouth was that pupils were too few.

In addition to local tithes, the inhabitants had to contribute for Harvard a peck of wheat or the money equivalent every year, known as the "college corn," and it required of the authorities considerable persuasion to collect it.

From the outset there had been strong desire to establish a college in New Haven. By nature it was an ideal location and belief was that it would strengthen faith and beget courage. The creation of a collegiate school in 1660 and the compulsory law for reading and writing hopefully prepared the way for greater things. Already the grounds for a college had been set aside. This was known as "Oyster-shell field," and the plan broached in 1652 was to include the whole "jurisdiction" or federation of settlements for support. Guilford felt obliged to record a resolution that that town could not afford to be counted in and added the unpleasant lines: "Especially considering the unsettled condition of New Haven town being publicly declared from the deliberate judgment of the most understanding men to be a place of no comfortable existence for the present inhabitants there; but if Connecticut do join, the plantations are generally willing to bear their just proportions." (This is the first obtainable written hint of a coalition of Connecticut and New Haven.) Stephen Goodyear offered his house for the college and New Haven did not lose faith.

In 1654 the "jurisdiction" General Court brought up the college subject, merely to get an expression of opinion, it said. It happened—and probably Mr. Davenport knew all about it—that at that moment there was serious trouble at Harvard College where President Dunster was about to pronounce expression of belief that infant baptism was unscriptural. This was a serious item in the sweeping half-way covenant discussion. The college authorities and selectmen of every town were thereupon directed by the Massachusetts General Court that no teaching would be allowed which was "unsound in the faith and scandalous in their lives and not giving due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ; forasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of the country that the youth thereof be educated not only in good government but sound doctrine." President Dunster at once resigned.

Mr. Davenport and Mr. Hooke already—in 1651—had spoken before the local General Court urging the college plan. A committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions. On May 30, or only a fortnight later, the court announced that three hundred pounds had been pledged and it would like information as to what the outlying towns would do. Milford thereupon pledged one hundred pounds but the other towns were silent. The time was not ripe. It seemed best to use the Hopkins bequest for Hartford and New Haven purely for a grammar school. Accordingly forty pounds a year was voted for such project with eight pounds additional for buying books from the library of the Rev. Richard Blinman of New London who was about to return to England. Governor Leete offered the Whitfield stone house at Milford, previously described herein. Mr. Davenport was so encouraged that in May, 1660, he made over to the magistrates of the local General Court his trusteeship under the Hopkins bequest.

Soon thereafter the court presented a memorandum from Mr. Davenport headed: *Quod felix, Faustumque!* Dated March 4, 1660, it revealed that he had appealed to Governor Hopkins in London when the college subject was first brought up. The Governor had replied promptly expressing great esteem for Mr. Davenport and touching upon certain secrets which could not be divulged, then declaring that he always had intended to give the colonies the greater part of what he had made in them for the furtherance of the cause of Christ, and if a college should be established in New Haven, he should give "some encouragement." Before Mr. Davenport's next letter could reach England, he had died. "Therefore," said the memorandum, "the Governor had made his will"—naming New Haven's Governor Eaton, his father-in-law, as one of the trustees.

The memorandum then proceeded to review what the trustees had done, as already told herein. Mr. Davenport expressed his desire that Oyster-shell Field be rented and the income go toward a college fund; that parents keep their sons in training for public service and have them make "some entrance into Latin"; that if the town were relieved of the expense of its present school, a corresponding amount could be devoted to the college fund, at least in part; that forty pounds from the grammar school fund could be turned to the support of such school in one of the other towns and a teacher be engaged at once—one who could teach Latin, Greek and Hebrew in preparation for the college—if located in New Haven, under the direction of the magistrates, elders and deputies; then, "solemnly" in a body, they to visit and inspect the school once a year.

There followed elaborate suggestions for the general management under a committee of church members to be chosen immediately to act with the Governor. Mr. Davenport was to be conferred with and have power of veto on anything prejudicial to the testator's intent. Provision was suggested for careful preservation of all papers, including this memorandum.

The court's reaction was favorable. While regretting that the towns had not carried through the previous projects, it voted one hundred pounds for stock in the new undertaking, the school to be in Milford or Guilford if New Haven did not take it—the proposed college to be established in any event. All details of management were set forth. Mr. Davenport's enthusiasm was at high pitch.

In June, 1660, failure of the whole plan was duly reported. Instead a colony school could be encouraged in New Haven, with one hundred pounds stock, a master's house and a schoolhouse and forty pounds salary. Oyster-shell Field was set apart for a future college as Mr. Davenport desired. Forthwith a house was rented, Deacon William Peck was engaged as master, his residence to be provided for, and a week's vacation allowed him each year, his salary to be forty pounds, the equivalent of that amount from the "jurisdiction," plus ten pounds from New Haven—to be given in wheat, corn, pork, beef, peas, butter, flax and oats.

So light was the school attendance, however, only six or seven, and in view of the "distraction of the times," the plan was discontinued in November, 1662. The consolidation with Connecticut was the chief "distraction" for Mr. Davenport. He formally expressed his deep regret that school attendance was so small. George Pardee thereupon was engaged for one year's trial of a purely local school, to receive twenty pounds from the town and the balance from the parents of pupils, and he to look carefully into the matter of manners, "there being great fault in that respect."

Within two years, in order to get its share of the Hopkins fund, the town established a collegiate school with Samuel Street as teacher, the town to furnish thirty pounds and the Hopkins fund would yield ten. Mr. Davenport insisted that a reasonable patronage be maintained. With prospect of thirteen pupils they started the first year. Mr. Davenport, though keenly disappointed, agreed to this plan but sternly warned them.

That was in February, 1668. A few weeks later Mr. Davenport removed to Boston to be pastor of the First Church, after turning over his trusteeship again to eminent men, his son John included, and after annulling his former conveyance for encouragement of a "colony school," since that had not been endorsed by the General Court. Thus came into existence the Hopkins Grammar School which has been continued ever since with a record of supplying some of the foremost Yale men, students and professors. As for Oyster-shell Field so carefully reserved for a college only, it was sold in 1718. The field itself was a choice one for a small commercial settlement. It was east of the East Creek reservation and included the land between present Chapel Street and a line about three hundred feet north of East Water Street—a marvelous location relative to the modern university boat houses but hardly conceivable today for the great university which extends over so much of the higher and most valuable land of the city and even beyond town limits.

One point has not been brought out in this review of ancient data. It was important though not figuring in formal records. And that was the quiet but strenuous opposition of New England colonists who were earnest in the desire to maintain the college already established at Cambridge. As it has been observed, all landholders were supposed to pay something toward the maintenance of Harvard. Without such general coöperation it could not continue as it was, an institution which drew young men from all over New England, which meant Connecticut in particular. Not in Massachusetts alone was there fear that a new college would be likely to mean lowering of standards of both through lack of funds for both.

Nevertheless the spirit of these New Haven founders did not die out. The spark was to be revived in the last years of the century when a few clergymen were to pledge their books, determined to have a Connecticut institution, which was to become an accomplished fact in 1701 and Oyster-shell Field was no longer needed.

But in 1667 the days of the arch-champion of the college plan were fast drawing to a close with a "sorrow's crown of sorrow." Davenport's "remembering happier things"—if we may cling to Tennyson's apt words—included achieving his ambition as a youth despite lack of funds, his devising the fief plan for poor young clergymen, his happy vicarage in St. Stephen's wealthy parish, his association with the Eaton group, his prospects when coming to New Haven. He was there the prop and the flaming pillar of the church and State. So severe was his opposition to such things as the half-way covenant that he was bound to make enemies, but he never lost their respect. That there should be fusion with the sister colony which accepted that heresy was one of his final blows. He inspired the letters to Connecticut in opposition thereto and argued long and zealously with his friend, Governor Winthrop, so conscientiously that his associates if not himself felt the Connecticut charter must have been obtained through trickery. He did not have the full sympathy of his own congregation but he did not lose respect or love.

Continuing in his devotion to the Mosaic law and weary of evils he was conscious of around him, he inspired Eaton's code of "blue laws" in 1665, imposing upon all the people the severity which time in its course had begotten in him. Boldly yet diplomatically he hindered the King's officers in pursuit of the three regicides in his jurisdiction—his in the sense that he considered all his, whoever was the civic chief. He finally faltered and hankered for peace like that he had known before the persecution in England. He could find it in erudite and aristocratic Boston. By the loss of the Rev. John Wilson, the original church of that fair town was without a shepherd. Deaf to the prayers of his own congregation, he sought that position.

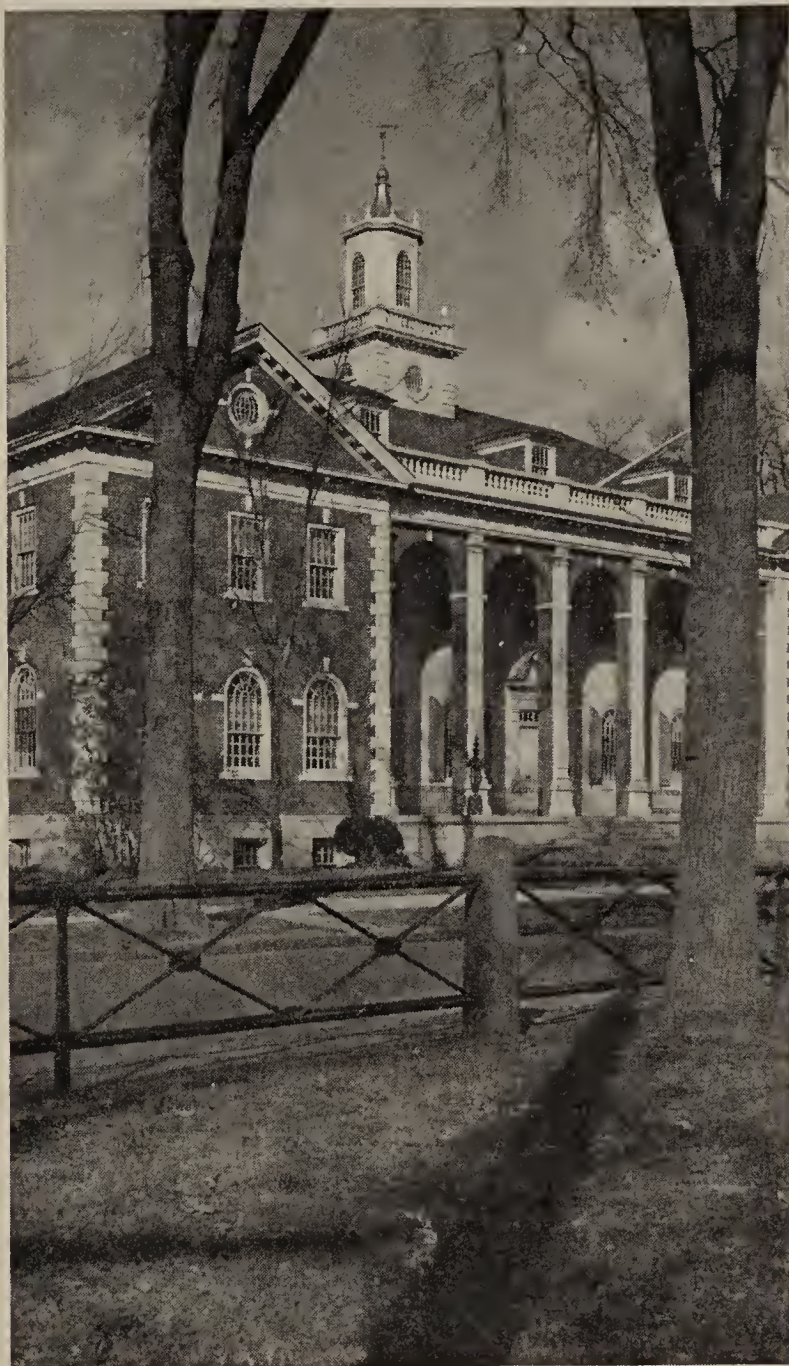
The application was happily received but the steadfast New Haven church, forgetting all differences, firmly refused to let him go. Three times the call came and three times the church society voted against the release. At last the Boston church received the answer it desired, however ambiguous in certain sentences. The sorrowing congregation and civic body of New Haven mourned but kept silence. For Davenport, in his seventieth year, seemed to feel that the Grace of God once more was his. But soon there were rumors that hurt him and his new congregation. They were to the effect that the New Haven letter of dismissal was a forgery. Members began leaving the Boston church. A schism developed which resulted in the organization of a new church, to be known in history as the "Old South."

This was a problem beyond Davenport's comprehension. Thus until investigation, clinched by the confession of the son on whom Davenport had had reason to lean heavily. The son, sympathizing with the grief of his father, had so mangled the fourth letter of the New Haven church society refusing to release their revered

pastor as to make it read consent. In a few months the Moses of New Haven was stricken mentally and died in March, 1670. He was buried in King's Chapel Burying Ground, far from the field of his effort. Today one of the new-Yale colleges bears his name.

President Ezra Stiles of Yale in his famous *Diary*, a composite of Colonial history and erudition, gave this estimate: "President Charles Chauncey of Harvard was foremost in erudition. Davenport of New Haven was next to him in wide reading and learning," and then adds: "But I selected Hooker as rather more eminent. . . . Richard Mather and John Cotton were of a second class for learning, but greatly useful." Farther on he wrote: "I consider the Rev. Peter Bulkeley of Concord, Mass., President Chauncey, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Norton and Mr. Davenport as the greatest divines among the first ministers of New England and equal to the first characters in theology in all christendom and in all ages."

Notwithstanding the respect in which the founders of the New Haven Colony were held by the chief part of those who came with them from Boston and of many of those who came later, there was a continually increasing number who found the Mosaic Fundamental Orders irksome. When the original settlers had adopted them on June 4, 1639, there may not have



NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Courtesy of the American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)

been, in the brave spirit of the hour, an appreciation of the clause: "It is agreed and concluded as a fundamental order, *not to be disputed or questioned hereafter*, that none shall be admitted to be free burgess [citizens] in any of the plantations

within this jurisdiction for the future but such planters as are members of some or other of the approved churches in New England."

There was nothing as discriminative as this even in the Massachusetts regulations; in that colony the church membership requirement for freemen was not a fundamental law; rather it was the decree of the body politic as expressed through the magisterial body, so complicated as not to be defined by a single modern word. In New Haven the "fundamental" was basic, unchangeable, a compact from which, once agreed to, no one could recede.

Further, there were no jury trials. In all courts, the magistrates alone determined questions of fact as well as law and exercised discretionary judgment, therein differing from the old English law, possibly due to Governor Eaton's familiarity with the system of the cruder Baltic states. Doubtless it had seemed to Eaton more dependable for the institution of a semi-commercial enterprise, leaving so little at stake.

William Hubbard remarks: "Yet they could not foresee all the inconveniency which might arise from such a frame of government, so differing from the other colonies in the constitution thereof"—including the jury system "the benefit of which had been so long confirmed by the experience of some ages in our own nation; . . . what can be more done for the establishing of an arbitrary power?" He seriously questioned the consequent "inquietness in the minds of sundry."

Events proved the correctness of this view. One of the events was the semi-rebellion at Stamford during the Dutch War period. Constriction was aggravated by the regulation that military officers must be church-member freemen. In 1655, the General Court had to yield to the extent that, if there were no freeman "fit for a chief military officer . . . it shall be in the power of the General Court to choose some other man."

In Greenwich disaffection took another turn. When originally the town was created in regular order, its position on the Dutch and Indian border had made of it an irresponsible frontier community. Captain Patrick had played fast and loose with the settlement, largely because of the influence of his Dutch wife, till it was hardly recognizable as an English town. By the Treaty of Hartford in 1650 it had been formally restored to New Haven but in 1665 Stamford was complaining that the planters were suffering greatly from their Greenwich neighbors; they stole cattle, were disorderly, and allowed drunkenness among the Indians; shielded disorderly men and women, fleeing from lawful correction; married in a disorderly way and altogether were ungodly; therefore they should be brought under Stamford control.

Greenwich submitted a year later, in 1666. The town thereupon was ordered to "fall in" with Stamford and it was freed from rates for one year. A case like that confirmed the New Haven General Court in its capacity under the Fundamental Orders while the Stamford rebellion worked to the contrary. This was the year before Eaton's sudden death.

The natural successor of Eaton in the 1653 election was Stephen Goodyear who had been elected Deputy-Governor with Eaton as Governor from the beginning.

but, as he was on a visit to England at that time, Francis Newman, the Colonial secretary, was chosen and William Leete of Guilford was chosen Deputy-Governor. Davenport wrote his intimate friend, John Winthrop, Jr., that that was the "saddest election day I ever saw," because Mr. Goodyear was wholly left out. It seems by his letter that this was due to the "proxies" who were persuaded by deputies that only those who were in the colony should be chosen at present juncture. Mr. Newman himself at first refused to accept the honor. Had Goodyear returned he would have been the choice at the next election. But death intervened, in 1660, and Leete became acting Governor and then Governor.

The possible cruelty of courts of magistrates without a jury is illustrated by the instance of a highly esteemed daughter of a magistrate who herself haled her into court for frivolity in having kissed a young man to whom she was engaged. His witnesses were two jealous girls and so absurd was the testimony that his fellow-magistrates urged that she be released. The father, however, insisted on discharging his painful duty and sentenced her to be whipped publicly.

Some of the current penalties were: Burglary or robbery, branding and whipping; if on Sunday, an ear cut off; on second offense, the other ear; third offense, execution. As in other colonies there were penalties for idleness, for "common coaster," unprofitable "fowlers," and "tobacco-takers." Profanity was punished at the stocks or by fines. As in other colonies, the whipping penalty usually was inflicted at a cart-tail by some who previously had been rebuked. Sometimes the punishment was at a public post, like the one that lingered along near the courthouse till about 1825 when it disappeared one stormy night during a Yale student celebration. Civil disqualification was visited upon those who were convicted, to be restored only by petition to the General Court.

Meantime the social relations between the dwellers in the two colonies were cordial. There were several intermarriages. Governor Eaton's son married Governor Haynes' widow, and there were other unions of hardly less prominence.

CHAPTER XXII.

Imperiled by Regicides

Distinguished Refugees Seek Safety Here—New Haven Towns, Hadley and Hartford in "Most Thrilling of Colonial Romances."

"Puritanism, so men believed, had fallen never to rise again," says Historian Green, when Charles II was crowned May 29, 1660. But "it drew, indeed, a nobler life from its very fall." Parliament twice had been ejected from Westminster. Presbyterians had succeeded in assembling a new House of Commons (the "Convention" Parliament), but through the treachery of General Monk, marching down from Scotland, it had been stopped in its endeavor to write terms for the King to accept. Charles already promised a general pardon and religious toleration; the "convention" declared the old constitution in force, resolving that the "government is and ought to be, by king, lords and commons"; and Royalist "magistrates" were excluded from right to vote.

While following closely every important step of Connecticut colonists since the overthrow of monarchy in 1649, the effect of the crowding incidents in the Mother Country should be kept in mind. The colonists had been free to regulate their own affairs but they owed allegiance to England. From that timely source during the interregnum, beyond question, came at least a degree of that spirit of independence which was to manifest itself in immediately succeeding years and so emphatically in the following century.

When the test of their allegiance was about to come, now in 1660, there was more willingness or anxiety to accept it among the Massachusetts leaders than among those of Connecticut and New Haven. As the incidents reveal, and among the common people of the colonies, there was a disposition to ignore it.

All could wish that the test need not be made, yet there was no consternation when unexpectedly they found themselves called upon to entertain two of the most distinguished of the few who had voted for the execution of Charles I. "Regicides" is the colloquial term for them, or, considerately, "judges." In point of fact they more nearly were jurymen.

The colonies' uninvited visitors were Major-General Edward Whalley, cousin of Oliver Cromwell, and brother of the wife of the Rev. William Hooke, Davenport's colleague in the New Haven church, and Major-General William Goffe, son-

in-law of Whalley. Later they were to be followed here by another judge, Colonel John Dixwell. Whalley and Goffe were the two most eminent men who came to New England, in the judgment of Lemuel A. Welles who has studied their case very carefully. The three were to furnish what well has been called "the most thrilling romance in colonial history," even though in printed history it has been relegated to the paragraphs on traditions and not enriched by Goffe's diary and the letters in certain of the libraries. President Ezra Stiles of Yale devoted much time investigating their careers here.

Whalley came of a prominent family in Nottinghamshire. He was in business in London when Cromwell's civil war began. Though without military experience, his cousin, the Protector, gave him a minor office in the cavalry. As major he so distinguished himself at Gainsborough, in 1643, when Cromwell found the entire Royal army against him, that Cromwell cited him in his report—"to the exceeding glory of God." One has only to read a description of the famous battle of Naseby, where dashing Prince Rupert was demonstrating the tremendous power of cavalry as he had seen it illustrated in Europe, when Cromwell on one flank and Whalley on the other turned defeat into victory, Whalley cutting through Langdale's splendid regiment. Richard Baxter, his chaplain, no admirer of Cromwell but so appreciative of Whalley that he later dedicated one of his books to him, wrote of Whalley's regiment: "They were the most religious, most valiant, most successful of all in the army." Whalley was in charge of the King's person after the surrender and received a fine letter for his courtesies.

Goffe, son of a clergyman, was also a London business man when given a commission in the army as captain and then as major, later to have the rank of major-general. He was especially devout, sometimes resolving disputes by recourse to prayer meetings.

Dixwell was less prominent in the field but very highly esteemed. He hailed from Warwickshire and was in charge of his family's large estates in Kent. In 1646 he represented Kent in Parliament.

In 1649 the Long Parliament had been torn and scourged till the House of Commons had a voting membership of only about a hundred and fifty, called the "Rump." After many wranglings it was determined in January, 1649, that it should sit as the "high court of justice" with the defeated Charles as one accused of high crimes. Sentiment was so conflicting that barely the quorum of thirty appeared on some days and Charles was defiant. Sir Edmund Ludlow, previously mentioned in connection with Roger Ludlow, was one of this court. Cromwell was present at all the sessions but one. Whalley was hardly less attentive. The death warrant was signed by sixty-nine members, including Whalley, Goffe and Dixwell. Later contentions were that the court was not a majority of the House and the peers had not voted for the court. It actually was more a trial by the army which was then necessarily the controlling power.

After the execution of the King, Whalley was commissioned commissary and major-general for the expedition into Scotland where he won more laurels and later

was made a peer. At Dunbar he was wounded and his horse was shot twice. In 1655 Cromwell made him one of the eleven major-generals to administer the national government. In that capacity he sought to make an end to the curse of local magistracies so long wickedly employed. During his peerage in 1657 he earnestly supported Cromwell.

Goffe, who would have had Cromwell crowned King, likewise became a major-general in that service, commanding Cromwell's own regiment at Dunbar. He was one of the officers who drove out the "Barebones" Parliament, was appointed to the House of Lords in 1658 and was considered by some as successor to Cromwell.

The tradition of constitutional liberty nurtured by the Puritans was being discredited by the outcome of the war. In reality, as appears at this juncture in 1660, power was being transferred from the King to the House of Commons. The interim or "convention" Parliament had declared itself a formal Parliament, excluding all Royalist "malignants" from the right to vote. The compromise was to be seen in Charles II's selection of his first ministry, in which the Presbyterian influence was apparent and Cromwellians were recognized. New England's friend, Lord Say and Sele, was made Lord of the Privy Seal; of the Privy Council of Thirty, twelve had been in arms against the King. Sentiment was running strong against those who had favored the execution of Charles I.

Events were following each other in rapid succession the last of April. On May 1 was read the declaration the new King had made in Breda, the Netherlands, on April 4, in which he promised pardon to all except those whom the Convention Parliament should exempt. The judges were not likely to be exempted. They began fleeing from the country, but the majority remained. The first act of Parliament was to adopt a "bill of oblivion and indemnity" for all; soon seven of the judges were excluded and the King by proclamation demanded that all return at once or stand trial. Eventually twenty-eight of them were arraigned at the bar but only thirteen were executed, and of these only one, Harrison, had been conspicuous in the rebellion. Twenty others were debarred from holding office and finally, a clause was added to the list for execution including Sir Henry Vane and General Lambert, neither of whom had had to do with sentencing Charles I.

Whalley and Goffe, sensing the situation, sailed on May 4 on the ship of Puritan Captain Pierce. Dixwell, who was ill, secured extension of time and made his way to Germany before going to America. The news they brought was, indeed, sensational. Dropping their false names, they at once called upon Governor Endicott, who was courteous, and went on to the house of Major Daniel Gookin (later colony major-general) in Cambridge—the Watertown of Hooker's time. Later news from England, brought by a Scotch sea captain who recognized Whalley and said that had it not been for his companions he would have laid hold of them, was more disturbing. But still they were openly attending church services and enjoying hospitalities, particularly at the home of President Chauncey of Harvard. Royalist Captain Thomas Breedon, who recognized them, urged the Governor to seize them as traitors but the Governor said no such commission had come from England. John Crown, a Harvard student, informed against them, declaring he

had heard Whalley say openly that he had done only what he should have done toward Charles I. This information he carried to England where, Mr. Welles says, he became a rival of Dryden for court favors as a dramatist.

Boston now was beginning to experience severe shocks indicative of the mood of the King and the Parliament. The tragic fate of the Rev. Hugh Peter caused one of the severe shocks, in this year 1660. As pastor at Salem, Massachusetts, and as a participant in all Colonial affairs, he had been known for fiery disposition and tremendous will power. He was the stepfather-in-law of younger Winthrop and had come to Massachusetts with the eminent party in 1635. When the Warwick patentees had chosen Saybrook for their location, he had been appointed with the younger Winthrop and Henry ("Harry") Vane, Jr., to arrange the details and was among those participating in the meetings which gave the Hooker party authority to locate on the Connecticut.*

A man of high education he also, and among other things, had been one of those who established the college in Cambridge. He had returned to England to participate warmly in the cause of the Puritans, conspicuous in religious and governmental matters. When Charles II himself was expressing his weariness of executions, Peter was haled before the Parliamentarian Court. Denied counsel, he was compelled to listen to false testimony which failed to substantiate the charges against him. As he went to the scaffold, he said to his daughter: "Go home to New England and trust God there," and to his lamenting friends, "Weep not for me; my heart is full of comfort."

And after that tragedy was to come that of Vane himself, in 1662, the third of the same name and title. In the civil war his father, though deprived of his offices because he participated in the prosecution of Strafford, had remained neutral. The son, of wide travel and learning and the reorganizer of the navy, also had come to the Bay in 1635, where he soon was chosen Governor. There his predilections for the "antinomian" theory cost him his popularity great as it was, whereupon he returned for political life at home. . . . "No man was more conspicuous in the military and theological politics of the time than Vane." He carried to the House of Lords the articles of impeachment against Archbishop Laud which the Puritans so long had prayed for, and crushed the bishops.

His theory that the conflict should be carried through in legislative halls disgusted Cromwell who had him imprisoned for writing a book on the subject, only, however to release him in four months. He continued discontented through the Cromwell régime till ordered by Parliament to go into retirement at his home in Raby. Immediately upon the restoration, with which he had no sympathy, he was one of the twenty not to be included in an "Act of General Pardon and Oblivion"—after so many had been executed—and was thrown into the tower. That was in July, 1660.

* Peter also had been prominent in establishing the United Colonies. Hooker, Haynes and the elder Winthrop had likewise been entreated to return to England. Hooker expressed it that he was obliged to reject the petition of eminent parliamentarians to come and participate in reforming the church, because he would find himself in the minority among so many Presbyterians. Peter was among the first to improve such an opportunity.

The Bay colonists together with the fugitives they had sheltered had hope that, wrath having run its course, he would be released in due time, and were astounded by the sequel. In June, 1662, he was executed for high treason, with a cry for "liberties of the people" on his lips.

Milton wrote of Peter that he was of the

"Men whose life, learning, faith and pure intent
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul."

Of "Harry" Vane, Clarendon wrote in his history: "If he was not superior to Hampden, he was inferior to no other man."

Meantime the bodies of Cromwell and those nearest him were being dragged from their sepulchres and beheaded by the mobs.

In November of 1660 news had come of Act of Parliament in which all the judges were named and exempted from pardon; by Royal proclamation a reward of one hundred pounds was offered for each judge brought in, dead or alive; of those then arraigned, ten were hanged, drawn and quartered; the others were given life imprisonment.

There was division of counsel at the Bay. The colony magistrates, summoned by the Governor the following February, could not agree to the suggestion that Royal authority no longer be respected nor yet to a resolution that the fugitives be given up.

Meantime Davenport in New Haven had written the Governor, Endicott, a joyful letter on hearing of the presence of the judges whom he should hope to meet on coming to Boston and whom he would like to entertain at his home. There were other cordial relations between the judges and the New Haven people. Aside from the family bond between Whalley and Davenport's teacher Hooke, so efficient in the colony till he returned to England, there was the friendship with Mrs. William Jones, daughter of New Haven's Governor Eaton, who had come over on the same boat with the judges. Her husband, a forthright newcomer, had recently been chosen a magistrate, and in taking the oath had specifically added a reserve clause in the matter of foreign government affairs.

Now was a good time to accept the cordial invitations from New Haven, that distinguished and energetic quarter. The judges could but be conscious that their presence in Boston was embarrassing. Provided with horses they started on their journey February 26 despite the bad condition of the roads and the distressing weather at that time of year. They were old campaigners. They went by way of Hartford to call on Governor Winthrop who received them diplomatically, for his mind was entertaining thoughts of an early intimate relationship with the Royal Court in the delicate matter of a free charter for his colony. He furnished them lodgings and provided a good guide to see them to New Haven, where they arrived March 7 as guests of Davenport.

A disturbing message came from Boston. A Royal order for the arrest of the generals—called "colonels" by the colonists in their writings—had been received.

Enigmatically if not suspiciously it had been addressed to "Our Trusty and Well Beloved Governor or Other Magistrate or Magistrates of Our Plantations of New England"—as though the proclaimer had in mind that all New England was under a Royal government or soon would be. It complained of the harborage of Whalley and Goffe and requested that they be taken and sent back.

Not too long after notifying New Haven, Thomas Kellond, a merchant, and Thomas Kirk, a shipmaster, were dispatched with warrants and letters to the other Governors and to New Amsterdam—copies sent to England—to make search, with John Chapin as guide. They did not get started till May 7, 1661. At Hartford they were graciously received by Governor Winthrop and were sent on to New Haven, private messengers probably preceding them. It is reasonable supposition that Magistrate Jones and Governor Eaton's daughter found method of temporary concealment.

Meantime the pursuers revealed no loss of patience in their search till on Saturday, April 30, they went to the home of Acting Governor Leete himself, in Guilford. Beyond that interview their patience could not be stretched.

Others were in the room. The Governor began reading aloud the papers presented—for two men who at the moment were hiding in a sawmill. Kirk suggested that the papers should be considered private. The suggestion was approved. Leete told them he had not seen the refugees since they passed through town nine weeks before on their way to New Haven. The pursuers asked for horses, which Leete furnished, as soon as they could be found and saddled, which required a long time. On the road they learned that the "colonels" had been at Mr. Davenport's in New Haven. They turned back and asked the Governor to provide military aid. That, he said, would necessitate conference with his magistrates. His letter to Magistrate Gilbert required thought and time. The sun set after which nobody could travel because it was Saturday; the evening, by regulations, should be to prepare one's mind for observance of Sunday.

The Rev. Mr. Davenport chose for a text during this period: "Take counsel, execute judgment; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noon-day; hide the outcasts, bewry not him that wandereth. Let mine outcast dwell with thee, Moab; be thou covert to them from the face of the spoiler." The manuscript of the sermon is not dated. Evidence of date is only presumptive.

The pursuers were out early Monday morning and at the assembly room, the church. The magistrates summoned, arrived slowly. Leete was last of all. After six hours of study of the details, the conclusion was reached that the matter would have to go to General Court in any event and the Governor said he would summon it. In manner of exasperation the pursuers warned him not to be guilty of treason; whether or not, he should "own the king." Leete received the rebuke meditatively and then responded with solemnity: "We honor his majesty—but," he added decisively, "we have tender consciences. We would know if the King would own us."

By now the pursuers had reverted to their original idea that the pursued must be well on their route to the Dutch boundary line. They hastened on their way,

leaving the General Court to assemble on Friday, with no business before it, but much to talk about. The pursuers, having entered in their report that New Haven was contemptuous, remained in New Amsterdam for nearly a month, covering the whole ground thoroughly, and then returned to Boston, after posting notices of

liberal reward. They were awarded each a grant of two hundred and fifty acres.

It is reasonable tradition that the fugitives were concealed in the home of Governor Eaton's relative, William Jones, till the Sunday night after the pursuers' arrival and then were hidden in a mill whence they were conducted the next morning by William Sperry to a wonderful spring and rude stone shelter in present Westville (Woodbridge) about seven miles from New Haven Harbor. This was on May 13, 1661. The spring they named "Hatchet Harbor" for there they found an Indian-made hatchet

When word came that the pursuers had gone on west, Sperry, whose house was about two miles south of the "harbor," took them to the top of West Rock, or, as the judges named it, "Providence Hill," whence they commanded a fine view of New Haven Harbor.

Here there were seven massive tapering pillars of rock,



CHESHIRE ACADEMY, CHESHIRE, 1796

(Courtesy of the American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)

with room between their bases to lie down. The place is still known as "Judges' Cave." It was about five miles from Hatchet Harbor and four miles from Sperry's where they were supplied with food. After the first few days, the refugees moved about freely and were introduced by Sperry to Squire Darling who lived two miles north of the rock. When Indians discovered their retreat, they took refuge again at Sperry's.

Meantime Acting Governor Leete had received further notice from Governor Endicott. The secretary of the commissioners for the United Colonies had written a caustic letter, expressive of the King's displeasure. Leete read to the assembled General Court the directions from the King and from Governor Endicott "to apprehend Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe." The immediate reply was that, to their best knowledge and belief, the refugees were not within the bounds of the colony but search had been ordered. Under orders of the court on May 17, houses and barns throughout the colony had been thoroughly searched and the public was rebuked for "raising ill reports, surprises and reproaches." On June 11, rather than have Mr. Davenport longer suspected of sheltering them, the judges appeared again publicly and without molestation. June 22, they sent word that they would surrender rather than have their friends under suspicion. Sir Thomas Temple of Boston, ardent Loyalist, received a letter from Davenport saying they had gone to another colony and "had been gone some times."

In reality the judges had been asked by "some friends" to keep in retirement while the General Court magistrates continued in consultation. They did disappear, apparently taking the road as far as Hartford by way of Mill Rock. They were traced but the trail was lost when they turned off and reached West Rock again. Unverified tradition says that before turning off the main road, they stopped at the home of Isaac Allerton's widow who concealed them over Sunday and next day hid them under a bridge or successfully resisted the officers who had come—as the case may be.

On July 30, Leete received another communication from the Massachusetts Council pursuant to another letter from the Parliamentary commissioners in England, informing that they had heard that the judges had been seen walking the streets publicly and in no fear of apprehension; such laxity in the colonies would much "hazard the present state of these colonies, and your own particularly, if not some of your persons." This letter was dated in London, July 4, 1661, and had been held back till the 15th when the writer had added a very serious threat after having received some word of the earlier incidents in Guilford, flouting his Majesty. The "colonels" must be sent over within another month or men would be dispatched from England to bring them.

In a long letter, the New Haven General Court replied apologetically, regretfully but suggestively. It recited that the confusion had begun when the King's command had been addressed to the wrong Governor and with a wrong title for him; the colony officials had been mystified but had acted the best they could in the premise; as the court's records showed, they had been diligent, as already reported. The complaint from England through the regular Colonial commissioners in England had been based on misinformation and therefore it was suggested, as an element of safety for the colonies, that they join in the support of an agent to safeguard their interests in England—"to prevent the mischief of such as malign and seek to misinform against us, of which sort there be a many to complot nowadays with great sedulity."

The letter's expression of the belief that the refugees were not within the colony now was sincere. Sperry and the few who knew something of the facts kept silent. Friends then in London, including the Rev. Mr. Hooke, wrote that the colony should not be alarmed. Governor Leete had become more circumspect and that, too, despite considerable public sentiment to the contrary. When word came that on August 7 Massachusetts had formally proclaimed the King, New Haven took like action "although we have not yet received any form of proclamation by order from his majesty" or other.

Davenport personally wrote an apology to Massachusetts authorities and, hearing nothing in response, forwarded a copy of it to Sir Thomas Temple in Boston, hoping to avert the King's displeasure, which letter was forwarded to London; Leete visited Boston to consult with influential friends, with a view to escaping punishment. The Rev. John Norton of Boston wrote to Richard Baxter, now a chaplain to the King, that Leete was "conscious of indiscretion and some neglect" and was doing everything he possibly could. The commissioners of the Colonial Union called upon all persons to coöperate, Leete and Benjamin Fenn of Milford frankly dissenting.

The fugitives made their way to Milford August 19, where they remained concealed so secretly that it is believed that Fenn did not know it, though he lived in that town. There seemed to be a veritable conspiracy throughout the colony to conceal information. On the day the judges went to Milford, Sir Thomas Temple of Boston was writing to Secretary Morice in London that he had been informed by Captain Richard Lord of Hartford and Major John Pynchon of Springfield, with whom he said he was in secret touch, that the regicides had gone to some southern colony. When the commissioners of the Union drew up a special statement, expressing honest intention of the colonies, Fenn, one of the commissioners, wrote on the margin that he did not consent to a declaration of that sort. It is quite possible that he did not then know that those sought for were, supposedly, at the house of his neighbor, Michael Tomkins.

From Milford, Goffe wrote letters to his wife, Whalley's daughter, signing himself Walter Goldsmith. She was living with Mrs. Hooke in England. Davenport himself appears to have been an intermediary in that period, exchanging information from abroad, his son acting with him in this. In the secret news was the item that certain of the regicides had been found to be on the Continent and that some had been murdered at Geneva, including Whalley and Goffe.

The letters from Mrs. Goffe were overflowing with affection and devotion to Christian principles. Mr. Hooke, as "D. G.," wrote often. One unsigned letter was captured and he writes that the secretary declared it the most pernicious letter that had been written—and Mr. Hooke rejoiced over that fact. A copy of the King's letter to the Bay Colony was sent, threatening dire things for those who had fled over seas. Other letters described how the Puritans were now despised, with many of the old army officers in prison. One letter jeers at Massachusetts for being so anxious about Whalley and Goffe, forgetting how well it had entertained them. "W. W." (Wait Winthrop?) gave details of doing in Parliament and the arrest

of Vane. Another remarked on the giving of life sentence to some of the convicted regicides. Word about regicides who were still on the Continent was sent by others.

The saddest letter to read was about the conduct of Sir George Downing in Holland. He was a nephew of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard, who became a chaplain in John Okey's army under Cromwell. Afterward he spied upon Charles in Holland for the Protector. When Charles became King he went over to him as a spy and succeeded in betraying Okey and two companion regicides, Corbet and Barkstead, who had obtained permission to come from Germany to Holland. Once there and after their cordial greetings to him, he drove the reluctant Dutch officers to arrest them, put them in irons and secretly shipped them to England without any governmental permission to sail. The victims were executed and mutilated in the worst conceivable manner. Davenport wrote to Goffe and came in person to show them a copy of the King's speech adjourning Parliament in May, 1662.

Governor Winthrop, the younger, who was in England to get the charter for Connecticut, wrote, in February, 1662, a most comforting message: "I do not hear of any trouble like to be to yourself or any other about those matters. There is no more speech of those things that I can hear of." This must have appeared to them to be in striking contrast with the other letters and is explainable on no other ground than that of good cheer. That he sent at all, unless under governmental cover and to Davenport, may prove his native fearlessness, but it might have imperiled his delicate commission.

The next alarm for the "colonels" came when Charles sent four commissioners with a force to reduce the Dutch at New Amsterdam and to grant hearing of all complaints in New England, making "due inquiry concerning those who stand attained here in Parliament of high treason and have transported themselves thither . . . or sheltered there . . . and likewise examine all who have entertained them," with "elaborate particulars."

This was signal to the regicides to get to some place less exposed than Milford. The commissioners arrived late in July. Whalley and Goffe at once betook themselves to West Rock again but after ten days were discovered by Indians who published the fact, and in the night of October 13, 1664, they started for Hadley, Massachusetts, eighty miles away on the western outskirts of the Bay Colony as then occupied. Davenport knew the Rev. John Russell, the Wethersfield pastor who, with a part of his flock, had joined the hegira thither led by Elder William Goodwin of Hartford.

Rather suggestively, Mr. Russell's house had been enlarged in 1662 so that there were two sunny chambers on the second floor with a hallway between, the floor of which could be lifted, revealing a comfortable space there next to the great chimney. The judges arrived in January, 1665, and on February 10, came Colonel Dixwell, whose whereabouts since he found refuge in Hanau, Germany, are not revealed. A statement by the contemporary historian, Hutchinson, is that Dixwell remained there some years, but his granddaughter told President Stiles it was

six weeks. That Dixwell had cattle in the Narragansett country can be surmised from the action of the Royal commissioners in trying to seize the live stock on property there. They were foiled by Gookin, at whose house the judges had lived in Boston. This may account for President Stiles' theory, to be touched upon later on.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Goffe in Hartford

Detected by a Windsor Man—Facts against Legends in Progress of Free Government—Last Days of the "Regicides."

To say that this historically great mystery of the "regicides" was largely fictional and that the secret so perilous to a host of prominent people was an open one would be to confound tradition and to ignore the pertinacity of an embittered King. Interpretation of that sort would destroy the greatest of Colonial romances and incidentally rob the textbook of its special lure. The existence of such possibility is explainable in two ways for those who may have toiled to separate fact from legend back through the world's dark ages. One way is the making of legend itself out of local gossip, to be formulated by descendants, and the other lies in the ability to preserve an elaborate secret in the days preceding the newspaper.

To gather up the recollections of descendants of those who were children at the time of a given incident is the first resort of the searchers for the truth when there is a dearth of written evidence. President Stiles in his day did this efficiently and with wonderful discrimination in this instance of the judges. Historical societies later welcomed scraps of contemporaneous written data, and, of course, there was abundance of governmental records in both countries. But secrets of crumbling correspondence and memoranda remained for large part locked in vaults, to reward persistency and patience at this present writing for the American Historical Society.

Stiles in the 1760's carefully verified the basis of traditions to establish fundamental points. It remained for George Dudley Seymour of New Haven and Lemuel A. Welles to uncover and coördinate greater details in form for limited distribution. For example, it was not even supposed that any of the judges ever tarried in Hartford; Goffe's disappearance after his picturesque but legendary action as a military commander against the Indians remained as final mystery. And yet what came later was one of the most significant of all the real events.

The outstanding feature of the whole—since it has to do with the basis of State and national history—is the development of the long-delayed germ of democracy. Circumstances seemingly fortuitous in their time contributed materially. There was the almost unconscious, though dangerous, antipathy to Royal prerogative.

Whalley died early in 1675 or late in 1674. Goffe's long letters to their relatives and friends describe his Christian spirit through his illness in Hadley. His place

of burial is traditional. In making over the foundation walls in 1795 a ceiled-up place was found just outside the cellar wall with two large flat stones and traces of mortar, among all of which were crumbling bones. An unsupported tradition is that the burial was on the fence line between this place and Neighbor Tilton's, so that both the Rev. Mr. Russell and Squire Tilton could say, each of them, that the body was not interred on his lot. John London of Windsor, in 1680, made affidavit that Whalley died in Hadley and was buried in the burying-ground.

King Philip's War began early in 1675. In early fall the little settlements both sides of the Connecticut and around Hadley were a center of action. The minister, Mr. Russell, was in constant correspondence with the authorities. It is certain that he frequently conferred with the old major-general whose interest was keen. Increase Mather of Boston, who was a go-between in much of the Puritan "grape-vine" correspondence of the period, wrote a history of the Indian campaigns.

September 1, 1675 was a day of fasting and prayer for the anxious Hadley church. "Violent alarm routed them the whole day after." Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, who returned to England in 1774 after Franklin proved he had shown duplicity in the matter of the relations between America and England, wrote a history of the colony based upon material to which he had access. He describes this alarm at Hadley, including an "anecdote" which was handed down in the family of Governor Leveret. "Suddenly," he wrote, "a grave elderly person appeared in the midst of them. In his mien and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but put himself at their head, rallied, instructed and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means was repulsed. As suddenly, the defender of Hadley disappeared. The people were left in consternation, utterly unable to account for the strange phenomenon. . . . If Goffe had been discovered, it must have come to the knowledge of those persons who declare by their letters that they never knew what became of him."

Whether this attack was then or in June of the following year is immaterial. It does stand to reason that in case of attack and consequent exposure of his place of concealment a veteran with Goffe's experience would naturally have come forth in self-protection and with no thought that the incident would be immortalized in fiction by such writers as Sir Walter Scott in *Peveril of the Peak* and James Fenimore Cooper in *Wept of Wish-ton-Wish*.

To go back to the time of the affair: Increase Mather, intimately aware of the secret correspondence of the regicides and their friends, wrote a history of the war in 1676. A letter is extant from Minister Russell to him, in April, 1677, cautioning him about his possible "second edition." He had no criticism to make of the first one but did fear lest an incident be so handled as to give "Mr. B." (Gershom Bulkeley of Wethersfield) an opportunity to contradict the story that Goffe's whereabouts were unknown. "Should that appear in print which I *have often heard in words*, I verily fear the event would be exceedingly sad." Bulkeley was then a surgeon in Major Talcott's Connecticut force and was to be conspicuous later with strong Royalistic tendency. Mr. Russell probably was conscious that the story

of the spectre was common among the soldiery. Edward Randolph, intense Royalist, wrote Royalist headquarters in England in 1676 that "Goffe the Old Rebell is still in this country," and that Major Savage (of the Massachusetts troops) almost captured him in the "southern parts," where he was sheltered by "antimonarchical proselytes."

The presumption of general history that Goffe did disappear soon after that event is reasonable but incorrect. This Major Thomas Savage whom Randolph knew as a Royalist helped Goffe to get to Hartford. It is further evidence of the real uncertainty among characters, even though intimates. Goffe in his first letter to Mather (September 8, 1676), gives credit for assistance to "Mr. Noell" (the Rev. Samuel Nowell, a chaplain in Savage's outfit.) The letter is unsigned but in his handwriting, and with the seal of Whalley which he had brought with him. He expresses the belief that his affliction had been for his own good.

He was taken into the prominent family of Bull—Captain Thomas or Jonathan—and assumed the name of Duffell, merchant. He had investments in various commerce which yielded him fairly well. Dr. Robert Howard of Windsor saw him there and spoke of it to one John London of Windsor, a man who had been imprisoned for desertion and slander during the recent war. London, who had seen Goffe in England and recognized him here, not venturing to act in person because of his recent record, told his neighbor, Thomas Powell. Powell notified Major Talcott and Captain Allyn and prepared his horses to take Goffe to New York early next morning, doubtless with an eye out for the large rewards.

Powell appeared in Windsor at daybreak of the second day following with Marshal Graves who hurried him to Major Talcott and Captain Allyn, where he was charged with being a drunken fellow. He responded that he knew Goffe was in the town. They said he was dead and ordered London not to leave the town without a license, as he was a traitor and should be hanged. London made his way to Maryland and informed his brother, Major Ambrose London, who promised to send the information to England. From there he went to New York and made the deposition.

Governor Andros, a few weeks later, wrote Governor Leete—"in order that I may not be wanting in my duty." Leete, with his past experience with regicides fresh in memory, notified all constables. Search proved useless. In his official report to Andros, Leete said: "After the search our people were very much amused that any such thing could be suspected in Hartford. But the father of lies is our enemy and doth instigate his instruments to malign this poor colony."

Goffe received a letter from Squire Tilton under date of July 30, 1679. Tilton was sending him books and ten pounds as "a token of love and remembrance of several friends who have you upon their hearts." Since that is the last letter in the Goffe collection it is believed to be his final one. It must remain an open question whether he was buried in Hartford or returned to Hadley and was buried there—perhaps at the fence line. Stiles understood that he was buried in New Haven where William Jones was then an assistant of the colony. It is thought that Mr. Russell sent his papers to Increase Mather from whose grandson Samuel

Hutchinson borrowed them. They are now in the Public Library of the city of Boston.

Of the third judge, Colonel John Dixwell, there are slightly varied accounts. From the letters in the New Haven Colony Historical Society's collection and those of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Mather collection it is possible to follow his comparatively peaceful course.

It is not known how he came to New Haven nor when, though probably after the appearance of Whalley and Goffe. Known only as James Davids he quietly worked his way into business and gained intimate acquaintanceship with the Rev. James Pierpont, the second pastor in succession from Davenport. Benjamin Ling lived on the southeast corner of College and Grove streets as now designated, near the center of the wide-spreading buildings of Yale. He was an early comer from Charlestown, Massachusetts. At his death in 1673, he commended his wife to the care of Mr. Davids who, for some time, had dwelt with them. Dixwell *alias* Davids married her and at her demise married Bathsheba How and had children.

Dixwell's identity, there is reason to believe, was known to a few of his intimates. Among them was Pastor Pierpont—who wrote for his contemporary, Historian Hubbard (born 1649), an account of the "phantom ship," the likeness of the one upon which the settlers had staked practically their all in 1646, never to hear of it after its joyous sailing from the harbor. Mr. Pierpont's home was next to that of Mr. "Davids" and they often conversed over the fence which separated their gardens. Becoming impressed in this intimacy, Mrs. Pierpont asked her husband what he found in the aged man which so concerned him. The minister's reply was simply: "Oh, he is a very knowing—and learned man."

Another incident is that when Sir Edmund Andros stopped in New Haven on his way to Hartford to attempt to take away Connecticut's charter in 1687 his eye fixed upon "Davids" at church service and he inquired who that fine-appearing, gray-haired old man was, as though he had suspicions. The reply was that he was a long-time resident, engaged in business affairs.

At Dixwell's death his grave near the church, on the present green, was indicated by a simple slab only—"lest his enemies might dishonor his ashes." In 1849 the spot was marked by a handsome marble monument, erected by a Boston relative. In 1774, the Massachusetts representatives to the historic Congressional convention, who had been cheered all the way from Boston, stopped at this grave to do honor to Dixwell's memory.

It does not appear that the large Dixwell estate in England was sequestered. The colonel arranged with great care for the preservation of it for his family but when his son John went to England, after the colonel's death, he was unable to secure it. They removed to Middletown where the daughter Mary had married John Collins, by whom she had six children. Mrs. Dixwell died in 1729 and was buried in the old Middletown Cemetery near the present railroad station.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Free Charter

Unprecedented Pledge in English Government—Winthrop's Method—
Connecticut's Joy—New Haven's Grief.

History is fundamentally chronicle. In no way is it to be emasculated or distorted for the support of the idea of an individual or a group.

The *Story of Connecticut* thus far has chronicled the carrying-on of the germ of democracy, after the centuries outlined in the Introduction. In the planting of the germ in Hartford in 1639, Hooker, Ludlow and Haynes were moved to do what they did in an unspectacular way, fully assured in their purpose for the rights of themselves and their successors but humanly incapable of realizing what it would mean to the world through the ages.

They were not disciples, crusaders, knights-errant, propagandists or men with a conscious world-mission. There had been sufficiency of that through the ages. They had been given to see a principle, a principle for themselves which they had not designed to force upon even their nearest and equally intellectual kinsmen and neighbors. They were, however, drawing the attention of the disfranchised in other colonies nearby, and the spread, however and whysoever combated at the time, may have been supernatural throughout a new nation. The story of that spread, through Connecticut to begin with, as throughout all the colonies in the next century, is vital historic romance.

If the Fundamental Orders of 1639 marked an epoch, as today's historians say, then the bold stroke in England, the heart of co-incident and victorious opposition to the principle, and the fairly gracious annexation of New Haven, with its powerful but minority theocracy, constitute the second major era in American government.

Men had been drawn to the acres where an individual's civil rights were maintained, but the rights to the acres themselves had not been assured with a degree of accuracy and permanency. The colony never had had a charter. The Warwick patent was uncertain both in character and extent. Privilege under the patent which had been bought extended to the Pacific but careless interpretation had considered the Connecticut Valley the western confine. New Haven's independent occupation had not been quarreled with and there had been no distinct objection, except in one instance.



COLONY'S HISTORIC CHARTER, IN HEAVY CASING MADE FROM THE CHARTER OAK,
UNDER STUART'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON, MEMORIAL HALL,
LIBRARY BUILDING, HARTFORD

In 1660, New Haven had appointed a committee to "set the bound with lasting marks," between that colony and Connecticut, with the aid of Sachem Montowese. Connecticut at once made inquiry. It wrote that it had noticed a peculiarity in the New Haven law for purchase of land from the Indians and considered it a "challenge of very large interests of lands" and there was intelligence of stretching bounds northward by "marking trees on this side of Pilgrims Harbor" (Meriden.) This was not considered "contentful" or "strengthening that friendly correspondence that we desire and ought to be perpetuated betwixt neighbors and confederates," especially as it was known that Connecticut had the real rights to "those parts of the country where you are seated," by "conquest, purchase and possession."

The letter continued that Connecticut had forbore to make a challenge, but now "there was necessity at least to revive the memorial of our right and interest." Delay was asked till there could be full agreement. If there were anything "extant on record with you" to help in the decision, it should be produced at a conference over "so loving an issue" and if there were no record of surrender of lands now occupied by New Haven, there should be satisfactory adjustment "for your future comfort" furnished by "us the true proprietors." Early reply is asked for, so that "rules of justice and righteousness may be maintained."

How this was received is not on record because already—thirteen days before—Connecticut had sent Winthrop to England for a charter. For two years or more New Haven had contemplated securing a charter but the interest was not urgent, the situation in England not conducive. Winthrop had talked over the charter plan with New Haven leaders. They were not out of accord with the principles involved; New Haven seems to have understood that, if it were included in the territory, it still would retain autonomy of some nature. In matter of coalition there always was the matter of suffrage limited to church members in New Haven.

The generation of Hooker, Ludlow and Haynes was passing. A crisis was impending in which argument might not prevail; keenest mentality was demanded. One man above all others was recognized to meet this requirement, the man to exercise the diplomacy now necessary at the Royal seat of government—John Winthrop of New Haven. With his first term in office as Governor, beginning in 1657, the law that a Governor could hold office but one term at a time had been repealed and he was to serve in that capacity for eighteen years. He had worked out the Warwick patent understanding; he, if anyone, could assure for the dependability of that patent even when all patents were in danger; he was familiar by birth and experience with court ways and he, as Governor, had given new evidence of his devotion to the colony. Preëminently he was the man for the hour. Historian Bancroft says of him:

"As a child he had been the pride of his father's house; he had received the best instruction which Cambridge and Dublin could afford, and had perfected his education by visiting, in part at least, in the public service, not Holland and France only, in the days of Prince Maurice and Richelieu, but Venice and Constantinople. As he traveled through Europe he sought the society of men eminent for learning.

Returning to England in the bloom of life, with the fairest promise of advancement, he preferred to follow his father to the New World, regarding 'diversities of countries but as many inns, alike conducting to the journey's end.' When his father became impoverished, the son, unsolicited and without recompense, relinquished his inheritance, that it 'might be spent in furthering the great work' in Massachusetts; himself without wealth, engaged in the enterprise of planting Connecticut. Care for posterity seemed the motive to his actions. Understanding the springs of action, and the principles that control affairs, he never attempted impracticable things, and noiselessly succeeded in all he undertook. The New World was full of his praises. The Puritans and Quakers and the Freemen of Rhode Island were alike his eulogists. The Dutch at New York had confidence in his integrity, and it is the beautiful testimony of his own father that 'God gave him favor in the eyes of all with whom he had to do.'"

While Massachusetts, Plymouth and then New Haven had proclaimed the new sovereign, Connecticut pondered and remained silent till July 7, 1661, when it sent its address to his Majesty. Just a month prior to this petition for grace the General Court had written Lord Saye and Sele, for years the spokesman of the Puritans, a letter which shows the conception at this time of certain important proceedings relative to the Warwick patent, to the Lord himself, to the Earl of Warwick and to others who were not in high favor in the Royal Court. This letter referred to the Lord's "former encouragement" and his present interest "by value of patent power" and begged his assistance. It reviewed the purchase from Fenwick who, "for purposes best known to himself," wished to return to England.

And here are sidelights on that transaction previously reviewed in these pages. The letter says the purchase was "exceedingly opposed" by several who had said this would be distasteful to his Lordship and the patentees, but it was pressed by Fenwick ("God removing some from us by death that were interested in the hearts and the affections of several of those nobles and gentlemen, the patentees in England"). Fenwick had insisted he had the power to sell, "the rest of the patentees deserting," and the matter "falling into his hands by agreement," and also declaring that he might sell to "noisome neighbors" (the Dutch), whereupon, for peace and security, agreement was made for about 1,600 pounds—a great abuse at Mr. Fenwick's hands, considering the poverty of the people and the small advantage gained.

Indeed, the condition was worse than it would have been, if they had contented themselves with the patronage of the "grand patentees" for there was now no copy of the patent to secure standing as a commonwealth and assure continuance of privileges so dearly paid for; nor was there anything given by Fenwick, which would bind him and his heirs as to rights above the professed Massachusetts border; and, being destitute of patent or copy (which was the case at this immediate time), "the purchasers could not maintain their claims even on the Narragansett border. The petition concluded by saying that Winthrop would call on him for advice and counsel and they would pray that "an inundation of mercies may flow in upon your lordship."

Thus to Saye and Sele. Others of those patentees included Warwick who had died in 1652, John Hampden who had fallen in battle in 1643, and Sir Henry Vane who was in prison awaiting death, independent republican. But it was the Presbyterians who had had influence in the Parliament and, in his compromise, the King had made the aged Saye and Sele Lord Privy Councillor, the man of all the patentees whose aid Winthrop would have.

The General Court's petition to the King for the charter was somewhat revised by Winthrop after he had acquainted himself with the whole situation. It recited that the colony had not had the opportunity to obtain from the King such patent as would assure his subjects the privileges and power to enable them to face the great hardships and hazards in their remote place where subsistence was to be had only as a result of infinite labor and expense. Already the colonists had spent much on buildings and fortifications to add to the honor and enlargement of the King's dominions. They had paid a large sum to Fenwick for a jurisdiction right which they had understood was from "royal authority" and would submit a copy of a copy which, after the first had been lost by fire or in some other way, had sufficed till they could take up the matter of Royal prerogatives.

They besought the King to confirm those privileges or else the privileges under the old Massachusetts grant, encouraged by which such "endeavor" had been put forth and under which at first it was supposed Connecticut territory was covered. (It had been Winthrop who had saved that situation but that fact is well omitted in the petition.) Also and moreover, there was the defensive war against the "heathen" which had cost much in life and means ("divers of our dear countrymen were treacherously destroyed"), and still was the colony under great expense for maintenance, all of which, hopefully, should bring immunity from customs, and the promotion of commerce in the products this land could furnish. As the General Court, they subscribed themselves, without fulsomeness, loyal subjects and servants.

This was discussed and acted upon by the special department for Colonial affairs, members of which were well known to Saye and Sele and to the friends Winthrop had made during his stay. Winthrop's fame as a scientist in sundry lines, including metallurgy, medicine and the mysteries of nature, had preceded him in the circles of learned men and he was detained in England to become one of the first members of the Royal Society whose name ranks today among the foremost of the kind in the world. Meantime there were sundry points in the matter of the charter that had to be discussed. The secretary of state for the colonies in a letter expressed the grave fear that the colony was being given too much freedom and there were those in the King's circle who held that view. Here again Saye and Sele was of help.

Also there was the ominous fact that Winthrop's wife was the stepdaughter of that Rev. Hugh Peter whose tragic execution has been herein recorded. In this immediate connection, it may be added to what has preceded that after the war was ended and Charles I had been sentenced to execution, Peter had preached the "funeral sermon to the King," and his text was from Isaiah XIV: 19-20—"Thou art cast out of the grave like an abominable branch . . . as a carcass trodden under feet . . . because thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people." But men

like those establishing the Royal Society doubtless gave Winthrop entrée to the King's circle, and the King expressed great regard when Winthrop presented to him a ring which Charles I had given to Winthrop's grandfather—according to Cotton Mather.

Altogether Winthrop's diplomatic success was phenomenal. Difficulty this side of the ocean did not disturb him. He was conscious that Mr. Davenport was strongly opposed to a coalition that should not allow right of suffrage to belong only to approved church members but the broader plan must be carried through now, leaving the question of a separate community to the future. Governor Leete, who had a large following, had written him August 6, 1661, urging a single "patent" and that one to include Delaware where it was hoped to continue to build up possessions, the chief being, however, "to purchase our own peace." Major Robert Thompson and John Scott were sent over to London by New Haven as observers. It does not appear that they made suggestions or reports. Through them New Haven supposedly had ample opportunity to follow proceedings. New Haven made no recorded use of them in subsequent disputations.

The charter was signed April 23, 1662. As he had business matters to clear up and was to spend a short time on the Continent Winthrop sent the document to Connecticut by messenger in August. It was read by commissioners of the Union that month. They expressed the hope that "the favor showed to the said colony or any other may be jointly improved for the benefit of all concerned."

The boundaries were the same as those expressed in the Warwick patent, and all else as Winthrop had desired, all in all the freest and most notable charter ever granted. Power of self-government was guaranteed. All officers were to be elected by the people. Laws were to be enacted and administered without appeals to England—a very significant matter at a little later date—and no provision for interference by the government of England in any event whatever. Except in name Connecticut was a free Commonwealth.

This was a heavy blow to the Davenport following in New Haven. The next month, October 4, after the Connecticut General Assembly (as the General Court henceforth was to be known) had received the document, and five days before the assembly had made record of its receipt and had assigned it to the custody of Samuel Wyllys, John Talcott and Lieutenant John Allyn, Captain John Youngs of Southold, Long Island, appeared with certificate as deputy from "these towns of Long Island." Having been chosen by a majority, he was admitted and his territory for the present was to include South and East Hampton. Next, the planters in Guilford, without specifying majority action, offered themselves and their property for Connecticut jurisdiction and were accepted, though they were advised "to carry peaceably and religiously in their places toward the rest of the inhabitants that have not yet submitted in like manner." Stamford and Greenwich came next and were likewise ordered to appoint a constable—the first act for a Connecticut town.

New Haven, Milford and Branford remaining silent, a committee was sent to confer with them and other "loving friends" "according to such instructions as shall be directed to the said committee by this court." They appeared in the court

of magistrates in New Haven, showed a copy of the charter of the Governor and Deputy Governor and also a formal greeting to "our much honored and reverend friends of New Haven, etc." A "happy and comfortable union . . . according to the tenor of the charter" was desired, in order that "inconveniences and dangers" might be "prevented." The reply was that the matter would be laid before the freemen and desiring respite till further information could be received from Winthrop "or satisfaction otherwise." Leete's name was first on the list of signers.

After the Connecticut men had left, Governor Leete ordered a recess, after which Mr. Davenport came in and read a statement of his views in opposition with "some reasons why we were not included in the patent and also why we might not voluntarily join with them." It was voted to await Winthrop's appearance. As to the advice of the commissioners of the Union that the charter be approved, the document was considered "contrary to that righteousness, amity and peace our neighbors of Connecticut had carried toward us"; the matter should be laid before the Connecticut Assembly and "if our answers prevail not," address should be made to the King. The freemen drew up a statement for the Connecticut General Assembly, in effect that they had never interfered with Connecticut and should brook no interference by Connecticut; there was nothing in the charter to alter the orderly settlements anywhere in New England, but Connecticut already had begun so to do; New Haven should be considered as a confederate; haste in the matter of outlying settlements was regrettable; breaking of covenants in those settlements was scandalous and prejudicial; all this before the contents of the charter had become generally known and probably distasteful to the King and Governor Winthrop; the interpretation of the charter rather than the charter itself was the cause of opposition.

Along with this went Davenport's statement which was that he had written to Winthrop before his departure "not to have a hand in any such unrighteous act as to involve us in their patent," and Winthrop had written back to him and others that his purpose was quite contrary to that. The statement further said that Stamford had been made disorderly and rebellious; likewise Guilford and Southold, the people as a whole never having been consulted when presentations were made to Connecticut, and Mr. Street, teacher of the church in New Haven, had endorsed these words.

Not till the next spring did the Connecticut General Assembly convene again. During the interim, New Haven sent its representatives in London an appeal to the King, instructing them to submit it to Winthrop before presenting it. Winthrop stopped that proceeding, expressing confidence that Connecticut would cease its injurious treatment. He wrote Acting Governor John Mason and the assembly that he understood injury had been done to the New Haven government by admitting some of that colony's freemen and appointing officers and he hoped this was due to misunderstanding and not prejudice, for he had given assurance to their friends that their rights and interests should not be disquieted or prejudiced. "If both governments would with unanimous agreement unite in one, their friends judged it would be for advantage to both. I must let you know that testimony

here doth affirm that I gave assurance before authority here that it was not intended to meddle with any town or plantation that was settled under any other government. Had it been otherwise intended or declared it had been injurious in taking out the patent not to have inserted a proportionate number of their names in it." He hoped what might have been done would be recalled and there be no more admitting their freemen without common consent. Such was what he had assured the New Haven agents. The agents believed that "with right understanding there will be joining of a nature satisfactory to all."

By one of those misfortunes which prevent relief in time of need, this letter, dated March 3, was sent by way of Governor Leete at Guilford and he, mistaking it for his personal copy of the original, the seal having been broken, did not forward it to Hartford. It stopped the appeal to the King. That same month Connecticut was sending a select committee to New Haven in hope of arriving at some agreement; if the committee failed, "then all propositions and instructions from the court, respecting union with that people, are void and of no effect."

The propositions, nine in number, were that there be no interference with their church government provided there were no "imposition from the supreme powers of England"; that New Haven continue its regular government through the year; that all the four towns in the New Haven jurisdiction have annual election of members of the General Court in due proportion, that all the freemen be admitted freemen of "our corporation" unless justly ruled against; that the four towns be a distinct county (which is the first use of this word) for choice of those to sit in judgment in cases except those relating to life, limb or banishment; that a higher court be held in New Haven once a year at the least; that each of the towns "have liberty to send" two deputies to the Connecticut Assembly, and whatever privileges else should be desired, consistent with the tenor of the charter "we shall be ready to attend you therein." The proposals were to be accepted before adjournment of the assembly or become void.

The astonishing reply came from William Jones of New Haven that they could not now consider such matter as New Haven had appealed its case to the King; also it could not dissolve its colony without consent of the sister colonies; nor could anything be done without consent of the freemen—who would be consulted as soon as "convenient." Finally, notice was taken that Stamford had been left out as though "not a member of us."

CHAPTER XXV.

New Haven's Alarm

Called to Arms against Supposed Invasion by Eminent Connecticut Men—
Long Strife Continued.

Winthrop reached home in June, 1663. The first information he received was that New Haven actually had petitioned King Charles.

A crisis had come for both colonies and for the cause of free government. The principles of democracy having taken root could not be destroyed. Enough had been recorded of it to assure recognition in some later generation, but it could be so trampled down that its growth would be long retarded. Not that Winthrop looked at it in precisely that light; it would require the vision of more than a century later to perceive the real grandeur. Davenport and his associates were men of intellect, who had felt a like urge with that of Hooker and Winthrop. Winthrop's wonderfully free charter—which Connecticut had welcomed with celebrations—might be likened to the first real branch, after the Connecticut planting.

Davenport's scriptural limitation, like that of Massachusetts, was a girdling of the branch. It was not a contest for abstract godliness as Davenport, with his godly training, conceived it to be; rather it was a contest for the godliness of man as he had been made in the image of his Creator, with free choice to evolve the spiritual element and salvation.

Therefore, this was as vital an hour in human progress as was that of 1639, and written history of the first free State is incomplete without a record of the associated incidents.

It would clear the situation mightily if we had one written memorandum of what was in Winthrop's mind at this juncture of our story. Like Washington later he may have moved almost unconsciously, as in response to an urge. But that assumes the supernatural which intellectuality forbids save in the instance of the Creator. There are many events in world chronicles not to be attested by logic, but not without a root.

Both colonies in present Connecticut felt that Winthrop would find a preventive for what was threatening to become a panic. That he could not have foreseen the situation, conscious of the will power of both New Haven and Connecticut, and the actual cause of difference, must be forever a mystery. He knew how considerable a part of the New Haven colonists, themselves staunch supporters of reli-

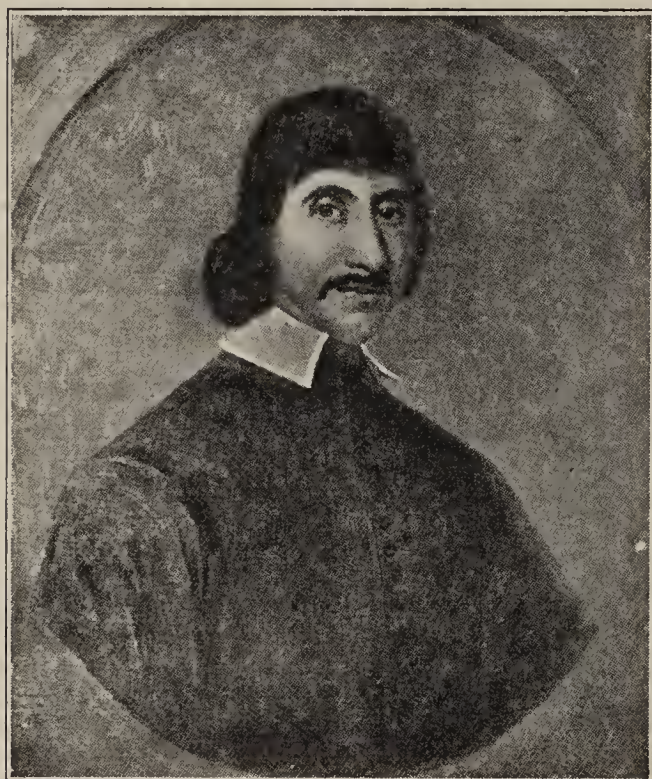
gion and of church principles like those of original Connecticut, were still averse to the Davenport test of church membership for voters and he was conscious also that in the outlying plantations of New Haven there was a goodly number of emigrants from the towns of Connecticut. He may have thought that their combined influence would prevail.

From Governor Leete in person he knew that New Haven was anxious over its part in the failure of Royal order to capture the regicides. That failure accounted, in a measure at least, and by Leete's frank expression, for the cordial endorsement of Winthrop's mission to obtain the charter.

He may not have estimated correctly the extent of Davenport's influence, personal friends though they were, after he had noted the failure of the General Court

to insist upon the minister's school plan. Or he may have conceived that, left to themselves, they would arrive at an adjustment of the suffrage difference.

However all this may be, it remains that the progress of democratic principles was greatly threatened. The King was a man of vagaries. His education had been neglected—he "could hardly read a plain Latin book"—but he was endowed with cunning perception and promoted such institutions as the new Royal Society, impelled thereby to acquire a smattering of chemistry and anatomy. But his idle pleasures were scandalous. One of his successive courtesans might change his viewpoint in the matter of New England colonists, with their frigidity, so unpopular in his gay court. The hour was draw-



JOHN WINTHROP
Governor 1657, 1659-76
(From Reproduction for the "Connecticut Magazine" by Randall)

ing near when he would make a plaything of Connecticut for his brother James, the Duke of York. Only the strong hand of Connecticut was to save that situation, when it came, and thus win the gratitude of New Haven as well.

England still was an unstable land, grief and suffering on every hand—the Great Plague and the burning of London soon to come. All the blights were taken by Charles to aid his moves in playing his secret political game. And New Haven's petition for divorcement from the recent charter marriage with Connecticut had gone to him.

Davenport immediately (June 24) wrote Winthrop a long letter, expressing his joy over the safe return and begging him to consider his room in the Davenport

residence always open for him when he came that way. There was the barest reference to New Haven's independence petition to the King—if in actual fact there learned self-control when pursued by Archbishop Laud. He had had excellent training for the exigencies of pioneer life, howsoever much he may have lacked the balance Governor Eaton had given him.

Leete wrote expressing his confidence that disputes could now be settled. In midsummer he wrote again to express his regret that nothing had been done in the interests of harmony and practicability. He begged that Winthrop write him at once whether what he had said would be carried out—"acknowledging our great engagements for your love and sympathy in your last expressed." There was no reference to New Haven's independent petition to the King—if in actual fact there ever was one. Yet it appears that Leete had had word that later agents whom New Haven had sent to England had reported the impression that Winthrop would not carry out his agreement with the original agents which was, in effect, that New Haven could say for herself whether she would unite in the plan or reject consolidation.

When Connecticut's Assembly met in August it appointed a committee to visit New Haven and deliver an ultimatum. New Haven's reply was an insistence upon limited suffrage and full court jurisdiction, with restoration of the towns that had seceded. There was distinct hint at union but with New Haven preserving her old rights. Connecticut insisted upon no change in the fundamentals but would allow a county. New Haven complained of the effect of division of responsibility in the outlying towns.

All the conferring and corresponding relating to this delicate situation was exceptionally courteous and friendly, with one exception. When New Haven complained to the commissioners of the other members of the New England Union—Massachusetts and Plymouth—the reply was that there could be no recognition of any change in the fixed method of the Union until a settlement had been arrived at. As a commissioner, Winthrop signed this, in regular order. His fear was that there would be disruption.

New Haven found cause for rejoicing in October when there came to Governor Leete a letter from the King. It was the same as those to each of the other New England colonies, a letter of confidence in prosperity and fellowship. New Haven authorities took this to be a full recognition of New Haven's independence as a member of the Union, though no "union" was referred to in the letter, that obviously being looked upon as a local matter of local concern. It is more than probable that the monarchy felt no inclination to recognize a combine.

Without delay Governor Leete published the letter as evidence of New Haven's independence and with it a "declaration" to be posted in each town, calling attention to this individuality, urging each colonist to do honor to the King and, as inhabitants under New Haven jurisdiction, pay up the taxes that had been withheld by the revolvers. The effect in Stamford, Guilford and Branford was not unlike that of England's Stamp Act for New England a century later. In Stamford the "declaration" was torn down. The King's letter itself was suggestive in its

expressed desire that all disturbances cease, but the Governor's demand for recognition of New Haven's right to tax, in distinction from that of chartered Connecticut, aroused ire, especially the use of the word "seduced."

Dr. Bray Rosseter of Guilford immediately went to Hartford to request support for the "seduced." He had been a strong personality in the Connecticut Colony. A leader in the Ludlow party which had founded Windsor, he was the first man to be mentioned in Colonial records as a physician, he being admitted to practice medicine on the approval of Hooker, Stone and "old Mr. Smith of Wethersfield." He was elected to be a magistrate and was Windsor town clerk till he migrated to Guilford in 1652. There he had become a spirited leader for the Connecticut idea of suffrage. His request was that Connecticut's General Court should support those who opposed the New Haven idea now that there was a free charter. The court already had suggested that there be a conference with New Haven representatives at Middletown.

On Bray's insistence a committee of prominent men—Samuel Wyllys, a recent graduate at Harvard; John Allyn who, for thirty years from this year 1664, was to be secretary of the Connecticut Colony; James Richards, a commissioner of the Union, and the Governor's son, Wait Winthrop—was sent to Guilford where Governor Leete had his residence, to learn the details. New Haven's account reads that, "with horses," they arrived about ten o'clock in the night and there was shouting and firing of guns to the great disturbance of the community. The constable was powerless. Word was dispatched to New Haven for military assistance. Six troopers were sent at once and, the alarm being sounded by the ringing of bells, all available militia men were assembled. In response to similar alarm in Branford a few were sent to Guilford and the others held awaiting orders, since Governor Leete "had inquired" and had ordered the mobilization "because Mr. Rosseter and the committee were well armed and were making incendiary speeches, in defiance of the governor."

These men proposed that a meeting be held the following day. Governor Leete replied with the brief memorandum that his words as Governor must be obeyed. If there was a conference it was as ineffective as the others had been. Davenport and Nicholas Street, the teacher in his church, drew up a lengthy document, "New Haven's Case Stated," which was sent to Connecticut. That colony made a draft of a reply but apparently did not use it. Instead, a proposition was offered that New Haven hold its courts and its elections as customary for the present and added that those "who had revolted to Connecticut" would submit "to the New Haven authorities." This was in harmony with Winthrop's idea that that acquiescence would not have to be compelled since the weightiest judgment would be in favor of unity.

In New Haven Colony as a whole the sentiment was about equally divided between those for the New Haven plan and those for the Connecticut plan. But the former were in office. The cry had become "taxation without representation" against which was the cry of accepted jurisdiction under New Haven. These occurrences were a year after Governor Leete had written Winthrop that he had "heard

of great irritation of spirits amongst our people, by reports of opposite speeches or writings, that are said to come from yourself; but I hope all will come to a fair reconciliation in due time, and which I still wait and long for."

Years after there were to be contentions between New Haven and Hartford, concerning a joint capital in particular, but none so desperate as this original one.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A New Régime

Consolidation Perfected—Counties Created—Changes in Assembly, and Laws
—The Seal—New Haven Men Chief Magistrates.

It is remarkable that a State so small as Connecticut should have had such power in establishing for the world the principle of free government. At the present chapter in the story of it, danger was imminent from two sources that it would be only two-thirds or half as large. But the second threat warded off the first. And there were men for the occasion as there had been at the beginning of the free-suffrage principle. The immediate affair of New Haven's rebellion against the Winthrop charter might have rested with that colony's proposition to leave the matter with their respective representatives in London, and New Haven have won; or, under Charles's régime, both have lost.

Fear of the latter worked for harmony. Information had come that the so-gracious King was sending his brother James with a charter covering everything from the Connecticut to the Delaware at least. Though that might satisfy New Haven's early ambition to colonize on the banks of the Delaware, headquarters would have to be under Royal domination.

Winthrop, the imperturbable, could see, for his part, possible fruition of the work he quietly had promoted in Manhattan, the old New Amsterdam. In a population made up of people of various nationalities, a spirit of man's liberty had been evinced. Despite Stuyvesant's sternness a convention had been held, back in 1653, to demand that law must be of the people's own making. Connecticut migrants were steadily building up their rights on Long Island, pushing on through Westchester to the Hudson. Purchases from the Indians on the mainland had extended to North River. Stuyvesant recently had been to sessions of the commissioners of the Union in both Boston and Hartford with his complaints. Massachusetts remained neutral; Connecticut, with its charter, maintained its charter rights through to the Pacific, the Dutch rights being merely those of residence.

English, Dutch, French and Swedes, with whom New England commerce was brisk, encouraged by Winthrop, were still further impressed with the living and governmental conditions in Connecticut. When in 1664 Stuyvesant again was forced to permit an assembly it could get no aid from across the water; nor could

Stuyvesant. Long Island was in revolt; Connecticut planters had bought land to North River. In England at the same time, Charles was jealous of Holland's commercial eminence and had thought to give his brother James, his Lord Admiral, an opportunity for fame on Holland's coast of Guinea, professedly to exterminate pirates.

In this cunning zeal, favored by his reckless court, Charles cared naught for newly chartered Connecticut and on March 12, 1664, gave to James as Duke of York all the territory around helpless Manhattan and including Connecticut west of the Connecticut River, as well as from Kennebec to the St. Croix. Four commissioners under Colonel Richard Nicolls, were sent with James's squadron to rally Connecticut and Rhode Island reinforcements and likewise to learn about the regicides and their protectors.

Governor Winthrop with his native shrewdness, and accompanied by John Pynchon of Springfield, whose daughters had married into the families of Wyllys and Lord in Hartford, went along with the small New England contingent who encamped near Breukelen Ferry. When Nicolls demanded the surrender of the Dutch, Winthrop, who had won their respect, counceled submission along with a reservation of their civic rights. Stuyvesant's indignation could not prevail. The common people of Manhattan, of various nationalities, prepared a government resembling that of Connecticut. Thus Manhattan, renamed New York, was the first outside of New England to feel the stir of the spirit of free government emanating from the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut in 1639.

All the disputed outlying territory except that on the north came under jurisdiction. Fort Orange became Albany, in honor of James's Scottish title. New Jersey took the form of a Commonwealth and for the first time England was in control of the Atlantic coast as of the eighteenth century. By the influence of Winthrop in 1664, Connecticut received a western boundary more like its previous one in place of the Connecticut River—or the Pacific Ocean; but this was never confirmed by the King and New York repudiated it. Long Island was surrendered yet without losing its spirit to carry on the people's theory of liberty, through the local revolution of 1670 and then the brief reoccupation by the Dutch. Winthrop had been helpful to his Majesty's commissioners in negotiating the surrender of the Dutch in August of 1664 and it had been voted by the Assembly that "Colonel Nicolls and the rest of the commissioners be presented with four hundred bushels of corn as a present from this colony." When the stipulations were completed, Winslow with others had been sent to "congratulate the commissioners" and "if opportunity offer itself that they can issue the bounds between the duke's patent and ours, so as in their judgment shall be satisfactory to this court, to attend to the same." Ten years later, it will be seen, there was to be a different story for Connecticut.

December 13, 1664, New Haven held its last court, New Haven, Guilford, Branford and part of Milford being represented, for purpose of formally terminating the colony. It was expressed that New Haven had "no hand" in dissolving the federation and stipulated that "if it shall appear to our committee that we are, by his

majesty's authority, now out under Connecticut patent we shall submit, as from necessity put upon us by their means of Connecticut, but with a *salvo jure* of our former right and claim, as a people who have not yet been heard in point of plea." A committee was sent to the Connecticut Assembly with religiously mild criminations, notwithstanding Connecticut's previous suggestions of terms. Those suggestions had included what Massachusetts had now adopted at the demand of the commissioners, which was that church-membership be not insisted upon for electors, but, with this, the suggestion of New Haven's retaining the right to hold courts without juries and, further, exemption from the half-way covenant principle.

January 5 New Haven wrote, after further complainings, that, having seen the commissioners' report on boundaries, "we do declare submission thereunto according to the true intent of our vote." "A loving treaty for accommodating matters" was desired. This elicited no reply. At the spring election, four magistrates including Leete were sent to the Connecticut Assembly.

Nearly all of the people came to accept the situation cheerfully except those in the Rev. Abraham Pierson's church in Branford. Almost in a body they removed to Newark in New Jersey, taking the records of the church with them and being guaranteed Puritan rights. For over twenty years there was no church in the town. Gradually there was new settlement and in 1685 town privileges were granted. Davenport's lament continued to his end, as has been told. And yet, after his departure from New Haven, he wrote Winthrop one of his old time cordial letters.

Connecticut's entity now being assured apparently, its official seal came more generally into use. It is said to have been the seal of Richard, Earl of Warwick, who issued the Warwick patent. Daniel Clark, secretary of the colony from 1658 to 1666, was authority for the statement that it was given by the proprietors to George Fenwick when he was made their resident agent. A wax impression of it was attached to the commission of John Winthrop, Jr., Governor under the original patent, when he was elected a magistrate to the General Court, representing New London, in 1647. When patent rights were being sold to Connecticut, Winthrop doubtless had possession of it. The commission and the wax seal are in the Connecticut State Library. A vineyard of fifteen vines, bearing fruit, is portrayed upon it, a hand in cloud above it and the motto below, *Sustinet qui transtulit*. This is suggestive of Psalms X: 8-11, "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt. Thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it."

After the granting of the charter of 1662 it was ordered that this continue to be the seal of the colony. In print it appears first in the revision of the statutes made in 1673, by order of the assembly, the impression being on the title page. When Sir Edmund Andros undertook to seize the charter in 1687, the seal proper disappeared. Gershom Bulkeley, an intense Loyalist, is quoted as having said that the then secretary, John Allyn, gave it to Andros, who was to assume authority. The seal given was the metal stamp itself and not the wax impression.

On the resumption of charter government in 1689 a larger seal of similar design and like motto was made. This was official till the next century (1711) when a

new and larger seal for sealing wafers was designed, in oval shape. Three vines were used instead of fifteen, with a hand pointing to them, and the original motto, so appropriate, was on a label below. The vines may have been symbolic of three original towns. Around the design were the words, *Sigillum Coloniae Connecticutensis*. This, with its Latin error, in a colony which made so much of children's studying Latin, was ordered by the Assembly of 1747 corrected and changed to circular shape, but the order was not carried out. There was no alteration till May, 1784, when it was voted to change the words around the seal to *Sigill. reip. Connecticutensis*. The inscription was cut without abbreviations, however it be that engravings of the period show it with them. At the October session of that year the seal was approved as it stood and was placed in charge of the secretary.

In the second constitution, of 1818, the seal was readopted with command that it should not be changed. In 1842 another seal was ordered, made of brass, of the same design with three clusters of grapes on each vine, for sealing with wax or paper; the other, used without wax on paper, was approved again in 1851. It is supposed that this design was obtained in 1782. On the first issues of credit, in 1709, there is a seal of the three vines, and when in 1777 small bills were issued the small seal bore but one vine—a seal which was used also in the secretary's office to stamp on envelope wax.

Changes having been made in sundry printing offices, the Legislature in 1931 prescribed that the official seal be of the three-vine design, in oval, with the change in motto, which had been authorized in 1711—*Qui transtulit sustinet*, thereby giving a shade more force to the power or principle that brought the founders over—the men who established the principle of free government for the Nation of today. That is what the founders of the Connecticut Colony thought, little realizing, however, how much it was to mean in the world through the centuries. At this moment of chronicling, the interpretation of "free" may be somewhat clouded, but the principles contended for through so many centuries must remain unchangeable in character, whatever the momentary idea.

A tablet set in the floor of Memorial Hall in the State Library and Supreme Court Building near the Capitol—from which tablet one looks through the long lines of all the Governors' portraits to the Stuart portrait of Washington and the charter in its appropriate setting—gives representations of the successive seals and also of the old Royal Seal of England with its motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. The two mottoes—"He who brought us over will sustain us" and "Evil to him who evil thinks"—are in striking contrast and yet tell the whole story of the migration of the Connecticut builders and their achievement.

It was not till 1897 that a State flag was formally adopted. It is of azure blue silk, charged with a shield of rococo design of argent white silk, having the three grape vines embroidered in the center, supported and bearing fruit, of the natural colors. The bordure of the shield is embroidered in two colors, gold and silver. Below the shield is a white streamer, bordered by gold and browns in fine lines, and upon the shield the State motto—the whole design being the arms of the State.

The studiously gracious language of the correspondence between the two colonies relative to securing a "loving treaty for accommodating matters" was true to the form of public communications in those days; nevertheless it can be taken as actually representative of the character of those who wrote. With Connecticut it was a matter of security for all, in desperate situation, while with New Haven it was abandonment of that which they had held dearest in establishing their colony; it was their religion, much more tense than that of Connecticut. Not that New Haven was not conscious of the increasing number who would people the Connecticut jurisdiction; due allowance could be made for the newcomers who, the belief was, would yet attain the righteous viewpoint. Sympathy can but be felt for the followers of Davenport even while it was the principle of democratic government that was at stake and now once more almost miraculously saved. The sturdiness with which New Haven was to join in supporting is indication of both character and ability.

The first evidence of the desire to work harmoniously related to courts, the greatest point of difference aside from the suffrage. The county courts each year were to be held in New Haven, introducing jury trials while not sacrificing for autonomy. The next year, 1661, in natural course, other sections were to be recognized in similar way. The General Assembly made four counties, Hartford, New Haven, New London and Fairfield, preserving autonomy so far as possible. New Haven County extended from the east bounds of Guilford to the west bounds of Milford.

The court development in Connecticut herself had begun with the election of deputies under the Fundamental Orders of 1639. They succeeded the assemblages of the "committees" of three from each of the three towns during the previous three years, meeting with magistrates. The division into Senate and House came in 1645. In 1664 the General Court became the General Assembly of today and in 1698 the Governor and council formally made the upper house and the others the lower, using the expression "General Assembly." To facilitate and discriminate in court function, a trial court was organized in 1638 as a "particular" court to try minor cases. It met at convenience and irregularly. Arguments were infrequent, judgment chiefly by rule of conscience. Intervals between sessions in 1642 gave it the name of Quarter Court. Criminal matters were included in 1647, the court to be made up of the Governor, Deputy Governor and two magistrates, to consider criminal and civil cases and to hear appeals from minor courts while appeals from it could be taken to the General Court. There could be juries of six or twelve whose decisions must be unanimous with those of the magistrates.

The first provision for a grand jury was in 1643, the body to number twelve or fourteen men. Costs had to be paid at time of trial since the magistrates received nothing except the fees. In addition there were local judicial bodies of three to six men, called principal men or townsmen, later selectmen, chosen annually, one as moderator, who met once in two months to hear ordinary complaints, involving less than forty shillings.

Under the county system of 1665, the Particular (Quarter) Court was succeeded by the Court of Assistants, to be a majority of the General Court assistants, later

called magistrates. It had jurisdiction over the more serious crimes and cases of divorce and admiralty. It assembled the week before semi-annual sessions of the General Court. In addition, county courts were established, of three assistants and three commissioners or justices of the peace. This previous court plan was superseded in 1698 by one providing for selection of four leading men with a judge appointed by the General Assembly, as a county court, or, again with only three justices. This continued till 1821, with one judge and from two to five justices, all named by the Assembly. Then the number of judges was made three, with addition of a county commissioner in 1839, a plan abandoned in 1853 for one by which only one judge and two or three commissioners should act. This court con-



OLD SOUTH VIEW OF THE BOROUGH OF SOUTHPORT, IN TOWN OF FAIRFIELD

sidered property, probate and prerogative, "real, personal or mixed" and criminal cases, not including life, banishment, adultery or divorce.

Appeals in 1669 could be taken from one court to a higher one, the General Assembly included. The Superior Court succeeded the Court of Assistants in 1711, with powers gradually increased. The Supreme Court of Errors was created in 1784, to consist of the Lieutenant-Governor and council (the Governor added in 1795), to meet annually and alternately in New Haven and Hartford. By 1806 the judges of the Superior Court had to assume the increasing duties of the court of last resort—one chief judge and four assistants; in 1854 a chief and two associates, the number of associates being increased gradually to the present number of four, and of Superior Court judges to fourteen.

The Superior Court was established in 1711, providing for annual appointment by the Assembly till the Constitution of 1818 when the terms were extended to age seventy. In 1880, power of appointment was conferred upon the Governor. Courts of Common Pleas began in Hartford and New Haven counties in 1865 and in New London and Fairfield counties in 1872, Litchfield in 1881—for amounts up to one thousand dollars and with concurrence of the Superior Court.

Probate matters went to the County Courts after the abandonment of the Particular Courts. The separate Probate Court began in 1698 with one less judge than in the County Court. Selectmen made the inventories till 1702 when the duty was passed on to the executors or administrators, and in 1716 one judge and one clerk served each of the counties; in 1719 more districts were provided.

The office of justice of the peace to consider cases involving less than forty shillings was established in 1639 and has continued an important adjunct of the small towns to this day. Brief prison sentences were made permissible in 1848. Appeals were possible in all cases except for profanity and Sabbath-breaking; only by special statutes were juries of six allowed.

In early days policing was by the tithing men, constables and grand jurors, on pay of two shillings a day, taken from the fines of offenders. The selectmen furnished them with black staffs. There had been marshals, appointed by the General Court, to be superseded by sheriffs in 1702, one for each county. Appointment of deputy sheriffs did not become general till 1766. The grand jury of twelve became formal with the establishing of the County Courts. In 1702 they were made informing officers, under compulsion. The Superior Court summoned its own grand jury of fourteen, twelve of whom were necessary for an indictment.

Each town in the beginning had a book for the copy of each statute, to be read before the assembled freemen once a year. In New Haven, where a greater amount of lawlessness had developed, every household had to have a printed copy beginning with 1673. Duties and powers of towns were not formulated to meet changing conditions till 1672; they included support of the poor, repairing of highways, and, by taxes, supporting the militia. Laws passed in 1672 for general educational matters remained in force two hundred years. The causes for divorce (when none were recognized in other countries) were adultery, fraudulent contract, wilful neglect and seven years' absence.

In 1698, the Legislature was divided more formally into two houses, the Governor and assistants (or council) constituting the upper house. For many years balloting in town meetings was as follows, after the analogy of the first days: Twenty nominations would be made at one session of the Legislature to be voted upon at the next. As such nominations were read, ballots were deposited for the Governor and other elective officers in order. Likewise the nominations for assistants were taken up, each separately, the twelve having the most votes being declared the choice. Anyone could put in a blank ballot without revealing himself; unless all were blank it would have no effect.

The criticism today is that a nomination was an election, meaning that the votes of the freemen counted for naught. Such was not the case. Though the "convention" or "caucus" was in the preceding session, where there were divergencies of opinion but no political parties, enough blank ballots would appear at the election to make a renomination very uncertain—and elections came every year. In general there was fair unanimity and a desire to continue those who served well. In 1689, when an elector must have an estate worth at least forty shillings a year, the experiment was tried of having a direct vote of the freemen for the nominees at the

nominating session of the Legislature, each ballot with twenty names to be written out, but this was abandoned after three years.

The first distinct qualification for a voter, in Connecticut, was made in 1657 when the character of some of the immigrants seemed to demand it. Voters for colony (not town) officers must be householders at least twenty-one years old, have held office or have an estate of thirty pounds or more; ratable estates then averaged sixty pounds. In 1679 (under the charter) the law was that each voter for town or county officers must have an estate of at least fifty shillings. When the Dutch were threatening in 1673, it was decreed that there should be a "Grand Committee"—the first council of war—to deal with matters in cases of emergency between sessions. This committee should consist of the Governor, Deputy Governor, assistants and such others as were named, mostly military men, and generally so after the first years. The "committees of safety" during the Indian outbreaks were of a similar nature, in towns and counties as well as colony. For years to come there had to be a condition of preparedness.

Robert Treat and William Leete of the old New Haven Colony, in turn, succeeded Winthrop in the office of Governor on Winthrop's death, in 1676. Fitz-John Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop, succeeded Treat.

In Connecticut's first century of existence, it had but nine Governors.

These brief lines make exceptional history.

CHAPTER XXVII.

King Philip's War

Treat and Talcott among Leaders of Connecticut Quotas—Sternest Test for the Colonies—Bull's Rebuff to Andros.

If it is astonishing that Charles II granted the most liberal of all charters to Winthrop, great as was Winthrop as a diplomat, it is equally astonishing that he showed little knowledge of the territory embraced when he was handing charters twice in succession to his brother, James, Duke of York. Charles was gay and heedless in his court, but he was monarch of a kingdom that held grants to be sacred and inviolate, so long as the grantees were loyal. There had been no occasion to question the loyalty of Connecticut. A study of the commission on charters in those times may throw light on it and on the possibility of Lord Say and Sele's method and opportunities as Lord of the Privy Seal for coöperating with the astute Winthrop.

The first charter to James had made the eastern boundary of his grant the Connecticut River; the second one, after Holland's historic defense had failed and New York was ceded to the English, was dated June 29, 1664, and was of the same character as the first. Edmund Andros was appointed Governor. He had been a major in Prince Rupert's Dragoons. Possibly he may have known of the plan to make New England all one colony. It was his New York successor, Governor Dongan, who began the long series of events, not ending till the middle of the next century, to get those boundaries readjusted, as will later appear.

Sufficient for now that Andros did at once conceive that he should annex the whole of Connecticut. Coincidentally the Narragansetts in Rhode Island were becoming restive. It might be Andros' opportunity. He would sail at least as far as the Connecticut, to fix his point.

Meantime, what with intimations of Andros' intent, the stirrings of Indians on Long Island and other clouds on the horizon, Connecticut, Deputy Governor Leete of Guilford presiding over the Assembly, had sent Captain Thomas Bull, an original Hartford proprietor and a veteran of the Pequot and Dutch wars, to occupy the old fort at Saybrook with a few soldiers. If Andros should stop there, the orders were to direct him toward the Indians with assurance that Connecticut would take care of herself. And specifically: "You are to keep the king's colors standing there

under his majesty's lieutenant, the governor of Connecticut; and if any other colors be set up there, you are not to suffer them to stand. . . . But you are, in his majesty's name, to avoid striking the first blow; but if they begin, then you are to defend yourselves and do your best to secure his majesty's interests and the peace of the whole colony of Connecticut in our possession."

Suspensions proved correct. Andros with two small vessels arrived July 8, 1675. Noting that the fort was manned, he anchored in the Connecticut and asked permission to land. Andros produced a paper to be read. Bull demurred but Andros ordered his secretary to proceed with his reading. The secretary was stopped immediately by the sternness of Bull's command.

Andros, turning toward the captain, asked him sarcastically, "What is your name, sir?"

The captain replied sternly, "Bull, sir."

"Bull?" repeated Andros. "Your horns should be tipped with silver."

Observing that the other officers had turned away, Andros remarked that if he was not welcome, he would leave, the reply to which was that they were "under no orders to receive him," whereupon their instructions were read aloud. He declared the orders scandalous since he had come only to aid. His request for a copy of the orders was refused, after which he was punctiliously escorted to his boat and salutes were exchanged as his vessels passed the fort, going out. The stern General Assembly told Bull that he should have interrupted the reading "by shouts or sound of drums, etc. without violence."

The Indians' restlessness Andros had heard about was to develop into the most destructive uprising the colonies had known. It was largely traceable to the execution of Miantonomoh in 1643 and to the efforts of the Union commissioners to hold them in hand. Through Connecticut it was the belief that trouble in that quarter had ceased to be alarming. Of all regions that of Plymouth was thought to be the least in danger, for it was recalled that it was there that the Pilgrims had been welcomed by Massasoit who remained a staunch friend to the end. Massasoit had been succeeded by his sons, Alexander and Philip, who were disaffected by the increase in newcomers, spoiling their game resorts and assuming authority, however well paid for.

Alexander's sudden death, while natural, was ascribed to poison. Philip (Metacomb) becoming chief was newly embittered. By order of the commissioners he had had to surrender his English weapons and pay tribute. When taken to Boston for his trial, he said he noticed that the English were allowed plenty of guns and that those he was compelled to give up were distributed among men along the road. The Indian who had betrayed him was murdered. The murderer was located, tried by a jury composed one half of Indians, and hanged.

Philip's home was in Rhode Island territory, at Mount Hope in the eastern part of Bristol, whence his runners went out over wide territory, burning and pillaging. On the first alarm, June 29, 1675, volunteers from Massachusetts and soldiers from Plymouth drove them out, Philip taking refuge among the Nipmucks in Massachusetts. The Narragansetts, stunned by the sudden reaction of the white

men, agreed to maintain neutrality and deliver up hostiles. Their chief, Canonchet, however, was the son of Miantonomoh, as bitter an enemy as Philip himself but lacking Philip's lordliness and generalship. They feared the English guns; ambuscades and fire were their only hope; they could not drive away or conquer; they could but sacrifice themselves as dearly as possible, if they calculated at all. Of Wampanoags, or Pokanokets, and Narragansetts there were about three thousand braves.

Philip's directing hand was seen first in Massachusetts. In August, Brookfield, with its sparse twenty families, between Lancaster and Hadley, was surrounded and set on fire but was saved by the genius of aged Simon Willard, and most of the inhabitants taken away in safety. Deerfield next felt the blow, September 1, and Beers and his score of associates fell at Northfield. Farmers in their fields, women and children huddling in their houses—none could know when and whence the arrow or the knife or the firebrand would come. In Deerfield August 18, Captain Lathrop's twenty men were convoying the harvests to southern towns when they were surrounded by superior numbers and few escaped.

The Union commissioners were in session all summer. A thousand men had responded to the first call—by quotas, Massachusetts, 527; Connecticut, 315; Plymouth, 158. Three times that number were to be needed. Connecticut, better prepared by reason of the Dutch threats, was the first to take the field after the Mount Hope affair. Heedless of Andros' known intentions, the colony had called out the companies of Captain Wait Still Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop, from Stonington and of Captain Bull from Saybrook and Hartford, to rendezvous at New London on that first alarm. When Philip's blow fell on the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts, Captain Thomas Watts of Hartford and Captain Roger Newberry of Windsor, with troopers and Mohegans, were hurried to the support of the Massachusetts men, followed soon by Major John Talcott of Hartford, at the request of Major John Pyncheon of Springfield, for purpose of a conference.

At Deerfield, September 1, Watts was able to protect the people but could not save their homes. Major Robert Treat of Milford hastened with a quickly assembled force to the relief of Northfield and escorted the people, who had paid the penalty for lack of vigilance, to Hadley. He had not enough men to pursue the lurking Indians. Rumors around Hartford caused his recall with orders to scour both sides the Connecticut.

Pyncheon as chief commander and Treat as second in command then planned a campaign but were unable to carry it into effect, since the orders from the commissioners at Boston were that fighting must be in the open. Treat arrived at Northfield in time to save the bodies of Beers and his men. When Springfield was burned October 5, 1675, all northern Connecticut was thoroughly alarmed. A massacre plot by hitherto friendly Agawams was thwarted by an Indian in the employ of Henry Wolcott, Jr., a Windsor farmer, who brought the warning at the risk of his life. Pyncheon from the north and Treat from Westfield hastened to the town in time to save the people, but too late to stop the spread of flames.

More Connecticut alarms, especially around Wethersfield, where, as in all the other northern towns, the able-bodied men were taking turns in guarding the homes and the crops, caused the temporary recall of Treat. Pynchon had resigned, disgusted with the interference from Boston, and Treat was suggested for his successor, but as he then was needed in Connecticut, Major Appleton was named. The small body of volunteers was becoming demoralized by foolish orders. The return to Massachusetts of Treat, who had been a Wethersfield settler and was highly esteemed throughout the colony, inspired confidence in the distressed neighbor colony but he was almost immediately recalled by reason of reports from Glastonbury where it was thought some of the Podunks were threatening and by information from Governor Andros in New York that an attack on Hartford had been planned. This danger passed, Treat hastened to the assistance of Appleton, now bottled up at Hatfield, with the Indians tearing at will through all the country north of Springfield, cutting off farmers and destroying their crops.

On the approach of winter, falling leaves were making it possible to scout through the woods. Treat was summoned to Hartford and Appleton to Boston to receive the plans of the Union commissioners for an attack on the winter quarters of the Narragansetts, who had not yet taken the trail but were harboring families of Wampanoags and Philip's braves. The treaty Canonchet had signed, his followers said, had been drafted by "old men" in his absence and he never would comply with the agreement to turn over hostiles taking refuge in his territory.

The commissioners issued an ultimatum and then, on November 2, a call for one thousand additional men to go into the Narragansett territory. Connecticut's quota was 215. Governor Josiah Winslow of Plymouth was chief commander and Treat his second. Captain Benjamin Newberry of Windsor, having been disabled, was succeeded by Captain Samuel Marshall. Other Connecticut officers who were to distinguish themselves were Captain Thomas Watts of New London, Captain Nathaniel Seeley of Fairfield, Captain John Gallop of Stonington, Captain John Mason, 2d, Lieutenant James Avery of New London and Lieutenant John Miles of New Haven. The Rev. James Fitch of Norwich, who had been an eminent missionary among the Indians, was appointed to organize Pequots and Mohegans as auxiliaries.

On December 2, there was a day of fasting and prayer when the people were told by Massachusetts that they were suffering judgment for their sins of frivolity. On the 18th the assembled soldiers, making the largest force the colonies ever had known, started at daylight for the Narragansett swamp at South Kingston where some twelve hundred of the Indians were fortified with their women and children. The stockade around the village of huts, covering six acres, had been strengthened. Snow lay deep. In the dim light and bitter cold and without waiting for food, the advance guard found the entrance and a determined attack began. In every man's mind was the thought that the fate of the colonies depended upon the outcome. Massachusetts men were first to break through but were stopped with heavy loss.

Connecticut followed and there fell immediately Gallop of Stonington, Marshall of Windsor, Lieutenant John Stedman of Wethersfield, in command of the

Hartford County Dragoons, and Seeley of Fairfield, and Mason was mortally wounded. Seventy of the New Englanders were killed and as many again were wounded in hand-to-hand fighting. No resource in strategy could be found, no coördination between organizations. It was every man for himself within the stockade when suddenly a wigwam burst into flames and in a moment the whole village seemed to be ablaze. Red men and white struggled over the stockade and through the entrance where a special guard had been established. The white men fared best, but pitifully.

They rallied in the frozen swamp. The position could not be held even against the greatly reduced number of Indian men; the alternative was almost as impossible, considering the depth of the snow and lack of bearings. To add to the distress a fierce snowstorm had begun to rage. Many fell out as the main body worked their way slowly in on-coming darkness and over the rough trails to their original base near present Wickford. Twenty died in their litters on the march. The column reached the base about midnight and were joined there by stragglers coming in through the following stormy day.

The loss of life for Canonchet's followers was hardly more serious than the destruction of their winter supplies, their reserve ammunition and their wampum. Yet he would consent to no parley till his brother was returned from Hartford, where he was held as a hostage. The white men's army was immediately recruited up to fourteen hundred, Connecticut furnishing three hundred. Canonchet, rallying his men of all ages, quietly stole away across the corner of Connecticut—where tradition tells of the terror that was created—toward the supposed headquarters of Philip, near Central Massachusetts. A juncture must be prevented. In his anxiety, Winslow struck too soon and it became a slow pursuit through deep snow and over rough terrain. It was known as "the hunger march," with no opportunity to join with the enemy. The soldiers had to kill their horses for food. Through Woodstock and Marlboro, the heart of the Indian country, they pushed till Winslow made the error of dismissing them. Immediately the half-starved Indians raided every farm.

To the call for six hundred men by the commissioners, Major Treat responded generously for Connecticut, but before the forces could arrive one of the most frightful blows of the war fell upon Lancaster and it was wiped out February 10, 1676. The story of that day was miraculously preserved—as also a description of life among these barbarians—by Mrs. Joseph Rowlandson who herself was one of the victims. Her husband, the minister of the town and hence its guardian, was absent on a visit to Boston where he was pointing out the need of troops in that section. As soon as the alarm had sounded the people had taken refuge in her house. She had caught up her babe in her arms to flee when a musket ball passed through her side and killed the child. Carried on by the Indians in their hurried departure, she was given into the charge of an old squaw who saw that she got choice tidbits and raised her to a position of respect if not of superstitious regard by her constant ministrations. The trail was swift, varying and confusing, the hardships for the Indians themselves unspeakably severe. She returned kindness

by kindness so far as she was able till eventually she was restored to the white men and went to live in Wethersfield. There she wrote out and published the account of her experience which today stands as one of the most valuable human-interest documents of the Colonial period.

In the meantime Major Treat was on an expedition with two hundred men to clear out that section. In March he rescued the garrison of seventy-eight men under Captain William Turner at Northampton, who had given up hope.

Connecticut, as told, had had its alarms but they took a very serious turn on March 17, when an Indian force came down through the valley, killing a man at Pine Meadow, present Windsor Locks. Thence they stole through the forests of Windsor to the outlying settlement of Simsbury where they plundered and burned houses the English had deserted. Inaccurate tradition marks a small cave on the west side of Talcott Mountain as an aerie from which King Philip himself watched the flames. Since the cave was on the property of the Phelps family and the mountain in those days was called Phelps Mountain, the probability is that the names, with their similarity in sound, became confused in successive generations. Philip at that time was probably at Wachusett Mountain in Massachusetts, planning a combined invasion of Boston territory, where farmers and villagers were huddling in despair.

Treat was recalled to Connecticut to hunt out vagabond Indians who were picking off a colonist here and there. He had assembled a band of men whom he led over into Rhode Island and by strategy, on April 3, succeeded in wiping out one nest and brought back Canonchet himself. When the great chieftain was brought before the authorities he scorned the offer to save his life if he would bring about peace. His reply was that he would rather die than allow his heart to become soft and cause him to speak words unworthy of him. On April 8, the council at Hartford formally acknowledged the receipt of Canonchet's head from the Mohegans and Pequots to whom he had been delivered for execution.

Treat, who had resigned about that time to accept the office of Deputy Governor, was succeeded by Major John Talcott whose purpose was to rid western Massachusetts of the marauders. Under him the Connecticut troops were sent to join Henshaw and Massachusetts troops for a final attack on Philip in his stronghold on Wachusett Mountain. Henshaw having been misled and Talcott not having sufficient force to make the attack alone, the Connecticut commander turned westerly to execute his original plan to rid the Connecticut Valley of the enemy—for which he was to be memorialized there in later years. He surprised the Indians at Hadley on the night of June 11 when they had joined their scattered bands to perpetrate another massacre to avenge their defeat by Turner. Henshaw joining him, they pursued the enemy till many of them had fled across the border. Then turning easterly he sought the Narragansett country, for which he believed Philip was heading. Warwick had been burned and Providence set on fire. Accompanied by Newberry and Denison and their men, he reached there before Philip could and learned at Providence that peace was being talked of, "upon which information," he reported, "being willing to set our seal upon it, we posted away and dressed Providence's necks, killing and capturing sixty-seven Indians we found there."

Philip had been in the background, endeavoring meantime to secure an alliance with the Mohawks but in vain. Reappearing he made his way to Bristol in Rhode Island. Many of his followers had given up the hopeless contest and there were recriminations. Indian morale had been exhausted. His gravest complaint was against the Massachusetts government. His wife and one child had been made prisoners and the child sold into slavery. The Narragansetts had been decimated. The man who came to him with a proposition for peace which so many desired, he struck dead. The advances made by the court in Boston were treated with cleverness and then with contempt. An Indian who had been a go-between crept upon him and shot him.

The colonies had been saved but at a frightful cost in men and money. Assistance from outside came in. With the aid from across the water was a contribution from the impoverished Irish, for the Plymouth Colony.

In retrospect an official opinion from Massachusetts was that King Philip's War was evidence of God's indignation over the sins of the people who had become lax in church discipline, had forgotten to train their children aright, had forsaken the paths of their fathers and had permitted their women to expose their bosoms, to dress their hair indecently and to wear too many ribbons. At the close of the war the Massachusetts General Court made a well expressed declaration, containing these words:

"There died many brave officers and sentinels, whose memory is blessed and whose death redeemed our lives. The bitter cold, the tarled swamp, the tedious march, the strong fort, the numerous and stubborn enemy contended with, for their God, king and country, be their trophies over death. Our mourners, over all the colony, witness for our men that they were not unfaithful in that day."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The King's Demands

Freedom's Danger at Time of Winthrop's Death—Massachusetts Charter Revoked, the Union Ended—But Colonists Staunch.

When the career of Governor Winthrop ended, on April 6, 1676, after a short illness, he had been attending a session of the Union commissioners in Boston. His body was placed beside that of his father in a tomb in King's Chapel Cemetery, whither also were to be borne later the bodies of his sons, the eminent Fitz-John, who defended the colony's freedom in a later peril, and Major Wait Still Winthrop, who had done much to promote industry, particularly at the iron works at Lake Saltonstall near New Haven. The Massachusetts Society carefully preserves fifty thousand letters, in five volumes, written by members of the family. The body of Mrs. Winthrop, who died in 1662, rests in the Colonial Cemetery in Hartford, next to that of the Rev. Samuel Stone.

In Winthrop's last hours there had been important work for him to do. One particular item was relative to the existence of the Colonial Union. It was slipping. What with the less frequent meeting of the commissioners, even before King Philip's War, and the independent interpretation of some of its articles by the Massachusetts representatives on certain occasions, the well conceived body had been losing prestige since Massachusetts had held out at the time of the Dutch War. Its theoretical value had been demonstrated in the recent Indian war but it soon was to be discontinued after the matter of war damages had been disposed of, with scant funds, in 1683, in an hour when it might have been of greatest worth. Thus the first Union under freedom principles was lost but the principle was to live.

Naturally when New Haven ceased to be a separate colony, it was represented as part of Connecticut. New Haven opinion had been embittered when Massachusetts seemed to have violated one of the Articles of the Federation, as interpreted by the other colonists of that time, in 1653. The rankling which had survived the years since then was, in particular, the seeming insult to New Haven.

Of almost equal importance in the then development on Long Island by that colony was Ninigret's series of attacks upon the settlers in the eastern section. On their own initiative Governor Eaton had had the aid of such leaders as Captain Seelye and Lieutenant Nash of New Haven, Richard Baldwin of Milford, Bartlett of Guilford, Doctors Augur and John Brockett and the Rev. Mr. Pierson as chap-

lain. Enthusiasm in training had been at white heat when the commissioners appointed for chief commander Major Simon Willard of Massachusetts, the colony whose commissioners officially had refused to coöperate. Willard had led the small force, had let Ninigret slip away and then had come home, leaving it to New Haven to spend weeks and the expense of a vessel to complete the work. Those New Haven men were now loyal Connecticut men but they were somewhat indifferent to the Union what though the time was approaching, unknown to them, when it could have been effective.

Winthrop, constantly well informed, was analytical of affairs in the Royal Court. He had seen the liberal ministry under Charles II become a dissolute one; Buckingham was a buffoon; finances were in a muddle; rumors of papacy were well founded



OLD NORTHERN VIEW OF BROOKFIELD (CENTRAL PART)

even while liberty of conscience was heralded; Danby would not risk a new Parliamentary election and already was intriguing with France. Parliament was dissolved in 1679. Of the many petitions for a new Parliament, one was three hundred feet long. In 1680, Shaftesbury pictured the dangers from papacy, indicted the Duke of York and called the King's new mistress a "common nuesance." Attempt to disbar the Duke of York from the succession to the throne was made in the Commons but defeated by the Lords and King. And Charles dissolved his last Parliament; England again was an absolute monarchy.

How much of this the keen-visioned Winthrop may have seen coming we cannot know. We do know he was anxious in 1676, for Massachusetts was beginning to feel the first evidence of evil for the free colonies. And this to be like only a part of the evil to hide the picture of bigoted James II, and his non-conformist daughter, Mary, as wife of William of Orange, across the English Channel; of the revolution of 1688 and the crowning of William as William III. It would be gratifying to Winthrop to feel that, in the hour of peril, so likely to come, there would be men, in all colonies, to preserve the structure he had built to shield the democratic germ.

How much could Andros, the Duke of York's Governor in America, surmise that Winthrop could not? No man could conceive all of England's transformation but some might have judged by antecedent probability. Andros was a tool at hand.

In that kind of England, the mass of intelligent people ever being hoodwinked when not trampled, it was a most natural discovery that the New England colonies could be employed to fatten the Royal treasury. The colonies did not observe the navigation act. They were developing a large commerce by paying simply a small percentage. Also they readily could be taken in hand under a writ of *quo warranto*.

Massachusetts was among the first to feel the griefs befalling others, by very reason of New England independence. It was the simplest of matters to deprive those colonies of their independence. But, all being English, proceeding should be by law. Massachusetts had obtained her charter in a peculiar way and had defied the courts in retaining it. What Charles I had had to postpone Charles II could now carry through. For item of complaint, there was no customs officer except the Governor and he elective. To be sure, no aid had been asked for in the Indian war. But regicides had not been captured. The ministry declared it was time to "reassure the government." Edward Randolph was sent over to America to act as agent and also he was to represent Roberts, an old claimant of New Hampshire territory. He arrived in June, 1676, with the King's letter to be read to the Massachusetts magistrates. Returning home he so magnified population and wealth that he was assigned to the duty of coming about once a year for several years, his accounts bespeaking abundant means to aid the suffering treasury.

Massachusetts graciously sent envoys to England but with cautionary instructions, while the oath of fidelity was being revived. The severing of Maine and New Hampshire was admittedly legal, so they were assigned to Monmouth, the King's reputed son, destined for the scaffold. The old claims of Gorges were then bought, for a round sum. Located in Maine, they actually were of limited extent. Massachusetts became Lord Proprietor over them, while New Hampshire, in 1679, was declared a Royal province, an entanglement for the future.

Cranfield came over for the first Royal fruit out of Maine; lawsuits were plentiful; purchasers were few. Cranfield in disgust advised the sending of a ship to compel Massachusetts loyalty when James should come to the throne. In 1684 he was to try, but in vain, to wring money from the stubborn Assembly. He demanded compliance with Episcopalian forms for the churches; all were to be admitted to the Lord's Supper and the litany was to be introduced. When the Rev. Mr. Moon, Portsmouth's minister, objected, he was imprisoned and Cranfield wrote England that, while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance could be found.

In the Bay Colony the agents complained that power was not sufficient and they were charged to secure it, "reducing the colony to a more palpable dependence." He was unsuccessful. Yet Massachusetts knew all England was combining against it, thanks to the jealous mercantile interests. "Without compliance," the agents wrote, "nothing can be expected but a total breach." In April, 1678, the committee on plantations called for a report; the reply from the Crown lawyers was that even if the charter had not been wiped out, the faults were enough to void the

patent. The committee thereupon ordered the contemplated *quo warranto* proceedings and called for laws to replace those "repugnant to the laws of England"; a Royal Governor and a Colonial judicatory should be had.

While a synod of all the churches of the colony convened to examine the sources of the peril, the Assembly took action to remove some of the grounds for complaint, unwilling to sacrifice charter and church liberties because of religious differences and determined to retain right of legislation. It declared the acts of navigation were "an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his majesty in the colony, they not being represented in Parliament," and that the "laws of England do not reach America." It passed navigation acts of its own. Forthwith the plantations committee in England requested a vote for an English bishop in Boston and that conformists be admitted to every church and privilege. This in itself left a mark upon the minds of the devout colonists to endure through the succeeding century and longer.

Twice the same complaints and the same replies were made till the day the King dissolved Parliament, then covertly to rely upon the courts, and measures were to be taken "whereby the charter might be legally evicted and made void." By request of the King, Massachusetts agents were to be sent to England, in the persons of Joseph Dudley and John Richards. After their descriptions of the desperate conditions they were told plainly that the colony must yield or court process would be invoked. The colony was willing to relinquish the Maine property, though held by lawful purchase, but would remain steadfast for its charter rights.

In July, 1683, on *quo warranto*, the colony was to be haled before the Royal Court. The Governor and assistants succumbed. But the deputies, or lower house, opposed. They declared that there should be adherence to the principle of 1638, when *quo warranto* was defied, and of 1664, when submission to commission was refused; "slavery will be brought upon us, and will grieve our friends in other colonies"; God's displeasure would follow; the clergy would be flaunted. "Unquestionably, if the blessed Cotton, Hooker, Davenport, Mather, Sheppard, Mitchell were now living, they would, as is evident from their printed books, say: 'Do not sin in giving away the inheritance of your fathers.' . . . Freemen and church members throughout New England will never consent hereunto. . . . The civil liberties are part of the inheritance of their fathers. . . . It is better to trust the God of your fathers than to put confidence in princes."

In the summer of 1684, judgment of forfeiture was to be rendered and confirmed. Boston received the decision July 2, 1685, after Charles had died and James II had come to the throne.

The commissioners of the United Colonies of New England were to hold their last regular meeting in September, 1684, in Hartford, the birthplace of the Fundamental Orders. A day of fasting was ordered, with prayers "for the defense of the Protestant religion." And the development of the Hooker principle of democracy was not to be terminated.

The story of Connecticut and the nation is not told without this phase in New England.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Liberties Scorned

Intolerance, English and American—New Haven and the Quakers—Andros, a Knight, to Govern All New England.

To appreciate Connecticut's part in making a nation of freemen demands conception of surrounding circumstances at each stage of difficult progress. Observation confined to local details is futile. Neither real character nor achievement can be measured without realization of what was to be mastered as well as of the mastering itself. The real amalgamation of the Angles and Saxons covered a period of centuries, easily to be relegated in American history to the "working of the divine will." The human product as a whole, in other words the English, was marked by individuality difficult to trace but acceptable as a "known quantity" in the solving of subsequent problems in human experience.

At this juncture and the coming of another mighty upheaval for the Anglo-Saxon race at home, Connecticut is found threatened by the divergences which it is an error to ignore even in condensation. If intolerance is a sin by which crowns had fallen, with New England rising, it was also a fault in the great Puritan Colony of Massachusetts, with lesser symptoms in other colonies.

Yet all was working toward final independence with a full toleration. Virginia and the Jerseys were having their separate anguish which was to help toward unionism eventually, but not of the kind favored by the Crown in the 1680's. Massachusetts, despite her quarrels with the Crown in the 1660's and her declaration of rights, was to have the mild Plymouth handed over to her in her new charter of the early 1690's. Little Rhode Island, with her generous charter obtained in 1663 and only her Connecticut boundary line to bother her, had lost her charter rights when Andros came, a woe which she endured with characteristic patience.

Throughout all the turmoil in England and America, Connecticut stood out as the exception, even as when the "three towns" had excepted themselves from Massachusetts, had come across the border line and had drafted the Fundamental Orders. Without the handicap that was Virginia's—at this moment involving it in a revolution—without the bickerings of four nations on the Jersey coast, holding well in hand the Manhattan complications and bringing harmony out of temporary dissension within her own borders, Connecticut's one purpose was to maintain the principle of those Fundamental Orders. Incident after incident was attesting this

fact with romance that gives history its lure. Foreordination plays no part in history; else Connecticut's course might be taken as attest.

A point might be cited, in this connection, relative to the Quakers. Their origin and history in England before William Penn's time were not of a sort to commend them. Massachusetts was offended not so much by their faith as by their then insane conduct. The Union commissioners in 1656 had recommended the colonies to take measures against them, but Governor Winthrop of Connecticut would not sign. New Haven Colony, with its ecclesiastical polity, left the matter to the court magistrates. Quakers fought back with pitch. The whole system of the court had become involved and placed on trial by the public for various rigidities till the union of the two colonies was brought about. The court's own record reads that there was "great discouragement upon the spirits of those that were now in place of magistracy." It was at this session, in 1662, that Dr. Bray Rosseter (with his son John) of Guilford, formerly of Windsor, appeared before the court for, and in, sharp criticism of the colony's right to tax, it having no charter, and this quotation from the court record was the result. Consolidation of the two colonies came at a good season.

Major Edmund Andros may have smiled when the Colonial Captain Bull challenged him at Saybrook. He did not push on to get into King Philip's War; his troubles with Governor Carteret of East Jersey were enough to engage his attention. His territory was supposed to cover that region as well as a considerable part of New England, under the plan to consolidate the whole coast, but Carteret disputed that. Andros removed him and then was summoned to England to account. How satisfactory the result was will appear. He was succeeded in his New York duties by Colonel Thomas Dongan, a Roman Catholic, in January, 1683, permitted to revive the Assembly, its members to be elected by all freeholders and freemen, with full liberty of worship, jury trials and no taxes except by consent of the Assembly, thus excelling all in toleration—but only till the Duke of York became King.

New Haven's Long Island settlements, in town meetings, voted to adhere to Connecticut with the claim that representative government was their right, but by the Winthrop charter that junction could not be. Therefore they submitted to New York.

The story comes back to anxious Massachusetts. Charles II died in February, 1685. The Duke of York was now King James II, openly a Roman Catholic. The same year, incidentally, Louis XIV, revoking the Edict of Nantes, was driving fifty thousand of his best subjects from the land for what was to prove to be the benefit of America, Holland, Brandenburg and England herself, by reason of their ability. It was the prelude to the appearance of Monmouth and Argyle and more rebellion in Scotland and the south. Before long, Parliament was to have its power again.

In May, 1686, Joseph Dudley, son of Thomas Dudley, who had come to Massachusetts in 1630 as Deputy Governor and twice was Governor, appeared in Boston with papers making him "president of the council of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and Maine and the Narragansett country, or 'King's Province,'" but

without authority to alter law or impose taxes. From theology he had gone into political life, was one of the commissioners of the Union, participated in the great "swamp fight" in King Philip's War and was one of the commission to make peace with those tribes. During this immediate period in his interesting career he could not have become Governor by popular vote. He was considered a traitor. He arrived while the Assembly was in session. The disheartened members immediately adjourned. The King's council, Lord Halifax alone opposing, had voted that Governor and council in a colony should be supreme, responsible to no one but his Majesty. And Louis XIV had urged that all power, legislative and executive, should abide with the Crown. The charter of Massachusetts was gone; that of Rhode Island was soon to follow.

The letter which Connecticut wrote the King when he was proclaimed was received about the time Edward Randolph reached England with one of his slanderous reports, now turning his attention to this colony. By July, 1686, Governor Treat had received two writs of *quo warranto*. Randolph wrote him: "His majesty intends to bring all New England under one government; and nothing is now remaining on your part but to think of an humble submission and a dutiful resignation of your charter, which if you are so hardy as to offer to defend at law, whilst you are contending for a shadow, you will in the first place lose all that part of your colony from Connecticut to New York, and have it annexed to that government, a thing you certainly are informed of already; and nothing will prevent, but your obviating so great a calamity to all New England by an hearty and timely application to his majesty with an humble submission. . . . Sirs, bless not yourselves with vain expectation of advantage and spinning out of time by delay. I will engage, though the weather be warm, the writs will keep sound and as good as when first landed."

Connecticut simply argued and expostulated. In December the third *quo warranto* writ came. All but this last were received when it was too late to appear in court.

December 20, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, recently knighted, sailed into Boston Harbor, splendidly accoutred, to serve as Governor of all New England. He was commissioned to appoint a council, on which he placed only one New England man, to make laws, to lay taxes and to have control of the militia. He was to encourage episcopacy and sustain himself by force. John West, his secretary, according to Randolph himself, extorted "what fees he pleases, to the great oppression of the people and renders the present government grievous." One of the most obnoxious requirements was that when taking oath the hand must be placed on the Bible. Dudley immediately dispatched a letter to Treat urging complete and prompt submission and offering to be of service in securing a new charter which, he was sure, would be fully as good as the present one.

The Assembly was convened at once and a letter was sent to England praying for the preservation of what had been granted to the colony, but if this were now too late the hope was that there could be a union with Massachusetts. For a time

Andros believed the surrender complete. The oppressors quoted a sentiment current in mercantile circles in England: "It is not for his majesty's interest you should thrive." Randolph wrote to England: "All the inhabitants must take new grants of their lands which will bring in vast profits"—grants under the charter having been forfeited. Deeds by Indian purchase were sneered at. Fees alone, in their exorbitance, would have taken the people's last shilling. John Higginson, Salem's minister, went back to Genesis and God's giving the earth to the sons of Adam to be subdued and replenished, and was informed by Andros that he must immediately declare himself a "subject or a rebel." The Commons reserved for the poor in each town were apportioned in Massachusetts among favorites. Increase Mather, the sober-minded, set it down that the Governor "invaded liberty and property in such a manner as no man could say anything was his own."

In Rhode Island, a lawsuit being useless, the towns voted to appeal to the conscience of the King. When Andros proceeded thither, Governor Walter Clarke asked postponement till "a better season." The following January Andros went again, broke the charter seal, put five of the citizens in his council and appointed a commissioner to carry on government. His report was that the colony submitted and did not even ask for a charter again.

What stung Andros most was the action taken in Town Meeting. That was an institution England had not reckoned with—and forgot it before 1775. It was the branch closest to the root of liberty of the people, and it had been laughed at. Thomas Jefferson was to say of it: "It is the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation." That which King James and his men would not suppress but rather would control was the soldiery. With foresight Connecticut from the first had provided that its control must remain under the Colonial and then the State government. Persistence in this is marked throughout the State's history, as a State, as a member of the Union and finally of the United States, in coöperation.

CHAPTER XXX.

Seizure of Charter

Andros Usurps but Parchment Vanishes—Final Victorious Chapters of It
and Historic Oak—Liberty's Progress.

Diplomacy, which at this moment of writing so deeply concerns the millions of a well-knit world, equally was playing its part on the stage of the seventeenth century when communication was laborious and American population small. It has been marked at every step in the progress of democratic government since the "three towns" left the Bay Colony—the Fundamental Orders, the Warwick patent, the Winthrop charter, the western boundary, the consolidation of Connecticut and New Haven. Each was of vital importance to the mission which was Connecticut's as were those that were to follow till the nation was established on the principle maintained, and later. Men rightly motivated were to be found in the "land of steady habits," as it came to be called in common parlance. Patience was inexhaustible, and usually rewarded. But they were agonizing moments to live through.

The presumptuousness of the Duke of York as King, the vilifications by his pilfering emissaries, the ruthlessness in neighboring colonies, the despair indicated in Treat's letter to official London—that if the charter must go they would pray to be attached to Massachusetts—were in the minds of everybody at town meetings, prayer meetings and in the fields. Even the burden of heavy taxation for the late war was forgotten, together with the interference with commerce, the stinted crops of the year and the news of Andros' upsetting of the comparatively democratic régime under Colonel Dongan in New York.

William Whiting, the colony's representative in London, kept the Governor informed and the General Assembly may have hurried to finish its regular business in June or before Andros could arrive. Whiting's information included the fact that the authorities interpreted Connecticut's reputed suggestion of preference to be annexed to Massachusetts, if surrender were effected, to mean surrender now and therefore had not gone on with the *quo warranto* proceedings but rather had planned to have Andros take over the colony at once, admitting Treat and Secretary John Allyn to his council. Andros in Boston was displeased that Connecticut had not turned in its charter at once, in accord with such understanding.

Secretary Allyn replied to his letter, apparently without consulting Treat, that "by our statesmen it is thought not convenient yet and they will not be moved

beyond their pace; notwithstanding the advantage that offers to encourage a present union, they will not be persuaded to it. It looks like a giving away of that which is precious to them when they can rather be passive than active in parting with it, and also those difficulties that threaten the standing out—as our procuring his majesty's displeasure, making our terms the harder and losing the little share we have in the government if cheerfully submitted to—seems of little weight to many. The result of present considerations are that we must stand as we are until his majesty further dispose of us, and all that is gained our gentlemen rather choose to be conjoined with Massachusetts than with any other province or colony."

Others, and some in high office, were likewise hinting quiet submission while "sundry of the court" wanted to be assured that there would be no giving up of the document without general knowledge. In the sessions of the Assembly, the box containing the charter was sedulously kept on the table in sight of everybody. It was as though the majority would say, "You'll have to come and get it." And the session adjourned as soon as its regular work would permit. One of its acts had been to take over and make grants of all unoccupied land in Hartford County to forestall its being seized and granted in extortionate and otherwise reprehensible manner, as in Massachusetts. Nothing had been heard from the authorities in London. The regular September session also was short. But then came Andros' court letter of October 22 announcing that he would send or come the next week. Five days before, he had received his orders as approved in June. The Assembly had studiously avoided a vote of any kind on the subject. The matter had not come up in Royalty's Court and the King had not annulled. The charter was still a sacred instrument.

Andros left Boston October 26, 1687, attended by the eight members of his council—Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Mason, John Fitz-John Winthrop, John Usher, John Pynchon, Bartholomew Gidney and Edward Ting, some of whom certainly had hoped Connecticut could win. They were under the escort of Captain Nicholson's grenadiers. An escort of horse was sent to Wethersfield to meet them as they crossed the Connecticut by ferry. In Hartford they were received with full courtesy by the assembled train-bands of the county and were escorted to Zachary Sanford's Inn, that which Jeremy Adams had made famous.

Secretary Allyn's report of the afternoon meeting is a model of brevity. Nine of the twelve assistants and twenty-four of the thirty-four deputies were in attendance. It was voted to "attend" Andros and his council; whereupon, presumably, they were escorted in. Governor Treat already had told of the planting of the colony and of the strenuous work since then in establishing it.

In the meeting Andros told "how gracious His Majesty had been to his subjects in Connecticut," saying they were now entitled to all the grace and favor contained in said letters patent and that the former authority and General Court was dissolved and the colony annexed to the dominion of New England. Secretary Allyn handed to Andros the metal stamp with which the wax seals were made and sometime later added these words:

His Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Captain-General and Governor of His Majesty's Territory and Dominion in New England, by order from His Majesty, King of England, Scotland and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of this Colony of Connecticut, it being by His Majesty annexed to the Massachusetts and other colonies under His Majesty's government. FINIS.

This session was held in the "Public Court-House." The meeting the next day was in the "Town-House."

But that had occurred which made the word "FINIS" inappropriate, for this was only an incident, important for history drama though it was. The session was so long, with words that can only be imagined—perhaps Governor Treat's remarks—that toward the close it was necessary to bring in the candles. On the table stood the box with its key, in which was the parchment charter, which John Winthrop had so skillfully obtained from Charles II, next to the Fundamental Orders the first evidence of governmental liberty, the fruition of centuries of struggle and misery. In its keeping at the moment, as it were, was a greater mission than Royalty or these sturdy colonists themselves could realize. Simply the Connecticut men felt the stirring within them.

In some way not recorded—perhaps from a window which had been opened to ventilate a small room full of smoke—came a sudden puff of air, and the candles were extinguished. It required but a moment to relight them, but in that moment the charter had disappeared. The consternation no one tried to describe in those days of fierce retributions. Sir Edmund was a wise man as was apparent on the day he met Captain Bull at Saybrook. Violence and its consequence would be reprehensible in the sight of his masters; for New England it might be a spark in a powder keg. Of his council there was not more than one who was in sympathy with the new order; they had accepted appointment to the council under compulsion of bullying circumstances. The roadway outside was thronged with agitated people, many of them soldiers under arms. The air was charged with malevolence, and not only here but throughout New England. Like Lord Howe at Boston in later days, Andros was conscious that composure was imperative. Furthermore his own experiences, as recently in New Jersey, could lead him to think that this was a matter of form at best. Acquiescence had been gained; the record would show that the deed was done; why allow himself even to appear perturbed?

The night, no doubt, was respectfully sociable, as among Englishmen. On the following day they proceeded to the "town-house." The news of the charter's disappearance probably had spread but the people who crowded around could think only that the action in obedience had been consummated. Neither knight nor farmhand could know that the principle could not be destroyed. At the "town-house," in the regular form followed with the other colonies, the Governor, Treat, and the secretary, Allyn, were attached to the council. Justices of the peace and sheriffs for the colony were appointed according to formal method. Andros returned to the inn and tarried another day, probably to instill his noble intentions, before taking the road to Fairfield. At the church there—if tradition marked in a hymn-book

is to be trusted—he listened to the singing of the hymn, “How doth the tyrant walk abroad.” On Monday he went to Saybrook and thence to Long Island.

Such are the records of history. Andros had usurped, whether or not he admitted the fact to himself when he left. After wiping out government under the charter, he established a superior court, courts of general session and courts of common pleas, assistants of the General Assembly and other offices—including one for Gershom Bulkeley, ardent Loyalist—and had appointed Governor Treat, graciously, colonel of the militia. Laws were to be enacted only in Boston—till the overturn of government in England in the revolution of 1689. It was usurpation because Andros had had no judgment of the court in England, simply the *quo warranto* papers for the hearing there, result of which, to be sure, was morally certain. But the forms had not been completed, and were not to be.



OLD VIEW OF NEWTOWN

The romantic incidents of the affair have aided to give it its high place in the history of the State and the nation. What became of the sacred document? The recorded answer was not to come till the May session of the General Assembly in 1698 when Captain Joseph Wadsworth was commended for saving the charter and was allowed to be custodian of it indefinitely. In May session of 1715, he was given twenty shillings for “his faithful and good services in securing the duplicate charter of this colony in a very troublous time when our constitution was struck at and in safely keeping and preserving the same ever since unto this day.” With that the custodianship apparently passed to the secretary of the colony, Hezekiah Wyllys.

Wadsworth's brother had been deputy from Farmington on the fateful day. It is tradition that Wadsworth hid the charter in a hole in an old oak on the Wyllys estate, which was conveniently near. It is not presumable, as some have intimated, that he left it there after Andros took his leave. That was long enough to give its name to the tree for future generations, as will hereinafter appear.

Precisely where the vitally important sessions were held has lately become a question. Because, as has been told, Jeremy Adams' inn had been used as a meeting place for the "court," it has been assumed that that was the place where Andros sought to seize the charter. Adams' interests in the tavern had been foreclosed in 1681 and the property sold to his grandson, Zachary Sanford, in 1685—he to be succeeded in 1718 by his son-in-law, Jonathan Bunce. There were a court chamber and jury chamber in the inn, but it always has been a question how either room could have been large enough to accommodate a session of fifty members and the many people who were there to listen.

It is known that after the earlier assemblies, sessions were held in the "first meeting house," where there was a chamber above the galleries. But it is found that in various towns the expression "meeting house" had come to mean a meeting place for public business as distinct from church. In the latest research, by Albert Carlos Bates, librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, the confusing expressions "public court house" and "town house" have been taken to mean the school house which, as has been told, was commonly called the "town house" in earlier days. After the disturbance about the town school, which has been detailed, a new lot was bought on present Sheldon Street, near Governor Street, close by the Wyllys mansion. Mr. Bates' belief is that both the sessions were held in the house there. If so, Wadsworth did not have far to go.

The future of the symbol of liberty is best told here, perhaps, though ahead of its place in the chronicles. By 1688 the English people at home had endured enough of the aggressions of James, as Europe had endured enough of the aggressions of Louis XIV of France, and commoners were anxious for the return from Holland of Mary, James' heiress, of whose sympathies they felt assured. Their revolution hung in the balance till William of Orange, Mary's husband, overcame his fear of a coalition between Louis and James and, cheered on by the English nobles, crossed the channel to drive out James and win the Crown, in 1689. Andros was thrown into prison in Boston in April of that year. On May 9, a meeting of free-men in Hartford voted vociferously to reestablish their old government and the next month the General Assembly—as it was henceforth to be known officially—proclaimed William and Mary. The colony's agent, William Whiting, reported that the government authorities could find no record of the colony's surrender or of any judgment against it, which must mean that the charter was still a live instrument.

Before having heard anything positive, Governor Treat and the council appointed James Porter to look after proceedings in London and sent another address, asking the King for a confirmation of authority under the charter. Porter engaged Increase Mather of Massachusetts to act for him, with the result that he procured the opinion of Attorney-General George Treby and Solicitor-General John Somers and others, assuring that resumption of government might be continued by the colony and adding, "you are very weak men if you do not do so." This was under date of August 20, 1690. The formal opinion was that there was no surrender on record. When King James had offered the colony the right to choose between New York and Massachusetts, it had chosen the latter—if there must be a choice. "But since

the late happy revolution in England, the people of Connecticut have elected a Governor and assistants, according to their charter, and we doubt not but they have a legal right to their former privileges. . . . Such submission as is put in this case doth not invalidate the charter, or any of the powers therein, which was granted under the great seal, and the charter being surrendered under the common seal and that surrender being duly enrolled of record nor any judgment of record entered against it, the same remained good and valid in the law."

When in 1693 Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, visited Hartford to secure control of the militia, as though the charter really had been suspended, Fitz-John Winthrop in England secured an emphatic confirmation from Somers, Treby and Ward. Treby expressed it: "I am of the same opinion, and, as this matter is stated, there is no ground of doubt." The basis of the opinion was the same as that previously given—the charter never had been surrendered or annulled; the peaceable submission to Andros was merely an illegal suspension of authority; not but that King William would have liked to hold all that James had acquired, as evidenced in upholding the actual forfeiture of the Massachusetts charter; the King gave his confirmation of the opinion in April, 1694. Connecticut was zealous to maintain the militia control even when a State of the Union.

Hezekiah Wyllys, the secretary of the colony into whose keeping the charter was entrusted, was then the proprietor of the Wyllys estate and the document was probably handed down through successive generations of that family, close by the Charter Oak. Officially it was referred to as the "duplicate charter." That fact was due to the traditional custom of the office of issue. Two engrossed copies always were made and each called duplicate. Written on two skins for one and three for the other, they were as nearly alike as humanly possible. Within the first initial "C" for Charles (or "Carolus") was a beautifully drawn portrait of the King, by the most eminent artist of his day. The first one made bore the marks of the clerk of the recording office or Hanaper, to indicate "Per five pounds," meaning the fee for affixing the King's seal; for the other, which we should call the duplicate, the marks were for twenty shillings. There was no distinction in importance.

The first "duplicate" was the one that Governor Winthrop sent over as soon as it had been obtained. The other was left with the colony's representative for guidance in event of inquiry or directions concerning it.

The three Wyllys who were secretary were Hezekiah, George and Samuel, the last named serving from 1796 to 1810. Samuel had a son named Hezekiah, who was the occupant of the mansion when John Boyd came to Hartford in 1817 to attend the Hartford Grammar School and boarded in the home of the Rev. Dr. Flint of the South Church. On coming in one day he saw Mrs. Bissell, widow of Colonel Hezekiah Bissell of East Windsor and mother-in-law of Dr. Flint, working at her sewing table on which lay a piece of dingy, lettered parchment. In reply to his query Mrs. Bissell said that, she having occasion to use something of that sort, her neighbor, Mrs. Wyllys, had brought this in. Pieces already had been cut from it. Mrs. Bissell was very glad to exchange the tough parchment for a piece of cardboard which he brought her.

Some six years later, Mr. Boyd, who himself was to be secretary of the State from 1858 to 1861, examined the remnant with its old English lettering and began inquiries which ended in his learning that it was one of the two "duplicate" charters. There were slight differences in the script but nothing could be taken to indicate which duplicate was made first till the Rev. Dr. William DeLoss Love of Hartford made thorough research in England.

The other parchment doubtless was brought back from England in 1697 after Fitz-John Winthrop had obtained the acknowledgment that the document was in full force. It was in a box of appropriate design and material, with a key, as the other originally had been. It was left exposed in the office of the secretary of State to be revered by thousands who called there, and then was framed, eventually in wood from the Charter Oak. The whole measured five by two and one-half feet. The State librarian was made the custodian. In 1902 it was fitted into a fire-proof steel safe and on completion of the State Library and Supreme Court Building in 1902 was removed there to be given conspicuous place by Librarian George S. Godard, among other historical relics, portraits and writings, exposed to view and visited by many people from all parts of the world every day.

Second to the romance of the charter itself is that of the white-oak tree which bore its name. It lived to be nearly a thousand years old, according to Professor John Brocklesby who made a study of it after it fell. Its circumference was thirty feet. Before the white men came it was the assemblage place for Indian conclaves and by the size of its leaves in the spring they knew when to plant their maize. In its later days and when the estate had passed into the possession of the Hon. Isaac W. Stuart, it was tenderly cared for, but the hole which was large enough for the charter and its box became a great cavity. In fact the tree was a mere shell when on the night of August 2, 1851, it succumbed to the strength of a high wind in a storm. It was the occasion of wide mourning and the solemn tolling of bells in Hartford. Pieces of it have gone to all parts of the world. Among the most notable of the carvings of its wood in Hartford are the great chair of the Lieutenant-Governor in the Senate Chamber and the frame of the charter in the State Library. The Society of Colonial Wars has placed a suitable memorial near the place where the tree stood.

CHAPTER XXXI.

A War Union

Democratic Character of All the Colonies—New Haven Hero—The North's Futile Action on French Alarm—Winthrop's Arrest—Control of Militia.

In one's study of the development of freedom in connection with the story of Connecticut, the accession of William and Mary, bringing triumph to the great Protestant revolution in England, with the flight of King James and his confessor, carries the mind back to the days of the decline of the Roman Empire. Then the Christian religion was the refuge of the people against brute force. The sympathetic priests, were the protectors, what though they were to be made the tyrants, ordaining their successors. Effort for liberty in government had to seek its opportunity in German dominions. In Saxony, where the great poet of the ninth century wrote the story of Christ in verse, the struggle was to be renewed, but again without achievement. Class above people was to prevail in all Europe.

With the Anglo-Saxon blending in England, it was the Saxon element that led in the successive efforts to place mind above heritage and it was the same element that found its opportunity in the distant wilderness of America; its mission was to be something different from that expressed in the "divine right of kings," its standard something men would flock to. And in the later times of the America that was being built up, its builders, who did not place title first in the measurement of men but who considered all men born free and equal, were in the majority. They could be intensely human among themselves or in groups but they made fertile soil for the principles of the Fundamental Orders.

The estimated English population near the turn of the century was about 200,000—Connecticut about eighteen thousand; Massachusetts with Plymouth and Maine, perhaps forty-four thousand; New Hampshire and Rhode Island, with Providence, each six thousand; all New England, seventy-five thousand; Pennsylvania and Delaware, twelve thousand; New Jersey, perhaps ten thousand; New York, all of twenty thousand; Maryland, twenty-five thousand; Virginia, at least fifty thousand; the two Carolinas, including the Georgia settlers, about eight thousand.

In these people, as already indicated, and including Dutch, Swedes and Finns in the New York region, were the elements of the nation today, leastwise in that it was not a place for a monarchy. Feudalism would be utterly incongruous. Where

it was tried it retained only a property form. The woodsman's ax rather than ties of aristocracy counted. Personal freedom or adventure with desire for personal gain had been the propelling force. Virginia, though still with touch of aristocracy, was in the class with New England for personal rights, with her representative assemblies and her revolt against the Stuart régime. "Christians" was the one general classification; duty the appeal. That they were Protestants by instinct the Stuart régime had revealed. And there were stout-hearted Catholics among them who revered the name of Wycliffe.

Further, in the wilderness, sects had to accommodate themselves. Bancroft says: "Calvinism, such as it existed, in opposition to prelacy and feudalism, could not continue in a world where there was no prelacy to combat, no aristocracy to overthrow. It therefore received developments which were imprinted on institutions. It migrated to the Connecticut; and there, forgetting its foes, it put off its armor of religious pride. 'You go to receive your reward,' was said to Hooker on his death-bed. 'I go to receive mercy,' was his reply. For predestination Connecticut substituted benevolence. It hanged no Quakers, it mutilated no heretics. Its early legislation is the breath of reason and charity; and Jonathan Edwards did but sum up the political history of his native Commonwealth for a century, when, anticipating, and in his consistency excelling, Godwin and Bentham, he gave Calvinism its political euthanasia, by declaring virtue to consist in universal love."

Finally, bigotry—whatever else flourished among them, that could not.

Connecticut, at the turn of the century, despite its annoyances and perplexities, its need of constant vigilance at home and abroad, was still prospering and growing. Assistance to neighbors was more than instinctive; else its motto could not obtain inasmuch as "he who brought us over will sustain us" could not be exemplified.

The people still lived upon the products of the soil, upon trading and upon a hectic commerce. Their experiences had made them alert. From the beginning they had been disciplined in the care of their individual weapons and ammunition. For guns the new flintlock was an improvement on the original matchlock, though the bandoleer had far from displaced the powder horn. In outlying towns every male over sixteen was still compelled to serve on "military watches." In 1690 every frontier town was directed to "complete the fortifications that had been ordered"—mostly fortified houses. Men were "listed" in the larger towns to join the "flyeing army of dragoones." Samuel Talcott of Wethersfield was captain of a company of troopers from 1681 to 1692. New Haven, with its compulsory drilling, had organized the first artillery and had the beginnings of a navy.

Training everywhere was compulsory six times a year. Companies or "train-bands" were not assembled into regiments till 1697 and not formally organized till 1739. In the 1688 period a special grant of two pence a bushel was allowed a town for what it should transport to Hartford or New Haven in way of sustenance. In 1689 the office of lieutenant-colonel was created for some localities, equal in rank to that of a commanding sergeant-major for each of the four counties, Hartford, New Haven, New London and Fairfield. There were special instructions for men trained in the war art of the redmen.

In September, 1689, when the French were urging the Indians across the frontiers, the General Assembly sent James Bishop of New Haven County, Captain Samuel Mason of New London County and William Pitkin of Hartford to meet with other representatives in Boston to consider means of defense, amount of soldiers' pay and the colony quota, Connecticut's not to exceed two hundred—English and Indians. Connecticut instructed its representatives that it must be provided that the men serve under their own officers, subject only to the general commanding—thereafter a stereotyped requirement. If it ever appeared that Indians had been wronged, "you must labor with the gentlemen, if any way of making it known to the enemy can be thought of." In war time, calls were to be issued by the war council consisting of the Governor and two assistants of the General Assembly through county war committees.

Connecticut had been sending temporary details of men to Massachusetts when the first serious call came from New York. The call is especially noteworthy since it marked the beginning of an incident that was to be, among other things, one of the most spectacular. The facts of it, taken chiefly from faded manuscript letters in the State vaults, are here assembled in one brief record of tragedy and—for the first time—of the heroism of Lieutenant Enos Talmadge of New Haven.

On the dethronement of James II and the imprisonment of Andros, Governor of New York and New England, the province of New York with its varied and commercial population, still largely Protestant Dutch and Frenchmen who had fled from Louis XIV, had been left without a Governor. Andros' predecessor, the sagacious Earl Dongan, held a respectable following among the relegated papists of King James' day (till he left in 1691.) There was rioting and confusion. The fort was set afire the day William and Mary ascended the throne. In Albany, almost a separate and rebellious colony, Mayor Peter Schuyler and his Dutch councilors of the old days were carrying on.

An issue of deep import was pending. It was whether England or France had the greater right in America. What are known as the "intercolonial wars" had their origin in the same English revolution of 1688, when England had espoused the cause of the Protestant powers against Louis XIV of France. The wars were to be continued by the chess-playing of monarchs on the broadening map of Europe. England claimed American soil by right of discovery, exploration and Indian treaties, for expansion; France claimed it, at behest of missions, on right by exploration and development. France, with strong foothold in present Canada but with no such resource of men and arms, looked to the Algonquins who, by direction of Champlain ("Father of New France"), had been helped in their conflict with the Iroquois or the old-time "Five Nations." The English, for their part, had succeeded to much of the Iroquois good-will which the Dutch eventually had won in their recent days of ascendancy on the Hudson.

The wars that were to follow and in which Connecticut was to play its part are commonly distinguished by the names of England's contemporaneous rulers: King William's (1689-97); Queen Anne's (1702-13); King George's (1744-48). Those three wars did much to unify the colonies so that they stood well together

for their respective territories in what is known as "The Last French War" in Europe (1756-63) which was more inclusive in its character.

Jacob Leisler, of Holland birth and connected with the Dutch West India Company, created a safety committee which authorized him as a captain to seize the remnants of the fort. Soon he was to be known as Lieutenant-Governor (July 30, 1689), an office, he declared, to be held till an appointed Governor could be sent over. In response to request, in which Leisler said he wondered if he could not share in Connecticut's charter, Governor Treat had sent Major Nathan Gold of Fairfield and Captain James Fitch of Plainfield, with a few soldiers, to advise with him. They returned with hopeful report, it being distinctly understood that Leisler was merely assuming emergency control. In 1689, by Leisler's request and that of Governor Bradstreet of Massachusetts, Captain Jonathan Bull* of Hartford was sent to Albany as one of a commission to renew a treaty with the friendly Maqua Indians.

Meantime, it had become clear that the French in Canada had a well formulated plan for Indian attacks along the whole frontier. Connecticut had been aiding Massachusetts in its resistance, to the extent of two hundred and sixty men, in small detachments and for only brief periods because of the general sickness. But now reports were spreading that the French were to make their great drive down to Albany, which controlled their southern trading connection. As Massachusetts could spare no men, both Leisler and the Albany people appealed to Connecticut.

Governor Treat hurried Bull back to the town with eighty-seven men and Lieutenant Talmadge, the Albany "convention" agreeing to pay officers' "wages," if possible. Surprise was expressed in the Connecticut Council that "neighboring counties" (meaning New York) had not come to the rescue. After Bull had reported to the convention November 25, 1689, Leisler was heard from to the effect that no orders should be given by any but himself and, later, that he would send soldiers to take over the government. With this it was apparent to Bull that there was a divided colony and no time to discuss. His men were at the fort and the "convention" in operation. Allegiance to their Majesties was sworn.

Plainly the trading settlement Schenectady, up the Mohawk about seventeen miles by land, was likely to receive the first attack, by way of the Wood Creek region. The traders, however, about two hundred or three hundred, would not consent to withdrawing. In his perplexity Bull turned to his lieutenant, Talmadge. What with Leisler's assuming that Bull was in league with Schuyler's convention against him and the threats Leisler was making, the Connecticut contingent must hold the Albany fort, there being no other soldiers and the agreement having been signed. Neither would it be wise to divide the small force. But if Talmadge could go out to Schenectady with a corporal's guard he might convince the settlers of the necessity of coming in.

Bull knew his man. Of worthy New Haven stock, at age thirty-four he had established a good home with wife and children and had been energetic and faith-

* Captain Bull was a son (born in 1640) of Captain Thomas Bull, who had come to Hartford with Hooker, and checked Andros at Saybrook in 1675.

ful in his trainband. Talmadge, now in late December, found the Schenectady people living in a stockade with a southern and western gate, a blockhouse near each. Sander Glen, the commandant, shared Talmadge's opinion that, at least, the gates should be kept closed at night. But with an obstinacy that was puzzling—till after the event—the people insisted upon remaining to enjoy their warm homes with gates always open. The presence of thirty Mohawk fur-traders could arouse Talmadge's suspicion but the white traders insisted that the tribe was friendly; it was the Algonquins whom Frontenac had been using to spread terror along the borders of the English colonies. Whether or not, they appeared to Talmadge to be undependable by a reason of their indulgence in the liquors which were forbidden them in Albany. Nor could Talmadge concur in the opinion that the enemy would not come because of the exceptional severity of the weather. The scouts sent out were making no report.

The forces which Leisler, after repeated requests, had sent to Albany from New York looked untrustworthy as they sprawled around their quarters in the Albany fort. Joathim Staats who commanded them understood that the Albany "convention" and Bull would be in rebellion against New York if opportunity offered. However, if peace were to be preserved, he was neither giving nor taking local orders. To Bull's request that he send ten men to strengthen or relieve Talmadge, he returned a prompt negative. Consequently, as the snow grew deeper, Talmadge and his small detail were practically cut off, Bull having hardly enough to meet Albany requirements, which included watching Staats. Glen, at the stockade, disgusted with the obstinacy of the traders, had taken a house with his family across the Mohawk River. It doubtless was Talmadge's intention to set his men to clearing back the snow and closing the gates.

In January the French and Indians actually were on their way down the two hundred miles of wilderness, carrying their supplies through fast deepening snow. After twenty-two days of this, they arrived, on the night of February 8, 1690—one hundred and nineteen whites and ninety-six Indians. The people were asleep and both gates were open. Talmadge with part of his men was in the blockhouse near the western gate where good defense could have been made, had his orders prevailed. Noiselessly, swiftly the enemy stole in at each gate, till the sleepers were encircled. In short time sixty men, women and children had been slaughtered and the houses burned. In their hurried departure they took away twenty-seven men and boys, leaving the rest in testimony of amity with the Mohawks, it was said.

Talmadge and four of his men were killed and their bodies burned in a house where obviously they had made their last stand, trying to defend a man and his wife, a young girl and five negroes. Of the other soldiers, some worked their way out but five were captured in another blockhouse, one of whom escaped from the Indians.

Pursuit in the deep snow was impossible. Bull was asked to remain on duty, reinforced, and, with permission, he did so till withdrawn in April largely because of bad rations sent from New York. His report to Connecticut and Massachusetts said that disaster was due to division of control; Leisler laid the blame on previous bad methods of Andros. Governor Bradstreet of Massachusetts wrote Bull in high

commendation. Robert Livingston (one of the few English in Albany County) wrote: "We have all Leisler's seditious letters, which was the occasion of the destruction—miraculously found in the streets, all embued with blood, the morning after the massacre."

Leisler, who was sending his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, to look after his soldiers in Albany, was writing a recommendation that Colonel John Allyn, Connecticut's secretary, be "secured" because he had supported the Albany "rebels," and Allyn had roundly rebuked him. Then came, on April 3, Leisler's request for a conference of all colonies north of the James River relative to defense against a rumored attack by two thousand and five hundred French and many Indians. Connecticut offered one hundred and thirty-five men and eighty Indians "if obtainable." Only New England and New York attended the conference, the first of its sort



OLD VIEW IN WESTPORT (CENTRAL PART)

ever called in America. Leisler meantime had imprisoned forty officers appointed by his predecessor, Andros, and "with a squad of troops got in about one hundred and fifty commissions," so "now better able to resist an enemy." Seven officers were held in confinement and many "absconded" with Colonel Dongan of the old régime. A warrant was issued for Livingston who was holding the fort at Albany but Milborne was unable to serve it, for which Connecticut was blamed.

The Colonial Conference decided upon the Massachusetts plan for a joint attack—by land forces upon Montreal and by Massachusetts upon Quebec by sea. Connecticut had set about preparing. Companies of dragoons had been raised by Captain John Mosely in Hartford County, by Captain John Miles in New Haven County, by Captain Joseph Morgan in New London County and by Captain Matthew Sherwood in Fairfield County. The pay of privates was to be nine shillings a week and officers up to twenty-five shillings for captains; Indians, twenty shillings a month. Captain James Fitch of Norwich was to raise one company of sixty

English and forty Indians in Hartford and New London counties, and Captain Ebenezer Johnson of Stratford a company in Fairfield County. Richard Blackleach of Stratford was appointed commissary.

For the war chest the rate was made four pence on ratable estates. An embargo was set on corn export. When cash was not available, the government would transport produce to market and get the currency. The movement of these troops was delayed during the embargo over the army's commander and the sickness among the men in New York. The dragoons were disbanded. The fortifying of New London Harbor began not long afterward, on rumors that a French fleet was approaching.

Leisler named Milborne to command the expedition by land and the lakes. Fitz-John Winthrop of New London, who had served as an officer in the Parliamentary army and had returned home with the "duplicate" charter after the revolution, as told, was simply to report with the Connecticut troops to Milborne. This was so deeply resented by reason of the provisions of the Connecticut charter—no action having been taken by the General Assembly—that the would-be efficient and loyal Leisler gave him the command and made Milborne commissary—a tragic error. The Connecticut officers at Albany rendezvous, besides Fitch and Johnson, were Captains Cyprian Nichols of Hartford and John Stanton of Stonington as observers. Fitch was writing from the rendezvous that there was a "heap of confusion" and many sick, due to bad rations. Winthrop wrote that there would be "no great help" from "the Mohawks and Five Nations." The Massachusetts fleet, thirty-two vessels and three thousand and one hundred men under the wealthy Sir William Phips of Massachusetts, sailed from Nantasket for Quebec August 9. Simultaneously the Indian conference at Wood Creek revealed that not enough canoes had been provided for the coöperative expedition. A council of war decided that the whole plan must be abandoned. As consequence Phips' bold demonstration by land and water, at Quebec, against the combined French, was a failure.

Leisler put Winthrop in durance under charges of inefficiency. A band of Mohawks immediately released him and he was sent to New York whence he was permitted to return home. August 23, the Governor and council had written Leisler on the general situation, asking for advisement and expressing the double-entendre hope that "your honor will not espouse such interests against us as we have not done against yourself." September 1, after hearing of Winthrop's arrest, they wrote stern expostulations, challenging his action without consulting the other colonies, as also similar action in the case of Commissary Blackleach.

Leisler did not reply till September 30, when he vilified Winthrop in extravagant language, calling the future Governor incapable and a man of vile character, as Connecticut must have known; withal a supporter of Andros, and declared the belief that he and his officers might have been the cause of the defection. The letter closed thus: "It cannot be but one day you will sadly reflect that a people professing Christianity so eminently beyond others should so basely degenerate so far below the heathens. You trust to your wicked crafts and inventions, through pride and presumption despise the deliverance, but when you are searched with

candles it will be known who are guilty of this accursed thing and your nakedness will be uncovered."

Leisler's final chapter, so long delayed, came fast. In the confusion of Westminster, incident to the accession of William and Mary, and to the French war, the importance of the Hudson River was overlooked as it was to be again nearly a century later. Henry Sloughter, profligate adventurer, sailed under appointment as Governor of New York January 31, 1691, accompanied by Major Richard Ingoldsby. When they reached the port Leisler proclaimed that Ingoldsby was seeking to take possession and was raising a force on Long Island. From his ship, that officer replied that, representing the Governor, he was only trying to prevent outrages by Leisler's followers.

Thereupon Leisler proclaimed the arrival of Sloughter and gave permission for the quartering of his men in the city but not in the fort. Milborne, now secretary of the council, issued permit for the use of the city hall. But Sloughter still was hindered when, on March 5, he declared that arms must be resorted to since Leisler was inciting an uprising of French and other city people.

A week later Connecticut expressed sympathy through Sloughter's secretary, who was seeking reinforcements for troops arriving from England, and said the colony would do its duty. The following week Leisler aimed a *pronunciamento* at Connecticut to which the Colonial Council replied firmly.

March 20, Leisler is writing Sloughter a rapturous letter of welcome, and prays that forces be sent him and his for release from the fort in which they are besieged. He apologizes for having been restrained by Ingoldsby from giving personal welcome. Sloughter's own report to the home government was that he had been refused admission to the fort till his three hundred soldiers compelled it. Meantime there had been deaths in the street riotings. March 26, Leisler was brought before the magistrates for making war, counterfeiting the seal of Governor and murdering two named riot victims. In resolutions April 17, the House of Representatives in setting forth Leisler's crimes added his responsibility for the Schenectady massacre. May 2, Sloughter notified the government that the magistrates had pronounced sentence of death upon the prisoner and Milborne, his accomplice, and begged to know their Majesties' will, having in mind "necessity of good and perfect settlement of the other colonies on the coast." After nearly a month, the Governor and House declared that because of unrest the "principal offenders" should be executed at once. The prisoners' plea for delay till their Majesties' pleasure on their appeal could arrive was rejected.

The two men were hanged May 16, 1691. Leisler submitted a long statement and both of them made speeches, expressing their—quite truly—honorable intent and blaming Ingoldsby for not showing the authority on which he had demanded the fort. He cited that he had taken governmental control because, in the absence of Governor Andros and his deputy, he was in control and the official letter from England had been addressed to the deputy or whomsoever was conducting affairs, which was himself. The letter had been so addressed. Parliament a few years later restored his forfeited estate to his heirs.

The chief justice of this court was Joseph Dudley, a native of Massachusetts, a supporter of Andros, as has been seen, and one who, in later years, declared for the canceling of the New England charters. Ingoldsby's report on the affair contained the statement that all the Colonial troubles sprang from the "union with Boston" which made a dominion too large to be administered as one; besides, seditions and anti-monarchical principles had been instilled and all the woe could be "attributed to that miserable union." He believed that "New England had had a great share in poisoning the minds of the people; those of fortune and integrity to the crown were uneasy thinking of it."

In July of that year, 1691, Sloughter asked for Connecticut reinforcements against Indians who had been reported coming down the lakes. Connecticut dubiously sent Captain John Miles of New Haven and one hundred and fifty men for the defense of Albany County. Ingoldsby's endeavor to appoint their officers was not successful. The next year £500 worth of provisions was sent on Fitch's appeal.

Sloughter was succeeded as Governor by Benjamin Fletcher in 1692, with full military control over New York and Connecticut.

June 2, 1692, Phips, who had been knighted after his naval effort at Port Royal, wrote from Boston that he had been appointed Governor of Massachusetts and commander-in-chief for all New England, militia forts included, and requested detailed reports. Connecticut replied that it claimed its charter privileges, embracing military control. Phips sent a copy of his commission and noted that obedience must be expected. July 30, this was referred to the next General Assembly. In October the court wrote Phips that it was addressing their Majesties relative to the militia.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Helpful But Firm

Demands for Aid from Every Side—Dudley's Persistence in Attacking the Charter—Rebuff for Governor Fletcher—Mohegan Indian Claims.

If the mere recording of continuous distressful events—which was about all there was in the colonies through this long period—fills a modern reader with wonderment over survival, he must bring to the analysis of it any special points in the character of those in control in other colonies. The government of William and Mary, indeed, of all colonies for some years after England's revolution of 1689, favored free thought and liberties but with a bewilderment due to the turmoil of the previous half-century. Men of humble status had been brought to high place, on recommendation sprung from partisan politics. The old English aristocracy, with all its faults, had boasted an inheritance of cultivation of both manners and intellect, whereas under its successors men incompetent or narrow could be given preferment on their record for bravado and bombast in the recent revolt from absolutism. As a familiar illustration we have the record of the United States in the rule of some of the Southern states after the Civil War.

The colonies of the 1690's had become an inviting place in the eyes of some men with a political "pull"; in the eyes of others, for men with a thirst for power so long denied men of their calibre. Sir William Phips, born in Maine, did not know how to read or write till a mature age. He was an habitue of the docks till he got a boat and, in time, salvaged a sunken Spanish vessel which yielded him enormous wealth and knightly title, whereupon doors were opened to him. As a great ship-owner he came more and more into positions for which he had ability but not the balance. He was high sheriff of New England under Andros. As a member of Richard Mather's church and through influence of Richard's son, Increase, he was created captain-general and Governor of Massachusetts in 1692. It was the same influence, unimpeachable in itself, that had brought Andros over. Mather was one of the foremost men of his times, a good friend of Connecticut's when her charter was imperiled, but it does not follow that he was a good analyst of men.

Joseph Dudley was of a more pretentious type. Son of a Massachusetts Governor, student of theology and philosophy, he was a Harvard graduate who plunged

into the pettiest kind of politics to secure preferment under the new régime. As commissioner in the New England Union, he had been of worth and had participated in the swamp fight in King Philip's War, afterwards acting as a peace commissioner. He enjoyed association with Andros, was president of New England and shared imprisonment with Andros, with forced withdrawal to England, but only to return with appointment as Chief Justice of New York, in 1690, where he approved the death sentence of Leisler, the evidence in which case was repudiated after the execution. Two years later he went over to England where he secured a seat in Parliament for a year. In 1702 he was given the Governorship of Massachusetts which position he held by appointment till five years before his death in 1720.

Benjamin Fletcher had feeble background. As Governor of New York for six years from 1692 and charged with affairs in Pennsylvania in similar capacity, his main thought was to establish episcopacy in place of the well established Dutch Reform Church in New York. He was disgusted with the charter rights in Connecticut no more than in Pennsylvania, and was bombastic. And throughout the period a more appreciative selection of representatives might have changed the future history of England and America. As it was—Connecticut, with free charter, was often a victim of rapacity while steadfastly maintaining her fundamental principles.

Phips' requests, as Governor of Massachusetts, for men and money for the Hampshire frontiers in 1692-93 were complied with but the Governor, dissatisfied, issued a command to Connecticut whose conduct had been "mean and low" and altogether "unacceptable." William Pitkin of Hartford, in written review of the record in fighting the Indians, remarked that New England had no outside support but this colony was not "forward to complain as it was not backward to defend the country." Ministers, justices and militia officers of Hampshire wrote to express their appreciation of great help from Connecticut. White men and Indians under Captain William Whiting of Norwich and Lieutenant Stephen Hollister of Hartford had been sent; also men for garrison with promise of more if needed.

In March, 1693, Governor Fletcher of New York began a series of complaints similar to Phips. (Captain John Miles of New Haven with one hundred and fifty men had been sent to Albany.) Fletcher scorned the colony's expression that it was doing its best. (Already it was borrowing money.) When he cited the terms of his commission the colony replied, as it had to Phips, that it had written to England; his rejoinder was that he, too, had written.

June 10, a commission arrived for Fletcher in place of Phips to take over the militia in Connecticut. It unquestionably was Fletcher's duty to abide by that, or try to. It was not for him to inquire into the provisions of an unforfeited free charter. He reached New Haven with his commission October 17 and thence notified Governor Treat. Secretary Allyn responded that the court, still in session in Hartford, would receive him. Since his horses had not yet been landed, he requested that the court come to New Haven. The secretary assured him that the court would continue its session a few days longer, in Hartford.

He did not appear till the 24th when he presented a "memorial" of authority. Two days later his secretary, Clarkson, read to the court Fletcher's commission and demand for military control. The court said, in writing, it could not find in the commission supersedence to the charter's provisions concerning the militia nor a Royal order to surrender rights, hence should continue as formerly till its agent in England (General Winthrop) reported, ready meanwhile to render service in the regular way, although it was "out" £5,000 by the Albany affair, aside from the loss of life, and does see reason to grant £600 toward maintaining the garrison there, "in obedience to their majesties' letter of March 3 last."

The next day Fletcher wrote that the right to the militia vested only in Royalty and he had expected respect for the Royal commission, and "this in no part of their majesties' dominions found a rub or contest." Hence this demand for yes or no—or take the consequences. Further his secretary wrote that the facts would be published in a proclamation, leaving the militia in the same hands he had found it, under a commission as colonel and commander for Governor Treat; and "his excellency would not set foot out of the colony" till assured of obedience by all who are loyal "and will distinguish the rest."

To this the court replied simply that it had offered the £600 toward the garrisoning of the fort at Albany but, if preferred, would send fifty men to serve till spring. That was answered the same day, to the effect that only when the commander-in-chief's commission was acknowledged could matters of detail be talked over. The following day a "proclamation" was sent in marked: "Given to the secretary to be delivered to the governor but not to be published." It summed up the previous correspondence and propositions, these not to interfere with civil rights, and said that he, the commissioned commander-in-chief, had no power to suspend or delay execution of the command to him and to all loyal subjects; hence he must forbid obedience to any other commission or levying of men or arms by any other, in execution of which decree all loyal subjects must aid.

In a letter to Governor Treat, January 12, Fletcher wrote that the journey to Hartford "was neither pleasant nor profitable" for him but he was obliged to enforce authority. Fletcher, a professional soldier, could know little of the details of the Connecticut charter in distinction from any other as his report to the British secretary of State revealed: "I never saw a magistracy so prostituted as here; they set up a free state."*

* When a proclamation was to be published the military companies were called out in assembly. Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, in his early history of the State, which is taken as authority in many matters, gave an account of Fletcher's visit to Hartford, which account became current in general literature for many years and today is not extinct. It said that Fletcher himself ordered out the militia, by virtue of his royal appointment as commander-in-chief for New England, despite the General Assembly's protest: Joseph Wadsworth, who hid the charter in the oak, was commanding the militia: when Fletcher began to read, Wadsworth commanded the drums to beat and "there was such a roaring of them that nothing else could be heard. Each time Fletcher tried to go on, Wadsworth commanded, "Drum, drum, I say," and when Fletcher made one more effort, Wadsworth turned and said to him: "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you." Thereupon Fletcher desisted. It is probable that there was such tradition. There is no reference to the assembling of the militia in the Colonial records, and it is to be noted that Fletcher had written that the proclamation should not be published. With knowledge of circumstances as here detailed, it is not probable that he would unnecessarily expose himself, or his secretary, who would have been the one to read. Entry of the publishing of the proclamation would have been made in the records, which, on this subject, are exceptionally full. Fletcher's own writing, here quoted, is the real evidence of his irritation and of the dignified course of the General Assembly.

In the course of time Fitz-John Winthrop was allowed to present the colony's case. He had been sent to England by the unanimous vote of three thousand free-men of the colony. The point of his argument, aside from the fact that an outsider could not be so much master of the affections of the people in time of need as those they themselves had chosen from among themselves, was that whoever commanded the people, as provided in the charter, also commanded their purses and was the Governor; civil authority and command of the militia could not subsist, one without the other; were not the command of the King and his lieutenants restricted by acts of Parliament, people would not be free. The council decided, by advice of the solicitor and attorney-general, that the ordinary power over the militia in this colony (as also in Rhode Island) belonged to its government.

Winthrop was elected Governor in 1698 to succeed Treat, who had served for fifteen years, with Treat continuing as deputy in his old age, till his retirement at age eighty-four in 1708.

The decision on the militia had recommended fixed quota for all the colonies in case of need, Connecticut's not to exceed one hundred and twenty. In June, 1695, Fletcher called for these one hundred and twenty to defend Albany, to which Connecticut replied that Albany was not in danger and that instead men were being sent to Hampshire. And throughout the period of the formal war abroad, there were frequent calls for duty, mostly in Massachusetts, under such officers as Whiting, Bull, Fitch, Hollister and Miles and others not previously named herein: Captains Samuel Mason, Nathaniel Cheseborough and James Noyes, all of Stonington; Captain Samuel Talcott of Wethersfield, Captain Stephen Burritt and Lieutenant James Judson of Stratford, Captain Joseph Wadsworth of Hartford, Captain Ebenezer Johnson of Derby and Captain Caleb Stanley of Hartford with sixty dragoons. From 1689 to 1706 the General Assembly records took cognizance of ten calls from New York and thirteen from Massachusetts, which does not include those handled by the war council when court was not in session.

Crops were neglected, pay for outside service was sometimes slow in coming in, taxes were heavy. The General Assembly received complaints from persons imprisoned for not paying taxes and voted that they be given food and water, any additional food to be paid for before they were released. Up to 1694 the colony's war expenses for neighboring colonies was £12,000 or one-tenth of the grand list, which was on top of the disbursements of £22,500 for King Philip's War, considerable taxes for which were still in arrears.

The Treaty of Ryswyck between the allied powers and France in 1697 brought brief respite so far as white men were concerned. The same officers were to continue taking men, in number over four hundred, to Massachusetts frontiers from time to time, since the Canadian Indians were not demobilized. In the War of the Spanish Succession or the European War into which England was drawn in Queen Anne's reign, in 1702, it remained for Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts to make further great effort to acquire Connecticut's resources. In 1703 he had asked for and had obtained a hundred men for his army against the Indians; and

requests from him and Governor Cornbury of New York were draining the treasury at the very time they were seeking to annex the colony's territory. Dudley, who in 1701, with Cornbury, had favored the Parliamentary bill for abrogation of all colony charters, in 1705 preferred charges against this colony's officials, asserting that they had rendered no aid in the Indian wars, and urged appointment of a Royal Governor. Connecticut's evidence of its contributions of men and money and a letter of gratitude Dudley once had written, decided that issue in the colony's behalf.

To the charge that the Connecticut courts were unjust, Sir Henry Ashurst for Connecticut quoted the record to show that in every one of the few appeals to the Crown, decisions had been confirmed. To the charge of inefficiency and disloyalty, he submitted the evidence of how generously and loyally the colony had responded with men and funds even though its own territory was not affected. Thus impressed the court sent all the papers to Connecticut.

Grateful for this consideration, the Assembly forwarded details of the previous year, during which alone the colony had furnished over five hundred men for defense of its neighbors, and enclosed the commendatory letter from Dudley himself. One of the charges against the colony was that it had defrauded the Mohegans. This was the most unique of Indian land cases in any colony. It was based on contentions of the Indians and the Mason family who maintained that the Indians had not sold their land itself to the colony but simply the hunting privileges—or *vice versa*. Professor Johnston is led to remark that "the Mohegans seem to have made treaties of land cession with prodigal generosity when drunk, and to have lied about them circumstantially when sober." The Queen and council appointed a commission to investigate the matter in the colony. It transpired that the individual appointed to preside over the sessions of the commission, meeting at Stonington on August 23, 1705, was none other than Dudley.

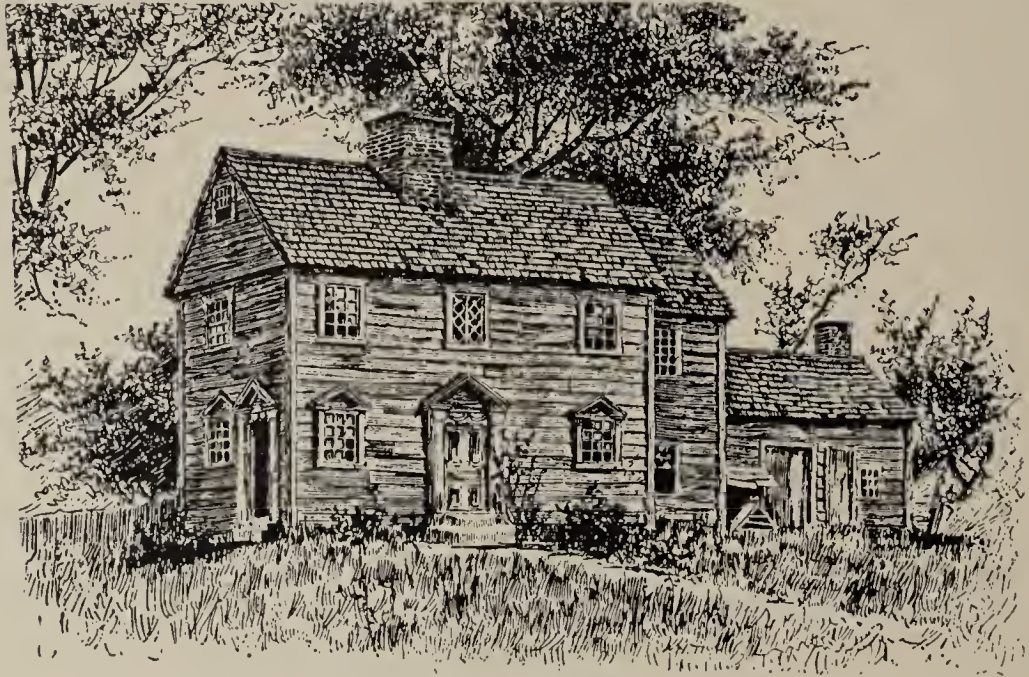
What the commission gathered in brief was as follows: John Mason of Windsor and Saybrook, the colony's first military hero, and an eminent character throughout his life, settled in Norwich in 1659. He, with Uncas, was considered by the Mohegans to be the best friend the Indians had. He helped them not only in warding off Narragansett offensives, but in their dealings with white planters. In 1640 they ceded most of their rights to Connecticut, with free rights to settlements by Connecticut men. Their territory included present New London County and part of Windham County, to which they gave what looked like an actual deed. Mason came into the region in 1659 to settle at Norwich.

One version was that Uncas engineered the transfer when he was at war with the Narragansetts but on the condition that the transfer be effective only in event of his death. Testimony relative to this was diverse and abstruse. One conflicting assertion was that the deed simply entrusted the land to Mason in return for his influence with the whites and for the terror in which his name and that of Uncas were held among the Narragansetts. Neither Mason nor Uncas was named in the deed. Mason's interpretation was that it was token of friendship on the side of the Indians and protection on his side.

In accord with his interpretation that it was a personal and not a colony matter, Mason deeded back to the Mohegans much of this land in 1671, the year before he

died. Uncas in 1680 secured from the colony confirmation of title to the rest of the territory, definitely relinquishing possible claim to the main part. When he died two years later, legitimate relationship was so difficult to determine that confusion ensued.

Mason's grandson and the son of the Rev. Mr. Fitch of Norwich, constant friend of the Indians, took up the interests of the Indians in the Mason-Uncas portion. It was an opportunity at hand for Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, which colony, as we have seen, had thought it had rights of conquest after the Pequot War.



DEACON BENJAMIN TALCOTT'S HOUSE, GLASTONBURY, 1699
(From Florence Hollister Curtis's "Glastonbury")

But Dudley, who served other colonies also, had seen the new opportunity to reach for the Connecticut free charter, he having failed in his charge of unjust Connecticut courts.

The commission decided against the colony, as it was presumed it would. The colony appealed to the Crown on the ground that only the prosecution had been heard, which carried on the matter of the Indians and the Mason family till after the Revolutionary War when the Indians desisted, well content with the reservation which had been provided for them. The charter was undisturbed. Meantime the colony was doing its full duty, exemplifying the loyalty it had professed.

In 1707, in the very heat of the controversy, Dudley made formal requisition for the colony's quota. In that instance he had to be told that Connecticut had all she could attend to at home with her frontiers threatened and local Indians restless. Nor could she see her way clear to participate in the proposed expedition against Acadia, popular as the plan was with rank and file, and the expedition was abandoned. That year four hundred men, with trained dogs and a bounty of £10 on Indian scalps, were held in readiness against invasion. Such a party of five whites and sixty Indians was sent toward Lake George.

Two years later, when England herself proposed a campaign to capture Montreal, colonists were eager for action. A fleet was to be sent from England reinforced by a Colonial fleet, for which Connecticut's quota was three hundred and fifty, while a Colonial force should advance by way of the lakes. For the latter force four hundred were sent with William Whiting again in command. After heavy losses at Wood Creek from disease and after the English fleet had failed to materialize, the troops had returned home. They were commanded by Colonel William Whiting of Norwich, Lieutenant-Colonel Matthew Allyn of Hartford and Major John Livingstone of New London. For this exploit the colony had issued paper money for the first time, £8,000—one and two-year terms.

At a conference of Governors in the fall of 1710, an expedition against Port Royal, capital of Acadia, was planned. Connecticut furnished three hundred men and five transports, under command of Colonel Whiting, Lieutenant-Colonel Matthew Allyn and Major John Burr of Fairfield. An English fleet was to coöperate. Governor and council sent a letter of great joy to Queen Anne because of the plans. She was to furnish uniforms, this for the first time. Success put into England's hands one of the best ports along the coast (renamed Annapolis in honor of the Queen.) Thence a campaign of conquest could well be waged. Assured of this, Queen Anne sent out in the following year a large body of Marlborough's veterans and Hovenden Walker's fleet, the Colonial troops, including four hundred from Connecticut, to go by land to Montreal. Bills of credit for £6,000 were issued before the start and four months' supply of provisions forwarded for the land force on its arrival in Canada.

Through negligence the fleet, long delayed, was wrecked in the St. Lawrence. The officers and men were practically the same as those on the previous expeditions, and the General Assembly were dismayed but not discouraged. In a letter to her Majesty, Governor Gurdon Saltonstall touched upon the vital point of failure in referring to the importance of pilots familiar with the St. Lawrence and suggested sending one from Connecticut who had been with the previous expedition to go out with a fleet which should sail direct from England and not, as previously, by way of Boston. But hope in that quarter was to be thirty years in reviving.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Error of Two Surveyors

Precipitates Controversy with Massachusetts for Nearly Two Centuries—
Sarcasms, Threats and Almost Violence.

It obviously irritated the enemies of the charter that a colony so small geographically could be so persistent. It should be a simple matter to make it coalesce. Yet it had a long record of obstinacy about boundaries which is best continued here to its finish since it is by taking all stages together that its relative importance can be marked. It began with the migration from Massachusetts. Pynchon of Agawam had been glad to join in that undertaking. His original settlement, while having the advantage of location on the main Indian trail westward and in the heart of the fur region, was so far from the outskirts of the Bay Colony that communication was difficult; he should be enjoying the advantages of the Connecticut River, which could be made possible by affiliation with the Warwick patentees at Saybrook and the settlers at Windsor and Hartford. His landing place was at Enfield Falls, the head of navigation, which is well within Connecticut boundaries. Warehouse Point of today was the site of his first large warehouse.

Pynchon's name had been second to that of Roger Ludlow in the commission of eight appointed by the Massachusetts General Court to handle governmental affairs for the first years after the understanding with the younger Winthrop and the Warwick patentees. His position thus established, he showed little interest in official affairs, took affront at rebuke, sent a shallop but no men for the Pequot War and, as previously indicated, was indifferent to obligation to either colony. Thus was uncertainty as to the boundary line between the colonies intensified. When their leaders began conferences that were to bring about the union of the four colonies, Hooker manifested concern about Pynchon's attitude and the boundary question.

The Bay's charter fixed its southern line as due westward from a point three miles south of any part of the Charles River. Such point was many miles distant from the Connecticut River but at the time no one but Pynchon and his little Roxbury party had ventured so far west. The Warwick patent's northern boundary was from the Narragansett "forty leagues north of a straight line along the shore"—of Long Island. From the headwaters of the Narragansett as a point the northern boundary line, therefore, would have run as far north as present Worcester, Massachusetts. In the discussions which ensued Massachusetts was to aver that that colony

at the time made a survey but did not support the statement with evidence. It is reasonably probable that Massachusetts looked forward to a day when all the territory could be united under one jurisdiction, considering it unwise, however, to agitate the subject at this juncture. There always was the question who might have the best friends in power at any given moment.

When Pynchon eventually was taken back into the good graces of the Bay, Springfield was taken with him. Meanwhile Connecticut had bought the Warwick rights and was as querulous about the Massachusetts claim on Springfield as she was about that colony's claim that eastern Connecticut was its territory by reason of its part in the conquering of the Pequots.

Massachusetts court records show that in 1638 the Bay claimed, and "yielded unto by their commissioners," that Springfield was within the Massachusetts line and that "those articles had been fully agreed upon between the court and their commissioners had there not been some question about their granting us free passage up the Connecticut, in regard to the Lords' interests (as they alleaged.)" The reference here is to the beginning of the impost duty collected by Fenwick at Saybrook and denounced by Boston, as recounted earlier herein. Late that year of this discussion, William Spencer of Hartford wrote the elder Winthrop most graciously that it certainly would inconvenience both Massachusetts and Springfield if Springfield were taken under the Bay's jurisdiction—alluding to Pynchon's record. Hooker wrote at about the same time concerning the "jurisdiction you so suddenly, unexpectedly take to yourselves," and said of Pynchon, "he doth not walk in the dark to us." The burden of Winthrop's reply was that "the occasion of your greatest grief arises wholly from your own commission [to the Union] without any thought of ours touching that course."

Agawam was not represented in the General Court that adopted the Fundamental Orders, though the call had gone out for the four deputies from each town. Just previously Pynchon had been asked to pay the fine of forty pounds imposed upon him in court for violation of his agreement to furnish corn in the war, he having been granted a monopoly of the very valuable fur trade at Agawam, and Agawam people had expressed their (fruitless) desire to have him become a magistrate in the Massachusetts Court. This dunning notice had been replied to with a vindication (or "Apology") to be circulated far and wide, representing his side of the fur agreement, to which document, by court order, Haynes and Thomas Welles made answer, saying it was "an attempt to vindicate your own credit to the dishonor and wronging of the court, a course very offensive and far unbecoming one of your quality." The Windsor church adopted a disciplinary measure since he had not made good his defense of the charges. The church to which he originally had belonged, in Roxbury, considered the situation at his request and exonerated him.

Agawam was not unanimous in supporting Pynchon. The Rev. George Moxom inquired of Winthrop whether the settlers were dismissed from Massachusetts with proviso "to continue in the Bay's jurisdiction," some feeling that they were wrong in breaking away without orderly discussion. That simple question goes to the very heart of the question of Connecticut independence as debated ever since. The

steps as outlined herein earlier are plain enough. Consent to remove the church organizations to what was broadly supposed to be within the Bay charter's boundaries—of which there was an exceedingly vague conception, as among friends—had to be obtained from the Massachusetts Court. It was so obtained after Governor John Winthrop, Jr., had appeared for the Warwick patentees then established in Connecticut Territory.

In the drawing up of that permission the patent was recognized in a general way though its northern boundaries were to prove to be uncertain and ultimately debatable by the Bay. The one-year's limitation on the commission form of government authorized would allow the patentees to have a word about any succeeding form of government. Without so specifying distinctly, the Bay relinquished control, making no reference to representation in the Bay Court. Unquestionably, as events proved, separation was uppermost in the minds of those removing, they bearing the seeds of a truly democratic form of government for which the soil of Massachusetts was not then well adapted.

Yet Moxom's question, going to the nub of that matter, was doubtless prompted by the fact that, in the Bay Colony, all permits for removal bore the proviso that the removal should be to a place "within this jurisdiction." It was so in the instance of the slightly earlier permission for the Dorchester party to remove to Windsor. It had been so in a still earlier but unutilized permission to the Watertown people.

But under the observation of men like Ludlow, Hooker, John Winthrop, Jr., and Haynes, then Governor of Massachusetts, the document for removal and provisional government "in Connecticut river" was skilfully, very plainly but, for the future, perhaps provocatively drawn up and approved. And the first article of it read: "Upon some reasons and ground," these "loving friends" of the three towns and other places "are to remove from this our government and commonwealth." The Warwick patent was recognized and Winthrop as its Governor. Power to appoint a constable—the first requisite in a new town—was given and ammunition with three guns were to be sent down, though we have no record that they were received.

Altogether, then, it was a felicitously joint affair. Massachusetts had surveyed, as later testified, but had not discovered that the Warwick patent as prescribed ran several miles over the Massachusetts charter line. Pynchon by name was one of those in the hegira. In other words Agawam was distinctly included and greatly to Pynchon's purpose. When he fell into disfavor on both sides, then it was that the Bay claimed his Agawam, extending down to Enfield Falls, well within the Warwick and Connecticut confines.

To resume as of the time of Moxom's letter, answer to which we do not have but readily can imagine: In 1641 Pynchon, unperturbed, bravely petitioned for admission to the Massachusetts General Court, as member from Agawam. That embarrassed body replied somewhat evasively by first picking flaws in his petition and then by saying that the facts were that the members of the court had considered the matter of "absorption" only informally, "while some claiming that Agawam belonged to Massachusetts." In spirit of brotherly affection it was at that

time agreed that such "part of the river section" as was within the Bay charter limits—and no one knew what they were—should "remain" with the Bay. The Cromwell government in England had enough on its hands without acting as court of last resort. Public sentiment was inclining toward allowing Springfield to be under Massachusetts dominion till Pynchon's renewed objections to paying toll at Saybrook were renewed. The formal decision arrived at in Boston was that Springfield be given recognition for a year with right to appeal from Pynchon's doings to the Boston Court of Assistants.

Almost in the same breath the Massachusetts Court complained to Connecticut about her granting of sundry lands across the river from Springfield, adding religiously and accurately, not at all profanely: "We intend to know (by God's help) the certainty of the limits." There actually had been only one grant and that was to Governor Hopkins himself, for the liberty of free trade at Waranoco (Westfield) for seven years and the land to be "purchased by the commonwealth." Hopkins soon thereafter bought the Indian title, established his profitable trading house and awaited the peaceful outcome—clearly within the Massachusetts lines as we see them today, but in that day wholly uncertain.

By this time the New England Union had been formed. Naturally these questions came before its commissioners, or Congress. After customary procrastination, this body decided that Hopkins' Waranoco actually belonged to the Bay but suspended that judgment the next year for one of simple suspension in general. It was a year later that the Bay officially mentioned that it had surveyed relative to the Warwick boundary and had found that Agawam was inside the Massachusetts line but it would run another line if Connecticut would assume the expense. Connecticut would pay only half. Accordingly settlement was postponed on into the next century.

Anent early surveys, the only one of which there is record is that made by confident Massachusetts during this long discussion, or in 1642 when she sent two willing but inexperienced men, Woodward and Saffery, to mark the line, and thereby to furnish an expensive bit of Colonial comedy. Connecticut in later years referred to them sarcastically as the "mathameticians." After they had chosen the springs of a small tributary to a tributary of the Charles River, and when they had figured out three miles to the south thereof they set their first point. Then, preferring water route to wilderness travel, they sailed around to the Connecticut and up to a spot which they figured was on precisely the same parallel with the first point, set a marker and stopped. In the course of years the mark was proved to be eight miles below the proper line, or down to Enfield Falls, a little over one-thirteenth of the entire width of the little State, thirteen present townships. In the meeting of the Union commissioners in 1648 Connecticut again indulged in sarcasm by saying the Bay might as well have run the line on and across the Hudson River, by virtue of its grant, and it might be that "that river would not be found of prevailing power."

Suffield in 1686 and Enfield in 1693 petitioned the General Court to protect them from encroachments but fear of embroilment with the Mother Country impelled

that body to secure another survey and when Massachusetts refused to join it, acted independently, with John Butcher and William Whitney as surveyors. They took the Woodward-Saffery starting point, latitude $42^{\circ}-3'$ (which point holds good today) and revealed how their predecessors had veered off southerly. Though the Bay did not accept this new line, Connecticut men began taking up more land in Suffield and Enfield. Then Massachusetts suggested that while Suffield and Enfield could extend a little east and west, the Woodstock territory to the west should be granted her in compensation, to which Connecticut agreed, the new line to be recognized and Massachusetts to retain jurisdiction over towns which it had planted, with their original bounds practically intact.

Such line ran between Windsor and Suffield until the Revolution, or very near Enfield Falls, and therefore was never satisfactory to northern residents—but Massachusetts to allow compensation in the shape of 107,793 acres of untaken land in present Pelham, Belchertown and Ware. Connecticut sold this at about two cents an acre and gave Yale £500 of the £683 received. Simsbury (Granby) and Westfield kept their old boundaries in their Massachusetts jurisdiction but Suffield received a strip a mile wide between these two. Suffield men were aggrieved, not only because of the ungainly jog to the westward but because they believed the mountains of Simsbury (as obtained under its original grant from Connecticut) were rich in copper ore. On hearing of this grievance, Massachusetts in 1732 allowed the Suffield complainants to have the present town of Southwick in Massachusetts, six miles square, as an equivalent to what they had been granted originally by Massachusetts. Christopher J. Long bought this gift of theirs for a song.

The bounds on the Simsbury (Granby) side were reestablished later on. As to the northern line, near the river, the portion of Westfield running down into Connecticut and lying between a mountain on the east and running down toward Congamuck Ponds was given to Springfield; the remainder, including a chief part of the ponds (now partly in Southwick), was given to Westfield. In 1793, a Southwick boundary commission was sent to settle a dispute over this nuisance dating from 1774. Massachusetts claimed the whole of the section for towns she had lost. Not till 1803-04—with final touches in 1822 and 1826—was a compromise effected by which Connecticut held a slice of Southwick allowing access to the ponds and Massachusetts was given the land west of the ponds. Thus the explanation of the rectangular jog in the boundary line which has annoyed every schoolboy who has had to draw a map of either State since that date, while the fish in the famous ponds live and are caught under the laws of two different Commonwealths.

Eventually it was found, after constant governmental warfare, that Connecticut had yielded too much in 1713. Enfield, Suffield and verily Woodstock, in which were many people who insisted that they were Connecticut citizens, by right of original charter and by constant association with Connecticut, really had been left above the right line. Massachusetts tax bills were a jest till they became promoters of wrath. It was a long story till in the almost certain issue Enfield hastened to precipitate matters when she openly rebelled against taxation in two colonies, drove off tax collectors at the point of the pitchfork and defiantly elected Captain Eliphalet

Pease and Captain Elisha Williams representatives to the Connecticut General Assembly in 1749. The legislative body had debated the subject enough times but in the traditional spirit of amity toward the Bay Colony. These two duly elected representatives were soon joined by a third, Captain Phineas Lyman of Suffield, like the others a man who was to make his mark in the wars that were to come.

But this was not all. In Woodstock there were more Massachusetts settlers than in other towns, who had come into what they supposed to be Connecticut territory because they preferred this form of government to that of the Bay. When, in 1713, the Compensation Agreement had been arrived at, not sufficient weight had been given to the sentiments of settlers in all the border communities, perhaps because Massachusetts had been so passionate and was getting in touch with England. Enfield and Suffield had begun their petitioning for representative recognition in 1724 but without result. Woodstock did not make its desperate attempt till 1747 when the people held an enthusiastic mass meeting, rebelling absolutely against Massachusetts jurisdiction, reciting that in the agreement of 1713 the voice of the people had not been heeded despite Connecticut's principles, and all in all making a record it ever after was to live up to. They insisted upon charter rights, which they were perfectly willing to refer to England, and held that the General Assembly had had no power to deprive them of such rights, passing them over to another jurisdiction. They cherished Connecticut and would not stand by to see the right discarded.

The abashed General Assembly, at heart in full sympathy, dispatched a committee to the Bay Colony for consultation, only to find that that colony's officials already were aggrieved by the reports that had come in. In 1713, to make the agreement of that date doubly sure, they had sent to England to have the document confirmed—and Connecticut had authorized her agent to guard against that. Now an appeal to the throne was imminent. Rhode Island, herself in controversy with the Bay over her boundaries, was eager to join with Connecticut and appointed a committee of coöperation. The joint committee reported in April, 1752, that the Woodward-Saffery line had given Massachusetts the equivalent of four miles of land, taking the length of the whole boundary into consideration.

Attorney-General Mansfield in England conservatively replied to the complaint: "I am of the opinion that in setting the above bound, the crown will not disturb the settlement of the two provinces in 1713." The divisions in Europe after the Treaty of Utrecht and the accession of George I were absorbing England's attention. Something always was absorbing it at times when, could their relative importance have been gauged, New England's attitude might have been less hostile in the 1770's.

Meanwhile Woodstock was electing Thomas Chandler and Henry Bowen—illustrious names—to the General Assembly along with the other insistent ones and despite many letters from Boston. On the map Woodstock was losing a small corner which in truth was above the true line, and a slight adjustment had to be made for the neighboring town of Union. Another and peculiar adjustment was necessary in Enfield. Before the establishing of the Massachusetts charter line, the Longmeadow River was a part of the town's northern boundary, at the point where

the river entered the Connecticut. That point, surveyors found, was a little south of the present outlet; accordingly the line was moved up that much and there left to stand even if below the true charter line, making another slight indenture to indicate where Massachusetts got more than her charter had allowed her.

When the whole story of the battles Connecticut had to fight with neighbors, equally high in their standard of justice, and of the sufferings and expenses she had to bear are set forth—all because of the stupidity of a couple of *ex parte* and ignorant surveyors—it gives a flip to history to read that Connecticut should have paid back the money she received at the time of the “compensation” understanding. Woodward and Saffery might well have paid both colonies, had they lived long enough.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Other Collisions

Winthrop's Rhode Island Agreement Repudiated but Wins—New York Lines
Approved in 1880—Long Island Lost.

If the Massachusetts case was not enough to establish how uncertain the boundaries of Connecticut were, Rhode Island's meets the deficiency. Trouble in map-making was as serious as it has been in the Old World in these modern days. Rufus Choate, eminent lawyer in the first half of the nineteenth century, said of the Rhode Island trouble: "The commissioners might as well have decided that the line between the states was bounded on the north by a bramble bush, on the south by a bluejay, on the west by a hive of bees in swarming time, and on the east by five hundred foxes with firebrands tied to their tails," and yet the case involved one of the most delicate items of diplomacy in American history. The smallest State in the Union, mostly bays and beautiful islands, was to become prominent as a resort for people of large means as well as the home of notable industries and institutions.

Without a conception of the map as it is today it would be difficult to realize the romance of the controversies. After her absorption of Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts held jurisdiction from Boston to Cape Cod and thence easterly to the mouth of Buzzards Bay at the entrance to Long Island Sound, the large islands of Elizabeth, Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket closely to the southeast. From a point just west of Buzzards Bay, called Gooseberry Neck, and only about five miles east of the waters of Narragansett Bay, the boundary line today runs north ten miles, then veers sharply to the northwest across a corner of the bay to the vicinity of Providence, whence, with a still westerly jog, it continues north to a line a little south of Connecticut's northern line, a distance of about twenty miles. From that junction the line runs straight down about thirty miles to a sharp but short westerly bend of the Pawcatuck River where it enters the sound. Narragansett Bay is about eighteen miles from the Connecticut line, and on the east side of it Massachusetts occupies all but a foothold; the bay itself, with its islands, is from eight to ten miles wide, running back some twenty-five miles.

In the settlement after the Pequot War, Connecticut believed herself entitled by conquest to the Narragansett land up to the bay till the New England Union voted otherwise. That body in 1658 decided that the Mystic River, five miles or so west

of the bay, should be the line, giving Rhode Island and part of Connecticut to Massachusetts. This included Southerton, or present Stonington, and what was known as the Atherton Company, representing the purchases from the Indians which Captain Atherton had made, apparently when he was considered to be under Connecticut jurisdiction. He had been sent thither by the Union to collect tribute from the Indians but, supposedly, as an officer of the Union and not of Massachusetts only.

Neither the outcast Roger Williams nor that patent for the Providence Plantations play any part in these earlier affairs. Warwick himself was named Governor of the plantations and associated with him were Lord Saye and Sele, John Pym and other leaders in Cromwell's day, providing, seemingly for an ideal summer resort among the islands—correct in their perceptions but with no opportunity for local development of their dream. Williams, cultivating the friendship of the Indians and of all sorts of stray comers, had established the first Baptist church in America in 1638 and had obtained his patent for Rhode Island in 1644, from the Long Parliament. He never had been asked to join the Union and now both Massachusetts and Connecticut were ignoring him or adjusting affairs with him. His experience had taught him literally to trust in Providence.

Thus it came about that in 1663 he emulated Connecticut's example and sent Dr. John Clarke to London to secure a charter which should cover everything from Massachusetts on the east to Mystic River. He was known at court not only for his adventures but for the books he had written, boldly vigorous in principle and philosophy. He early had established a democratic kind of government, of which he became president by election. His visits to England had been well timed for drawing attention to his works, sympathetically or controversially. Stubborn in sundry matters, he could be very gracious and those nearest him revered him. His representative, Dr. Clarke, was making his modest personal appearance for the charter soon after Winthrop had secured Connecticut's. In the eyes of the court it was moiety he was asking for and his people never had made England much trouble.

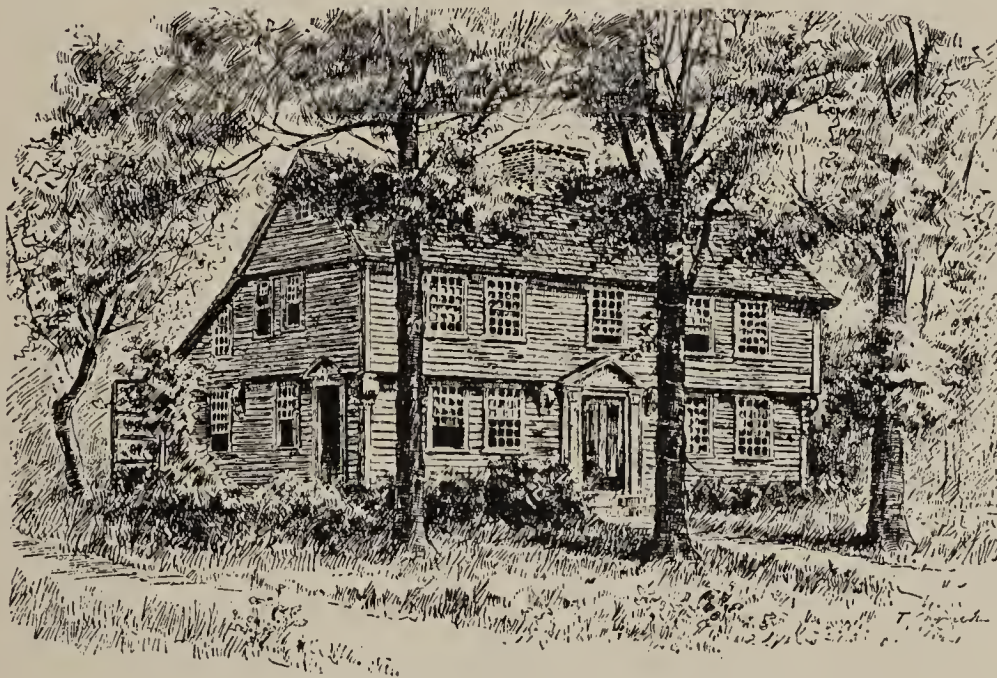
With Winthrop the psychology was different. There had been confusion of grants and of occupation of territory, and, with Massachusetts on the side-lines, tense uncertainty of his success. In this analysis it stands out vividly that he felt need of diplomacy in working up and presenting his case for the Connecticut boundary. He had the greater power and ability but arguments could be turned against him if it came to a clash of interests. Inasmuch as the twenty miles of land meant existence itself to Williams, there assuredly must be no clash, no occasion for a review of the document he already had received; if Williams were favored now, adjustment might be made later. Therefore the saying that Winthrop was ill-advised may not be fact. Whatever the emergency, he was the best judge of it and, as matters were going there scarcely was time to communicate with his General Assembly.

Clarke's mind was fixed on the whole Narragansett Territory; if it did not extend to the Mystic River, five miles farther west, it was common knowledge that it did extend to the Pawtucket. The wisest course for Connecticut was to com-

promise on that stream, "also called alias Narragansett"—an expression that set a model in diplomacy, as the Rhode Island charter showed in its wording:

"Any grant or clause in a late grant to the Gov, & Company of Connecticut Colony in America to the contrary thereof in any way notwithstanding, the Pawtatuck river having byn yielded after much debate for the fixed and certain bounds between these our sayd colonies by the agents thereof, who have also agreed that the Pawtucket river shall be also called alias Narragansett river, and to prevent other disputes that otherwise might arise thereby, forever hereafter shall be construed, deemed and taken to be the Narragansett River in the late graunt to Connecticut colony mentioned as easterly bounds of that colony."

But this the Connecticut Assembly repudiated on the ground that the Governor had exceeded his rights in changing boundaries stipulated by the Assembly. The people of Narragansett town, on the west shore of the bay, had been formal in their expression of desire to be counted in with Connecticut. Accordingly, July 10, 1663,



JOHN HOLLISTER HOUSE, GLASTONBURY, 1675

(From Florence Hollister Curtis's "Glastonbury")

Connecticut changed the town name to Wickford and appointed town officials. Rhode Island showed its indignation the next year when it wrote Winthrop complaining about such robbery and requesting that a line be run at once between the colonies, while at the same time Wickford was begging for protection from Rhode Island. Connecticut granted it magisterial powers, which Rhode Island ignored.

Winthrop had come home in the early summer of 1663 when the objections of New Haven authorities to uniting with Connecticut were at their loudest. Perplexity over the complication of his problems does not appear in any of his writings that have been handed down. It is noticeable, however, that the colony consented to a meeting of commissioners from both colonies and also that, before their appointment the New England Union, of which Rhode Island was not a member, voted

that the Connecticut claim was proper. The commissioners of the two colonies met but failed to agree. When the commissioners of Charles II appeared the next year to look into the affairs of the colonies Connecticut laid the whole matter before them, with insistence upon her right to the Narragansett Bay line. What was expected by the more calm-minded happened; the commissioners decided that there should be a "King's Province," separate from both colonies inasmuch as the Indians in 1664 had given their land to England in return for the protection they were enjoying; an Indian deed had been found to attest this. The commissioners' orders that all dwellers in the disputed territory leave it was modified, on protest, to permit land-owners to remain till the King's wishes could be learned. Meanwhile, jurisdiction should reside in Rhode Island's government, from the date of March 20, 1665, the Pawcatuck to indicate Connecticut's eastern boundary. Connecticut would not accept this ruling, preferring to wait till the King in council had dealt with the subject.

That was the hour of greatest peril so far. Wickford and Southerton were rebellious; there were threats and counter threats; animosities deepened till in 1670 the wiser among the leaders agreed upon a conference of three commissioners from each colony to be held in New London. There Winthrop frankly and boldly declared that, under his agreement with Dr. Clarke in London, he could not assume authority beyond the boundary of the Pawtucket. It was in vain that his commissioners insisted that that agreement was not binding; he insisted that it must be until the King spoke to the contrary. In two days the conference ended.

Three similar attempts had been fruitless when, at the time of the third the men of Southerton (Stonington) took matters into their own hands, fifty of them, with a Connecticut constable, disrupted a meeting of the Rhode Island General Court which was being held on the east side of the Pawtucket. The next proposal was that both sides joined in a reference to the King in council, dangerous as was such a method, but Rhode Island's stipulation was that both Winthrop and Dr. Clarke be present. Winthrop already having stated his position, Connecticut demurred to this but would agree to appointment of commissioners with full power. That was repugnant to Rhode Island for if a line different from that so specifically stated in its charter were adopted, the charter might be vitiated. Connecticut intimated that Rhode Island was not anxious for an adjustment and that matter drifted along.

After King Philip's War when Massachusetts men took lands in the disputed territory and wished to be under Connecticut jurisdiction, Rhode Island protested till at length it was agreed to leave it with the King. Unfortunately Connecticut's representative, William Harris, was captured by pirates and after being ransomed died in England. Both colonies sent petitions in 1679, conditions having become turbulent. A constable on each side was arrested and a militia call was imminent. When the King appointed commissioners, they were to meet at Wickford but on Rhode Island's protesting, they went to Boston instead and Rhode Island refused to appear. The decision in favor of Connecticut had to be approved by the Privy Council in England, which took no action, leaving the trouble to continue.

Andros, when he came in 1686 and the charters of both colonies were suspended, took the side of Rhode Island but three years later, under William and Mary, hos-

tilities were resumed. In 1696 a decision for Connecticut by the Attorney-General, lacking confirmation, again failed to have effect. There was no better result when in 1699 the English Board of Trade asked the Earl of Bellomont to restore amity. Failing this side of the water he directed both sides to appear by agents in London, where Sir Henry Ashurst was representing Connecticut and Captain Joseph Sheffield appeared for Rhode Island and there was strong possibility, the Crown's patience exhausted, both colonies would lose their charters. At a last-minute meeting in Stonington, they arrived at a compromise, to the advantage of Rhode Island. Almost the line she had wanted was agreed upon—from the mouth of the Pawcatuck to the Ashaway tributary and thence due north to Massachusetts, or practically as designated in the Rhode Island charter after the compromise between Winthrop and Clarke.

However, an exact survey of the line was not made. Peace prevailed till in 1720, when Gurdon Saltonstall was Governor. Then Rhode Island mapped a line along what she believed to be the eastern bounds of the Warwick purchase, giving notice that it was to be sent over for Royal approval. Forthwith Saltonstall dispatched a map to the Board of Trade in accord with the provisions in the Winthrop charter, including the whole Narragansett territory to the bay, but with it he sent a letter saying that Connecticut would compromise on a line through South Kingston, some five miles west of Narragansett Bay, and through Worden Pond, the head of the Pawtucket it was believed.

In its report that board reviewed the whole history and also referred to a "green line" which had been drawn by commissioners from the mouth of the Pawtucket sloping slightly northeasterly which the Connecticut Assembly had rejected because the Rhode Island men were not fully empowered. This line was about eighteen miles west of Narragansett Bay. In its summary the board said: "It seems probable . . . King Charles II was surprised in his grant to Connecticut and that his Majesty intended to redress the grievance complained of by Rhode Island by his subsequent charter to them, but the former charter to Connecticut being still in force and never made void by *scire facias* or otherwise it is certain that the relief intended for Rhode Island is of no force in law." The drawing of the "green line" was "strong proof that those of Connecticut did apprehend that the pretensions of Rhode Island were just and equitable." The disputes having had no relation to private property but were purely about jurisdiction, lasting for sixty years and likely to become perpetual to the great annoyance of the people, it was to be wished that both parties would submit themselves to "his majesty's immediate government, as some other colonies have done, and that they might be annexed to New Hampshire."

Immediately both colonies hastened to the Privy Council which was to pass on this report and suggestion, saying they would submit to any decision but indicating how highly they prized their charters. The council returned the report to the Board of Trade and asked for another recommendation as surrender of charters and annexation were not feasible. The second recommendation was practically for the line of 1703. With it was the statement that Rhode Island had submitted a new piece of evidence to the broad effect that "the Connecticut General Assembly in

1702 were so far from thinking that their late agent, Winthrop, had exceeded his commission in submitting the boundaries to arbitration, after their charter was passed, that they expressly provide, 'That nothing to be done by the commissioners shall alter or change the property of any person's lands, but that property shall be saved according to the agreement of their late agent, John Winthrop, made in the year 1663 with Mr. Clarke as agent for Rhode Island.'

Thus was Winthrop's agreement with Rhode Island's agent, Clarke, in the stress of the hour when "Little Rhody" was getting her right to a comparatively few acres, upheld; the saving clause put into Rhode Island's charter proved good. The persistency of the Assembly in not accepting the judgment of so popular and capable a Governor as Winthrop was wholly out of accord. The series of facts was not revealed till recently, by the research of Roland Mather Hooker, a descendant of Thomas Hooker.

This recommendation of 1726 in favor of the "green line" of 1703 is based, so it says, on the early confusion of names of places and rivers, leaving some doubts even of the statement made in the Rhode Island charter but it was made by representatives of both colonies and hence his Majesty was advised to approve. The marking of the line the following year caused some criticism as to the monuments but no material changes were made in the re-surveys of 1742 and 1840.

Reference already has been made to the Duke of Hamilton's claim to considerable of this disputed territory. While on the side it was a source of annoyance during the period of controversies and, as said, dragged along in the courts through later years, it was simply one of the several petty items inherited from the first days of colonization. When the Council of Plymouth was closing its charter-granting office, and Charles I in 1635 was voiding so many privileges it divided up fragments among the eight remaining members without having made much of inventory. The Duke of Hamilton, who later perished in the civil war, was one of the eight. To him was given the territory from the Connecticut to Narragansett Bay with sixty miles inland. An agent came over to inspect but that was all till after the war when his wife, the Duchess, pushed her claim in the years following the restoration. The Royal commissioners for New England heard her arguments directed against the charter of Connecticut and in 1665 decided in Connecticut's favor. In 1683 the claim was again presented, upon which Connecticut set up the defense of non-occupation for a period of twenty years or until the territory had been occupied by those who were tilling the soil. The matter dragged along till in 1697 the Council of Trade found that the Connecticut contention was correct. Yet for long thereafter there was enough to keep up litigation.

The story of the disputes about the New York boundary was interrupted at the point where the Royal commissioners, whom Connecticut officials treated so well, agreed upon a line which was never confirmed. For long it was to keep surveyors, mathematicians and statesmen busy. That convivial agreement of 1664 was succeeded by the one with New York's Governor Dongan when he succeeded Andros, or in 1682. The new patent of the Duke of York in 1674 wiped out all the past up to the Connecticut River, though Connecticut tried to insist that the

line of 1664, outcome of the Treaty of Hartford in the days of the Dutch, should still hold good. The reply to that was that, the line never having been confirmed by the King, it could prove no obstacle to the advance to the Connecticut. The little colony was looked upon as simply rebellious. In the light of what we know today it is not probable that the promoters in England were determined upon a Connecticut offensive when there was a more logical road to control by federating New England and with it New York and New Jersey—this in event that Connecticut did not prove too determined about the New York line. But Connecticut could be and was forced to give up the 1664 unconfirmed line, and the puzzling game of surveying was on once more.

The original 1650 Dutch line, it will be recalled, was fairly perpendicular from Connecticut's southwestern corner; that of 1664, adopted in excellent spirit of fellowship, ran from four miles westerly of that point slantingly off across the Hudson at present Peekskill. The new line agreed upon and confirmed in 1683 had to do mainly with the southwestern tangle and the old theory that Connecticut should come to within twenty miles of the Hudson River. The southern starting point was fixed at Lyon's Point where "Byram's brook," flowing between Rye and Greenwich, empties into the Sound; thence to the "wading place" or ford for the common road; then a run of eight miles northwest into the woods; then back northeasterly to a point twelve miles east of an imaginary line perpendicular to that of Lyon's Point and eight miles from the Sound, then turning back northwesterly to a point opposite present Peekskill twenty miles from the Hudson whence the run should be due north to the western boundary of Massachusetts. As this, by the southern in-cuts, embraced 61,400 acres nearer to the Hudson than the twenty miles theory, Connecticut was to allow the equivalent thereof by the setting of the line from above Peekskill back from the twenty-mile line in distance from the Hudson. Where there were easterly curves of the Hudson, that line should waver enough to maintain the stipulated distance.

The town of Rye in the Byram River section was greatly incensed, since the people there much preferred Connecticut government. It had been settled by English but fell to the Dutch under the 1650 agreement and until Connecticut got her charter, when Connecticut claimed it and made it a plantation in 1665. Against the new agreement Rye bravely revolted in 1697 and was recognized by Connecticut till in March, 1700, the King confirmed the new boundary. Bedford shared Rye's sentiment.

After that New York refused to consider Connecticut's proposition in 1713 for an appeal for some amendments, so Connecticut acted alone. This was without result till 1725 when an agreement was signed in Greenwich, differing little however from those of 1683—and no real result till 1731 when the survey really was completed. In that year Connecticut ceded the "oblong" or the "equivalent" for the amount taken from New York at Byram River and neighborhood. Men in England who had been following proceedings took advantage of a law feature. If the transferred land were restored to the King, the King could award new patents for it. The very day of the confirmation and transfer the Crown issued a patent to a group act-

ing for the Duke of Chandos—an especially rare proceeding, since as a rule such grant was made through the local Governor and council. At practically the same time Governor Montgomerie of New York granted 50,000 acres to the original Connecticut owners headed by Thomas Hawley. Immediately there was legal action due to the difference in grantors of much the same property. Hawley shrewdly pro'onged the case in the courts till, rather than continue the expense, the Chandos group yielded by offering to sell to New York grantees or letting them bear the burden. A natural result was that the acres remained with the former owners, holding it under the New York patent.

In 1855 it developed that the surveyors' markers had so degenerated that a new survey was essential. It had become a popular section for tax-evaders. Errors in the line of 1731 were obvious and the condition of the markers such as to make the surveyors' notes read like the imaginings of a humorist, in a measure due to the fact that the early surveyors had not allowed for deviations of the compass. After some advantage for Connecticut had been shown and a resurvey by New York in 1860, disputes delayed settlement till 1878 and 1879 with Congressional ratification in 1880-81. The line of 1731 was established for New York while Connecticut was allowed more space in Long Island Sound, the point being fixed "in the center of the Channel, about 600 feet south of Byram's Point." Thence it runs "in a true southeast course three and one-quarter statute miles, thence in a straight line northeasterly to a point four statute miles true south of New London Lighthouse," thence through Fishers Island Sound and on "so far as said states are continuous."

That leaves out the Fisher's Island which, as told, had been Connecticut's first grant and to John Winthrop, Jr. Long Island and the other islands "adjacent," which it had been understood were included in the original grant, long since had been filched away, largely through the Royal greed of Charles II in behalf of his brother James, then Duke of York. There had been a patent for Long Island issued by the Council of New England to the Earl of Stirling but it never was confirmed by the King and consequently would have proved invalid if any one had contested during those reckless days. Stirling made grants. At his death his agent raised a total of £110 by mortgaging to George Fenwick of Saybrook, Haynes Wyllys and Hopkins of Connecticut and Eaton, Goodyear and Thomas Gregson of the New Haven Colony, all of whom were interested in development by their people. The money thus raised never having been paid, the property was supposed to become the possession of the colonies those men represented, Fenwick being then a resident of Connecticut under the purchase of the Warwick patent.

Fenwick's interests were in the eastern part of the island. By the Winthrop charter of 1662, "ajacent" islands were taken to include Long Island, as they had in the Warwick grant. But no—the Duke of York's grant specifically included Long Island as, incidentally, it included Connecticut west of the Connecticut River. And the Duke bought all interests held by the heirs of Stirling. Connecticut people, however, had laid the foundations of many of the towns, and their descendants continue to do honor to the Mother State.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Consolidation Strengthened

Hooker and Davenport Influence Blend—Statecraft of Leete and Treat—
New Settlements—Mitchell's Woes and Southbury Outcome.

If one is tracing the growth of the principle of free government he will, at this juncture in the latter part of the seventeenth century, consider the demonstrated relationship between church and Commonwealth, between ecclesiastical and political motif, and, later, the escape from the resultant dilemma, all of which would seem to have been inspired by the principle of freedom itself in its almost prehistoric age. Davenport may be held to represent the original idea of New Haven as we have seen Hooker represent it in the predominating idea in Hartford. In both places there was Calvinistic Congregationalism. The "seven pillars" of the church may be taken as symbol of the New Haven conception, indicating complete subjection to a firmly knit church though not a theocracy in the literal sense.

Davenportism, in the comparison, was imperious; Hookerism, persuasive, but firmly so. They were at one in that neither would own an earthly master. After the union of the Colonies, fusion of theory became simple, largely because of the Hooker persuasiveness engendered in his successors, but in so small a degree because of the prescience of men like Leete and Treat, the younger Winthrop acting as a balance wheel. Traced from origin to enactment many legislative acts which seemingly were anti-ecclesiastical were quietly in accord with clerical sentiment. There was a statesmanship then which has been exemplified since then many times and always will be exemplified if free government continues.

In both Colonies, it has been seen, the first step of a new settlement was to form a church, for that was then the basic principle, commercialism secondary. The pastor led his flock, or, in these second-period days, if settlement was by adventurers and distance too great for travel through the woods and swamps, "winter privileges" were granted. The minister could not be recognized or receive payment out of taxes till he had been approved by the General Court. Nor could a second church community be organized without the consent of the General Court and the original church. Everything was held carefully in hand for the one supreme issue. As in a Simsbury instance, the General Court had power to quell any internal conflict; as in the Hartford case, it could insist upon regulations, but at the same time permit an irregularity.

After the union of the Colonies, suffrage nowhere was dependent upon church membership. That much and more, in the cause, had been won. With only certain exceptions, to be noted in later years, was objection raised to paying church tax by non-members, and there was accommodation for other than Congregational sects. The approach of the long-distant year 1818 with its new constitution was gradual but sure, despite the "Saybrook platform" already described and the reaction therefrom to be covered in the period of the eighteenth century. Here, then, is the point to be emphasized in this colonial merging under the influence of free-government principles. In this way, furthermore, stronger light is to be thrown upon the increase in number of towns and upon the beginnings of Yale University.

Whether or not it is miraculous, it assuredly is pleasurable to those who enjoy freedom to note the manner in which New Haven Colony men came to bring their strength into coöperation. Among the first stand William Leete and Robert Treat. The popularity of Leete in both Colonies already has been indicated in the story of the regicides. His shrewd conduct was in keeping with the desires of his constituents; if those desires were criminal in the eyes of tyranny, so were those of the Americans in the 1770's. "We told him how ill his sacred majesty would resent such horrid and detestable concealments and abettings—and set before him the danger which by law is incurred by anyone that conceals or abets traitors," said the commissioned pursuers of the regicides. But in the last days of Governor Winthrop, Leete had a more delicate task.

George Wyllys, Thomas Welles and John Webster, all of Hartford, who had preceded Winthrop and the union of the Colonies, had had a comparatively easy routine, as had Deputy-Governor John Mason of Norwich till Winthrop's strength began to fail. Very essential to the unity of the two Colonies after one of them had been absorbed was it that Winthrop should have a deputy he could lean upon. The General Court's ruction over the charter and the Rhode Island boundary was in accord with the sentiments of New Haven men who still thought Winthrop had broken his word in relation to their Colony's independence.

And Leete was the man for the hour. What we mean by diplomacy today was bred in him. Connecticut realized it; small wonder it is that the office of Deputy-Governor went to him in 1669; New Haven was joyous and the rest of the State was eminently content.

Leete was a native of Dodington, Huntington, England, and was fifty-six at the time of his election. Having had a good education, he was practicing law when he followed the Puritan refugees to America in 1639, accompanied by his bride of a year. He was of the party of the well-to-do, but somewhat visionary Rev. Henry Whitfield, who built the stone house in his Guilford settlement. As secretary of the Colony, he was one of the "seven pillars." In 1643 he was chosen a magistrate and when in 1651 so many Guilford people returned to England and the lap of luxury, he remained in charge of their property. Naturally he was a commissioner to the New England Union meetings till the union of Connecticut and New Haven—New Haven Deputy-Governor, Governor in 1660, elected on the very day the pursuers of the regicides were making their formal report aspersing his character to Governor Endicott of Massachusetts.

In the matter of the charter he wrote Winthrop: "I wish that you and we could procure one patent." That galled Davenport who dropped his customary courtesy to write: "As for what Mr. Leete wrote to yourself, it was his private doing, without the consent or knowledge of any of us in this colony. It was not done by him according to his public trust as Governor, but contrary to it." Such was a broad statement, coming from his close associate in the matter of the regicides, but Leete was conscious that Davenport's knowledge of what men were thinking was not so comprehensive as it had been in earlier days. Largely out of respect for him and his following, however, and as Governor of the Colony, he did his part conscientiously if not wholeheartedly. To position as assistant and to the Deputy Governorship of the united Colonies in 1669 were two rapid steps for him and gratifying to a large majority.

His energy in King Philip's War, as Winthrop realized, was what was needed. Largely through him as acting governor it was that Connecticut mastered its difficulties and played her part so well. He and Treat, commanding in the field, worked together perfectly. Up to his death in 1683, his energies were devoted to healing the wounds of war and of charter, together with characteristic diplomacy in the matter of Rhode Island.

Treat was a man of native tact and ability. Born in Pitminster, near Taunton, Somersetshire, in 1625, son of Richard and Alice Gaylord Treat, he had come to Wethersfield with his family not long after Leonard Chester, "Esq.," and his party, and he and his parents had joined in the Rev. Peter Prudden's hegira to Wepowaug (Milford) in 1639. There he threw himself into the work before them and married the daughter of Edmund Tabb, one of the founders of the church, and after her death Mrs. Elizabeth Bryan. He was sent as deputy to the General Court, and served as Assistant from 1659 for five years. In 1662 he was substitute commissioner of the New England Union. His father was one of the grantees of the Connecticut charter and, like the people of Wethersfield, he shared none of the New Haven leaders' objections to it after he perceived that union was inevitable. As he found the sentiment of the Davenport followers increasing he took part in the movement for the settlement of Newark in 1666, where he was chosen town clerk, had the largest individual holding of land and for four years, till 1672, was representative in the East Jersey Assembly.

Most of his family meantime remained in Milford. On his return there in 1662 he was elected assistant and on the threat of a Dutch war was made major, commanding the county's one hundred and twenty men and then all of the Connecticut forces, to be released from duty on the threat's failing to materialize. In King Philip's War he held position of responsibility and was foremost in the swamp fight. After holding the office of Lieutenant-Governor from 1676 till 1683 he succeeded Governor Leete who had died, serving till 1698, when he retired because of age. On insistence he did hold the position of Deputy Governor for ten years after that. With the rest of his duties he served as commissioner of the fading Union of New England, and in 1684 was its president. It is to be regretted that the speech he made in the General Court when Andros appeared to take the charter was not recorded. He died in Milford July 12, 1710. Historian Trumbull said of him:

"Few men have sustained a fairer character, or rendered the public more important services. He was an excellent military officer; a man of singular courage and resolution, tempered with caution and prudence. . . . He was especially beloved and venerated by the people in general, and especially by his neighbors of Milford, where he resided."

The settlements in the original four counties since those noted prior to Ludlow's departure were these: Stonington, 1649 as Southerton under the Massachusetts claim but a Connecticut town in 1666, after the dispute over the Rhode Island boundary; Derby, on the Housatonic, 1651, taken in as a town in 1675; Haddam on the Connecticut, west bank, 1661; Lyme, set off from Saybrook



BULLET HILL SCHOOLHOUSE, SOUTHBURY, 1778,
DESIGNED BY THE GREAT BULFINCH

and including present East Lyme, 1665; Killingworth (originally Kenilworth), 1667; Wallingford, set off from New Haven, 1670; Simsbury, 1670; Woodbury (including present Southbury and Roxbury), 1674; Suffield, 1674; Waterbury, 1674; Danbury, 1685; Mansfield, 1686; Preston (originally East Norwich), 1686; Pomfret, 1686; Woodstock, settled as New Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1686; Windham, 1686; Plainfield,

1689; Glastonbury, set off from Wethersfield, 1690; Canterbury, 1690; Colchester, 1699; Durham, 1699; Killingly, 1700, making a total of twenty-one.

Of these, Woodbury, on the north side of the Housatonic River, was an outstanding example of church dissension which led parishioners for the first time to brave the perils from Indians in the northwest quarter of the Colony, buying of the Pootatuck Indians, who themselves were peaceful yet small protection from raiders farther north. It was at the time of the half-covenant discussions, splitting churches. In Stratford, under their first pastor, Mr. Blackman, there had been harmony in the church, despite the territorial convulsions already described. At Mr. Blackman's death, a majority of the church chose Israel Chauncey, son of President Chauncey, of Harvard, to succeed him. A large majority being opposed to the choice obtained permission to call another minister, Zachariah Walker, both to hold services in the one church, dividing the time on Sundays. On one Sunday, Mr. Walker trespassed on Mr. Chauncey's time, whereupon the Chauncey following went to a private house for their services and on Monday filed complaint with Major Gold, a Fairfield magistrate. His decision was that they should arrange to limit Mr. Walker to three hours. The matter then went to the General Court, which advised that they get "some indifferent persons" to decide and meanwhile that the

three-hour services be so limited as to allow a three-hour interval at noon. This advice proving unsatisfactory, Mr. Chauncey's people voted the other people out, despite the General Court's decision in 1669 that they arrange their differences and hold communion services jointly, and that the Chauncey party allow the Walker party to meet elsewhere.

On the advice of Governor Winthrop, the complainers were granted permission to buy land of the Indians at Pomperaug, any "honest inhabitants" to join with them. In their party were ancestors of the Sherman family later so distinguished in national service; Benjamin Stiles, son of Francis Stiles, who had led Sir Richard Saltonstall's party to Windsor, there to clash with Ludlow, and had removed to Saybrook and thence to Stratford; and Titus Hinman, ancestor of a family that always has been prominent in business or military affairs.

Also among these Southbury pioneers was Matthew Mitchell, a deacon, son of David Mitchell, of Stratford, and ancestor of the Hon. Chauncey Mitchell Depew (late of Peekskill, New York, and of New York City, born in 1834). Deacon Matthew had three brothers, two of whom, John and Abraham, located in the Woodbury section, and one, Nathan, in Litchfield, as one of the grantees of that town. Deacon Matthew took up considerable land in the section known as "White Oak," because of the widespreading tree under which the party spent the first night and held church services—sometimes called the Stiles section, Southbury.

The Mitchells were of the family of Experience Mitchell, the first of them to come to America, in 1623. As a Pilgrim from Holland, he was one of the original proprietors of Plymouth Colony, dying there in 1689. Matthew Mitchell, born in 1590, is the ancestor of the others of that name in New England. He was one of the devout wealthy dissenters, seeking relief from Archbishop Laud's persecutions by coming to Boston in 1635. His experiences strikingly illustrate the experiences as well as the highlights of the lives of the first settlers:

A storm at sea two days before his vessel reached port swept away sails, cable and anchors together with most of the belongings of the passengers. Spending the winter at Concord, Mitchell thought to better himself by removing to Charlestown, where he suffered practically total loss by fire and whence he went to Springfield. The next summer he removed to Wethersfield and thence to Saybrook, where he experienced more disaster. In an Indian raid one of his sons was killed and considerable of his property ruined. Commandant Lion Gardiner of the Saybrook fort recorded that "the Indians took one of the old man's sons and roasted him alive." This was on the shore opposite the fort and was witnessed by the occupants of the fort, shortly before the beginning of the Pequot War.

Thence in 1638 he took his large herd of cattle to the great pasture-land, now Glastonbury, which was then that part of Wethersfield across the Connecticut, in which town he was town clerk. In another Indian raid his cattle and most of his remaining property were destroyed (according to the research of his descendant, Minot Mitchell, of White Plains, New York.). His next removal, in 1640, was to Rippowams (Stamford) with a party of thirty under the Rev. Richard Denton. With Pastor Denton he crossed over the Sound to Hempstead, Long Island, only to experience more misfortune. On his return to Stamford his entire property

there was burned. His last removal was to Stratford, where he died of a painful ailment in 1645.

Of his two surviving sons, the Rev. Jonathan, who was only eleven years old when the family came to Massachusetts, was graduated at Harvard in 1647, preached his first sermon in Hartford in 1649, and was the pastor in Cambridge for eighteen years, the third pastor in that town (Hartford's place of origin then known as Watertown). The other son, David, the father of the Matthew who was an early proprietor in Southbury, had settled in Stratford.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

College Dream Realized

Determined Ministers Give Books—Battling Over Location—Yale's Name
Perpetuated with New Haven Site—Standard in Town Schools.

By their inheritance and their tradition the promoters of democracy for the most part were insistent upon education. When emphasizing it in their records they laid stress upon gaining the power to read "God's word." The successful handling of ecclesiastical affairs—to culminate for this period in the Saybrook platform of 1708, as we have seen—had given the General Court new assurance, apparent in the energy for the taking up of the school subject about which there had been laxity since the days of Hopkins and Davenport. War alarms had interfered and town control had not been so efficacious as had been expected. It came about that in 1672 the decree went forth that there should be a grammar school in every town of one hundred families, and in each "county town"—of which there were four, as county seats—a grammar school capable of preparing youths for college, namely, Harvard. Supported in the main by contributions from around New England, that institution was faring better than it had been and was raising its standards.

By 1690 the school year had been changed from nine months to six. There had been distractions almost to financial evasions when in this year the General Assembly, citing the conditions, directed grand jurors to call upon each family once a year, if they found either children or servants delinquent, to impose fines of twenty shillings. Following the stringency which had nipped in the bud the Rev. John Davenport's plan for a college in New Haven, his associate, the Rev. Abraham Pierson, had kept alive the spirit which, in the two united Colonies, was to create in 1700 a new era with the establishing of a "collegiate school," the first step toward the Yale of today. The revision of the statutes that year called for an eleven-month school in towns of seventy householders. A committee of ministers was to inspect the schools every year, but formal committees were not authorized till 1750, the change from town to parish schools having been made meantime. The towns then appointed the committees with power to build and repair. Not till 1639 were the districts to receive power to elect their own committees with a system that underwent various changes after that, as local democracy assumed different manifestations. Hartford in the era of the 1930's furnishes an illustration of having consolidated its districts. The theory that individual districts could have better

schools and management is set against the theory that all should be of the same quality and the tax uniform.

It is clear that the college was a natural outgrowth of the ecclesiastical system in the development of the combined colonies. Tired of discussing college and school subjects and satisfied that Harvard was now well enough able to take care of herself—the college which was the *alma mater* of so many of the leading men—a general synod was called to meet at Saybrook in 1700, where it was decided to have a “school of the church,” with ten of the clergy from ten towns named as trustees. They were James Noyes of Stonington, Israel Chauncey of Stratford, Thomas Buckingham of Saybrook, Abraham Pierson of Killingworth, Samuel Mather of Windsor, Samuel Andrew of Milford, Timothy Woodbridge of Hartford, James Pierpont of New Haven, Noadiah Russell of Middletown, and Joseph Webb of Fairfield.

At the outset the idea of church control was abandoned, for reasons which were excellent, but how so obvious to this particular group is not clear. The trustees met in New Haven immediately after their appointment, rehearsed the whole subject, and the following year assembled at Branford. Each laid upon the trustees’ table his contribution of books—to be seen today in the Sterling Library at Yale amid much of their Branford surroundings—making a total of forty ponderous tomes of learning. Each trustee as he advanced to the table said: “I give these books to the founding of a college in this colony.” It was suggestive of a Greek offering at the altar of Zeus.

The question having arisen as to whether the trustees could lawfully hold lands, and everything having to depend upon contributions which might not be sufficient, recourse was had to the paternal General Assembly. That body on October 9, 1701, ratified a charter which had been prepared with the aid of Boston friends, and voted an allowance of 60 pounds a year in support of the “collegiate school.”

A month later, November 11, at a meeting of the trustees in Saybrook, the Rev. Abraham Pierson was chosen to be rector, the son of the minister who so persistently had worked for an institution of this precise character in New Haven, when the time seemed auspicious except for the lack of funds and the obligation not to interfere with Harvard’s progress. As a youth he had accompanied his father from Lynn, Massachusetts, to help settle Southampton, Long Island, and, after Connecticut assumed jurisdiction over that town, to the settlement of Branford in conjunction with the Wethersfield people in the 1640’s. Again, in 1666, they had broken away from Connecticut control, after Winthrop’s solidifying charter had been obtained, to establish with their congregation the Davenport idea of church in government. The son, who was his father’s colleague in the church, was graduated at Harvard two years later. The father died in 1678, after which the son returned to Connecticut and was ordained for the ministry in Killingworth (Clinton), in present Middlesex County, not far northerly from Saybrook. He was one of the most energetic of the trustees.

The people of Killingworth would not part with him, but that inconvenience was overcome in the vote making Saybrook the seat of the institution, by means of the clause reading, “if that did not cause inconvenience.” It was decided that the

students could go to Mr. Pierson's house in Killingly, while commencements would be held in Saybrook, then a common center, at the home of Thomas Buckingham, one of the trustees. This was continued till the death of the rector, March 5, 1707.

Jacob Hemingway, who was to become the minister in East Haven, was the first pupil enrolled. He was the only student from March till the opening of the fall term in September, 1702, at which time seven others were admitted. At the 1702 commencement four who had been graduated at Harvard and one who had studied with a private tutor received the degree of Master of Arts, and another, Nathaniel Chauncey, the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Another tutor was added to the corps of instructors.

The Rev. Samuel Andrew was chosen temporary rector to succeed Mr. Pierson. For about nine years the senior class lived with him at his home in Milford while the others, with two tutors studied in Saybrook where the commencement exercises were held. Meantime the subject of a permanent location was being discussed by the trustees and by members of the General Assembly which was importuned to settle the matter. The trustees met the situation in 1711 by allowing the students to study where they pleased for the ensuing year. The seniors remained with the rector in Milford; some of the underclassmen went to Hartford, Saybrook, Glastonbury and East Guilford but the majority to Wethersfield.

The instructor at Wethersfield was the youthful and popular Elisha Williams, born in 1694 son of the Rev. William Williams of Hatfield, Massachusetts a Harvard graduate who had studied theology with his father and had come to Wethersfield to study law. There he recently had married Eunice, daughter of Thomas Chester descendant of one of the leading founders of the town, and was entering upon a career that was to give him conspicuous place in the annals of the town and colony. Several of the towns were working to secure the choice as a home for the college. There was rivalry in the way of offering subscriptions, New Haven leading with 700 pounds, Saybrook next with 400 and Hartford and Wethersfield with less amounts. Wethersfield sent Williams to the General Assembly where for two sessions he was clerk and it was thought his great influence would prevail.

So heated was the discussion at Saybrook commencement in 1716 that adjournment was taken to New Haven in October. At a meeting of the citizens of that town a committee had been appointed to arrange for the erection of a large college house and a residence for the rector. When the trustees met there in October, having now about 1,000 pounds in the treasury from subscriptions and legislative proffers—though with the matter of location not yet decided by the Assembly—they elected two additional tutors, appointed a committee to act on the matter of the buildings and summoned the students with the rector to assemble. Thirteen students came in from the various places; four seniors remained in Saybrook and fourteen in Wethersfield ignored the summons. The college house New Haven erected, one hundred and seventy feet long and twenty-two feet wide, three stories, was at the Chapel Street corner of the present yard or old campus, standing till 1782. There were fifty rooms for students, a hall, library and kitchen.

The same year the "school" was removed to New Haven came gifts from Elihu Yale, Governor of the East India Company of London. They included books and goods, the value of all being 500 pounds. He was the son of David Yale who was the son of Mrs. Theophilus Eaton, of the New Haven founders, by her first husband. He was born April 5, 1649 in Boston.* When he was ten years old he returned to England with his father, made a fortune in Madras and became Governor of the East India Company. Yale was influenced considerably by Jeremiah Dummer, American agent for the Massachusetts Colony, and by Cotton Mather who wrote him in November, 1717: "Though you have your felicities in your own family, which I pray God to continue and multiply, yet certainly, if what is forming at New Haven might wear the name of Yale college, it would be better than a name of sons and daughters." It was Yale's known intention to give more but he died intestate in 1721. Another early benefactor of the college was the eminent philosopher, George Berkeley of Ireland, later Bishop of Cloyne, who had been entertained in New Haven at the time he was contemplating the establishing of a college in Bermuda. The trustees of the New Haven college gave Yale's name to the institution and it was perpetuated by the colony charter in 1745. The name of Berkeley was given to the divinity school when that was established.

At the first public commencement, in New Haven, September 10, 1718, eight men were graduated and Governor Gurdon Saltonstall of New London "was pleased to grace and crown the whole solemnity with an elegant Latin oration, wherein he congratulated the present happy state of the college in being fixed at New Haven and enriched by so many noble benefactions; and particularly celebrated the great generosity of Governor Yale with much respect and honor. All which being ended, the gentlemen returned to the college hall where they were entertained with a splendid dinner; and at the same time were also entertained in the library. After which we sung the first four verses of the sixty-fifth Psalm, and so the day ended. Everything was managed with so much order and splendor that the fame of it extremely disheartened the opposers and made opposition fall before it."

The last words of that contemporaneous account did not prove accurate. At other commencement exercises in Wethersfield five men were being graduated, to receive regular diplomas in New Haven soon after that, however, and to be entered in the official list of graduates. And the Legislature was yet to have the final word. Supporters of Hartford and Wethersfield for sites aired the whole subject again till Hartford joined with Wethersfield to give that town a victory. After a long and warm debate and "to quiet the minds of people and introduce a general harmony," it was voted that "a state house should be built in Hartford to compensate for the college in New Haven; that twenty-five pounds, sterling, should be given to Saybrook for the use of the school, to compensate for the removal of the college;

* There is confusion about these data. President Ezra Stiles of Yale, in his meticulous diary, exactly edited by Professor Franklin Bowditch Dexter, wrote that Yale was born in North Haven, which also was the birthplace of Stiles himself, his birth year being 1727. Much of the Stiles property in North Haven is still held by the Stiles family. Stiles possessed intimate knowledge of his own town and of Connecticut as a whole. It is, however, a matter of record that David Yale removed to Boston in 1645, or three years before Elihu's birth, whence later he returned with his family to England. His brother Thomas had his lot in the northern part of old New Haven (set off as North Haven in 1786), but as he did not return to England it may be presumed that he was not the father of Elihu, though at one period he was so referred to in print.

and that the governor and council should, at the request of the trustees, give such orders as they should think proper for the removal of the library from Saybrook to New Haven."

There ensued more excitement than Saybrook had known since the days when Lion Gardiner at his fort stood off the Pequot Indians. The surrender of the books and papers, to Governor Saltonstall and council there present, having been refused, the sheriff had to come with a posse while all the townspeople assembled. He was obliged to break down doors to get the belongings and stow them in wagons, for which a guard was provided to convoy them to New Haven. At one place a bridge



YALE'S FIRST BUILDING
(From an Engraving Prior to 1750)

From "The Book of the Yale Pageant," Edited by George Henry Nettleton
(Permission of Yale University Press)

was torn down and during the night at another place the wagons were broken into. About one hundred and sixty books were lost and papers taken but more than a thousand volumes with papers were brought through the week's turmoil. After this excitement subsided and a spirit of general harmony prevailed.

Mr. Andrew was succeeded as rector by Timothy Cutler of Stratford, a Harvard graduate who gave much promise. Then Ezra Stiles' diary says of him, after praise of his ability in Latin: "He made a grand figure as Head of a college. But his head being at length turned with the Splendor of Prelacy, and carried away with the fond Enterprise and Epsicopizing all N. England, he in 1722 turned Churchman,

left his rectorate and went to England, and was ordained by the Bishop of Norwich, and was honored with the Doctorate in Divinity from Oxford & Cambridge. Returning he settled in Boston. But failed of that influence & eminence which he figured to himself in prospect." Tutors Daniel Brown and Samuel Johnson left the college with like impulse from a greatly agitated board of trustees. The precocious Johnson had graduated in the class of 1714 at age eighteen, had tutored students in Guilford, had been given the degree of Master of Arts at the first New Haven commencement, became minister of the West Haven church in 1720 and was an instructor in the college. On his ordination in England he was assigned to the Episcopal mission in Stratford, in 1723.

Though they laid the foundation for the Episcopal church in Connecticut, they left the college in a state of trepidation. It was three years before Elisha Williams accepted the rectorate. Four others had declined the honor. After his experience in the Legislature and in tutoring, he had resumed the study of theology and had been ordained pastor of the church in Newington, originally a part of Wethersfield. It was a heavy loss to the young church for the members, by the then custom, had to provide a fine house in addition to salary, as guarantee, a loss which promptly was made good by the grateful colony authorities who saw in him the man they wanted. He took office in 1726, from which date the institution began to assume form. Assent of the faculty to the Saybrook platform was required by the Legislature and greater support was furnished. In 1732 grants were made of three hundred acres in each of the new towns of Norfolk, Canaan, Goshen, Cornwall and Kent.

Failing health compelled Williams to resign. Later he was again to be eminent in the Legislature, on the bench, as chaplain of Colonel Roger Wo'cott's regiment in the capture of Louisburg, as himself colonel of a regiment for the proposed invasion of Canada and in sundry other capacities, including that of representative to the Albany Congress in 1754. He died in Wethersfield the following year.

His successor at Yale was Thomas Clap of Windham in whose administration, in 1745, the more formal charter for "The President and Fellows of Yale College" was granted and in 1750 Connecticut Hall was built of brick and is still standing, with a fourth story added. In 1755 when George Whitefield's teachings were causing such excitement throughout the colony there was some criticism of a protest signed by the president and faculty. Clap established a college church without asking for authority but Clap's argument before the Legislature that civil authorities had no more control over the college than any other citizens or estate put an end once and for all to such interference. As acting president Naphtali Daggett succeeded President Clap. Then came the eminent Ezra Stiles who had made a thorough and lenient study of episcopacy, who had held a pastorate in Providence and who was an intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin. He corresponded with Governor Trumbull in Hebrew. His salary was 160 pounds, to be paid in wheat, pork, corn and beef, or the market equivalent in money, a place of residence and ten acres of land. His accumulation of scientific data and instruments was unexcelled in the colonies. There were then one hundred and thirty-two students,

a professor of mathematics, another of divinity and three tutors, but the tutors had to be dropped after the Revolution because of lack of funds. During the Revolution the college had been divided, Tutor Timothy Dwight taking part to Wethersfield, Professor Story another part to Glastonbury, and Acting President Daggett visiting the classes when and as he could. Modern Yale began with the inauguration of President Timothy Dwight in 1793. Washington (Trinity) College, Wesleyan and the Hartford Theological Seminary were not far away in the future.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Warfare Continues

Europe's Embroilments—Men and Money for England's Cause in America—
Records of Strong Men—The "Adventurers."

The tale of the development of education in the eighteenth century scarcely can be appreciated without recalling the attendant circumstances of war demands upon population and finances. That there were abnormal exigencies is not to be forgotten, nor yet the fact that military expenses so far had had to be borne by the settlers themselves. Expense of defense against Indians, still continuing, as also against would-be invaders from settlements of neighbors from other nations, had to be borne by the colonists; not till other nations arrayed themselves formally against each other for possession of what was recognized to be very much worthwhile did the Mother Nation contribute toward the local costs.

But one reads of little complaint; preservation of dearly bought privileges and determined purpose were paramount, to an extent not realized by the Mother Nation at the time of it. The great William Pitt was to review it, however vainly in the long run, after the first half of the century. Seemingly, in retrospect, all things were working together toward independence, however loyal the sentiment up to the last. In the hearts of these Connecticut bearers of the fundamentals of democracy, England continued to be the beloved and revered mother.

Criticism of England's seeming stupidity in support of her colonies in certain of these periods was as unjust in these remote regions as it is today on the part of those who do not take into consideration the then position of the Mother Country and the European standards in general. Since the Ryswick Treaty of 1697—when France had made sacrificial peace with Holland, Spain and England, all three—when Spain and England had arranged for a partition of Spain on the death of her Charles II; thus again in 1700 when Charles was dead and Austria claimed that throne, while Russia, with Peter the Great, and Poland, Denmark and Sweden were having their turmoil; Austria invading Italy the next year; and all the rest through the years—nations lining up confusedly on Philip V's assuming right to the Spanish throne; Frederick I crowned in Germany; Anne's succession to the English throne; English and Dutch against Spanish and French; Marlborough's sweeping victories in the Netherlands (1702); the conquest of Gibraltar by England; Spain's bloody fields; legislative union of England and Scotland made essential;

fall of the Whig ministry in England (1710); the brilliant Marlborough deprived of command; Austria again upset; Charles becoming Emperor of Germany and his rival, Philip V, seated on the Spanish throne; Turkey involved and Peter the Great almost defeated (1711); armistice between France and England in 1712; Treaty of Utrecht, division of holdings in Europe and America (1713) and succession of George I, elector of Hanover, to England's throne in 1714, with immediate treaties and violations thereof throughout Europe, these historic events, let us remember, constituted much of the slowly-brought and often contradictory information from abroad to sift through to every household the first quarter of the century, along with the latest Indian alarms from the borders and the offers of reward for hostile Indians' scalps. There were other things than the Saybrook platform and the founding of Yale College to be talked about by tax-bled colonists.

The successively most powerful of the nations were eager for American territory but had to make their desire secondary to the demands and counter-demands on the map of turbulent Europe. America was still a remote wilderness, where the French pretensions were inspired by the far-sighted Jesuits and England's upheld by distressed ministries. Walpole fell from his position at the head of English ministry in 1717, to be reestablished in it four years later and with another new line-up of European nations after the end of Peter the Great in 1725.

Through it all, the English people as a people, when they could give voice, were for the advancement of civilization, as also were their fellowmen in other nations when not suppressed by force of intrigues. Many times has European chaos seemed imminent, and America indirectly involved.

"King William's War," previously cited—the first of the "intercolonials" 1689 to 1697—had cost Connecticut £12,000 merely to defend her borders. Her population at that time had been not much over 100,000. Dudley's performances had so disaffected the colony that when he called for troops against Canada in 1705, it would not respond. But when "Queen Anne's War" (1702 to 1713) assumed serious proportions by the sending of French Indians down into New England, destroying Deerfield February 29, 1704, attacking Northampton and bringing terror to Connecticut towns as far south as Waterbury, England sought to capture the fortress at Newfoundland and New England hoped for the reduction of Acadia, a peril to commerce. A Boston fleet threatened Port Royal in 1704 and Massachusetts attempted annihilation of that stronghold of Acadia in 1707, at great expense.

Two years later the Connecticut General Court, citing "the great scarcity of money, the payment of the public debts and the charges on this government, especially for the intended expedition into Canada," voted an issue of £8,000 in paper currency to be received at five per cent. premium in payment of taxes but with no legal-tender clause as in other colonies; and further levies becoming necessary, an issue of £11,000 as additional amount was ordered, payable in six annual parts. Other issues followed but always with provision for special tax toward redemption of each issue. (No legal-tender feature was to appear in this colony before 1718.)

England, however inexperienced, was for the reduction of all Canada. The fleet sailing from Boston having been foiled by Castin, another, with land forces, was

to be sent at once from across the seas, to be reinforced by 1,200 colonists, for Quebec; 1,500 for Montreal and Canada. Acadia and Newfoundland were also marked to fall. All northern colonies hastened to assemble supplies and men. For the contingent to attack Montreal, assembling at Albany and Wood Creek in May, Connecticut's quota was four hundred. The officers were Colonel William Whiting of Hartford, Lieutenant-Colonel Matthew Allyn of Windsor, Major John Burr of Fairfield, and Captain Roger Newton of Milford for the Montreal force, and Lieutenants Jonathan Belden of Wethersfield, William Adams of Milford, John Clark of Stratford, John Hall of Wallingford, Samuel Webster of Hartford, William Crocker of New London, John Gardner of Stonington, Richard Miles of New Haven, Samuel Keeler of Norwalk, Commissary Christopher Christophers, Chaplain Samuel Whittlesey of Wallingford and the Rev. Thomas Buckingham of Hartford, "diarist," for the Port Royal expedition—three hundred and fifty men.

The loss from disease at Wood Creek that summer was fearful and that campaign a failure through lack of English support. Colonel Whiting and his men were recalled by order of the General Court October 19, 1709.

Connecticut's contingent for the attack on Port Royal was held till September, 1710, when the belated five English ships arrived to lead the thirty from New England. They were to find the force at Port Royal, decimated by famine and disease, an easy prey. And with it fell Acadia, September 10. The port was named Annapolis in honor of the Queen.

Meantime the General Court had designated eight towns as frontier towns which were "to keep a good scout every day, of two faithful and trusty men." There also were garrison forts in a few towns, supplied with ammunition. Indians from the eastern part of the colony served under government pay. Snow-shoes and moccasins were kept in supply for both them and the whites. Train-bands had extra "training days" but without so much picnic-celebration as in the previous years.

Heavy as had been the hardships since the close of the seventeenth century, industries had been developed through war activities and the colony was acquiring some degree of prosperity and confidence. Letters urging England to further effort in driving out the French ended, however, with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, but not with the Indian attacks promoted by the Jesuits in Canada. A committee of war was continued. The threat was nearer. Massachusetts requests for aid had to be denied because of local danger. Major Samuel Talcott of Wethersfield and his three hundred dragoons were patrolling the section from Hartford to New Milford. Settlers were deserting Litchfield. Hartford and adjacent towns sent thirty-two men to that settlement. The Assembly voted £50 for each Indian scalp brought in. Alertness had to be constant but it was made possible to give heed to the Massachusetts call in 1725 to the extent of fifty men under Captain Cyprian Nichols of Hartford for Hampshire. Meanwhile England had taken cognizance of the industrial tendencies. The English Board of Trade saw danger of independence. Sir Robert Walpole with difficulty prevented interference with charter rights.

But the Treaty of Utrecht, providing for England the lion's share in the South Sea Company and the monopoly of the slave trade, had sown new seed of European

discord, leading on to the war against Spain in 1739. At that time the colony's militia had been organized into thirteen regiments, with 3,480 men in the forty-seven companies (of which the old First Regiment, Connecticut National Guard, dating from that reorganization, is today the 169th Infantry, 43d Division, 85th Brigade, Second Line of Defense, United States Army—the 102d, of the New Haven area, brigaded with it.)

The sloop *Defense* had been built at Middletown and put in commission and the fort at New London provided with a battery of ten guns. England's call to the colonies in 1740 to furnish volunteers to help sweep the Indies of Spanish smugglers was complied with. Of the 15,000 sailors and 12,000 soldiers who finally assembled at Jamaica, under command of Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, 4,000 had come from the colonies. In the charges at Carthagena, the Spanish stronghold on the coast of South America, the slaughter was fearful. Turning back to Cuba, they found Havana easy prey but only to fall victims to yellow fever. Of the thousand men out of New England, less than a hundred returned. Among the survivors was Israel Putnam and among the dead Captain Roger Newberry of Windsor.

When France ceased to act secretly as the ally of Spain and "King George's War" was declared March 4, 1744, New England realized its danger. While part of Acadia had come under British control as Nova Scotia, the French of Canada gave small heed to the treaty stipulations of 1713 except where superior force compelled. They threatened as far as the Mississippi while they raided the coast from Cape Breton, where towered Louisburg at the entrance to the St. Lawrence, known as the Gibraltar of America. To increase their advantage the French captured Canso in Nova Scotia and attacked old Port Royal but were repulsed by the garrison of colonials. Though the authorities discussed it seriously, it was not till the business men in Connecticut expressed themselves that eager Governor Shirley of Massachusetts was offered early in 1745 five hundred men and more if needed (and more were needed up to a total of 1,100.)

Eight companies at the outset, under Royal pay it was understood, were to assemble at New London for transport along with the *Defense*, the colony's temporary contribution to the Colonial Navy. Sir William Pepperell was commander-in-chief, Deputy-Governor Roger Wolcott of Windsor major-general, Andrew Burr of Fairfield colonel, Simon Lothrop of Norwich lieutenant-colonel and Israel Newton of Colchester major; company commanders, Captains James Church of Hartford, Elizur Goodrich of Wethersfield, David Wooster of New Haven, Stephen Lee of New London, Samuel Adams of Stratford, William Whiting of Norwich, John Dwight of Killingly, Daniel Bradley of Fairfield, Robert Denison of New London, Andrew Ward of Guilford, Daniel Chapman of Ridgefield; chaplain, the Rev. Elisha Williams of Wethersfield, recently rector at Yale—the troops to be reinforced by companies under Captains Jedediah Chapman of Saybrook, Samuel Hickox of Waterbury, Adonijah Fitch of Lebanon, Nathaniel Ferrand of Milford and Daniel Chapman of Tolland. The fleet sailed from Boston March 24, unde-

tered by the fact that the Mother Government had not seemed to keep the promise of aid and consequently none of the expected men-of-war was available. What then was the joy on arriving at Canso to find that Commodore Warren of the Royal Navy was there with ships that came to number eleven in very short time.

Louisburg held out for forty-nine days but had to yield to the skill and persistency of regulars and colonials on June 17—England's one great prize of the war. Then Connecticut and other Colonial troops comprised the garrison for eleven long, wearing months. For the whole severe service, one officer received Royal recognition—Captain David Wooster of Stratford birth, who, being in England on business later, was made a lieutenant in the army on half pay for life. (When general, he was killed in the Danbury raid during the Revolution.)

France thirsted for revenge and England was resolved to avail herself of the opportunity to renew the effort to conquer the French province. Everything was auspicious. The hurry call for 7,200 men from the colonies early in 1746 met with prompt response. Connecticut's quota was 1,000, in addition to a garrison being sent to Hampshire. Report of the approach of enemy ships brought 6,000 of the New England forces to Boston. But there was to be no active service there or anywhere, the disabled French having put back and England having sent no forces to improve the opportunity.

Chaplain Elisha Williams of the previous regiment had been appointed colonel of this emergency regiment because of his zeal in organizing it on short order. Provisions were obtained by house-to-house canvass, local men providing the funds. Samuel Talcott of Hartford, for like reason, was made lieutenant-colonel, Israel Hewitt of Stonington major. The captains from the former regiment were Church and Whiting; the others, Josiah Starr of Danbury, Benjamin Lee of Plainfield, William Whiting of Norwich, John Whiting of Stonington, Elihu Hall of Wallingford and Joseph Wooster of Stratford. There being no campaign, the regiment was furloughed at home, retained on the government's rolls. (The "rector-colonel" subsequently went to England as colony agent to make formal request for their pay which had been stipulated.)

General Shirley, who had been appointed Governor of Massachusetts in 1741, would have combined the troops with his own and those of New York for a winter campaign by way of the lakes, but the Assembly replied at length, in January, 1747, that that would be impracticable; "unhappy consequences thereof are too well known and numerous to need mentioning." Altogether it was abandoned. There was to be no more fighting here in this war. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, ending the war of the Austrian Succession, was signed in 1748. And Louisburg the costly was returned to France—in exchange for Madras in India. The colony's expenses in the war ran up to £80,000. Many times as much would have been paid gladly could the victories of the colonists have been sealed.

In the following brief peace period, all the colonies made rapid progress. In 1755 Connecticut had a population of 130,000 and varied industries were developing. But the time when history could be written in something besides blood had

not arrived. Strife was made certain by the French policy of encroachment after the treaty of peace. Obviously it would be wise for the colonies to get together on the subject. Frontier posts built by individual colonies, such as those New England was maintaining in Massachusetts, were not likely to prove sufficient; the frontier was too long. England herself, with more heart for her colonies than some of her leaders had appreciated, made the suggestion for a conference and Benjamin Franklin saw here the opportunity to bring out that the real power was in the people if united.

The plan Franklin submitted at the Albany Convention—America's first "union" meeting—was doubtless as liberal as conditions would allow, but in the pooling of the military under Royal direction—that is, through a colonial council whose president-general should be a Royal appointee, whose laws must be approved across the water and whose purse in large measure must meet the bills—Connecticut saw objections insuperable. Her General Court, imbued with the principles of the free charter, officially put in its instructions only the specific point of having two sections, one north and one south of New Jersey, doubtless because of the impossibility of swift movement of forces from north to south or *vice versa*. Her delegates were William Pitkin of Hartford, Roger Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor and the Rev. Elisha Williams of Wethersfield.

Though New York's as well as Connecticut's arguments against the plan because of the power that would be given to England in various matters were forceful, the decision was favorable, only, however, to be turned down by the colonies' assemblies and also by the British government. There was to be new evidence of the impracticability of unwonted military commanders like the reckless Braddock or the fastidious Abercrombie before men like Amherst appeared and, likewise, evidence of the fatuity of divided colonial energies, till England had curbed France and the clear-sighted Pitt held the power. What the fighting itself was demonstrating, for the later issue of 1775, was that, man for man, the wonted colonist was more efficient than the Europe-trained professional.

Though formal peace still prevailed, France was sending men and strengthening her lines along the frontier. It was decided to push expeditions against those lines at Fort Duquesne, Niagara and Crown Point and to assure the hold on Nova Scotia. Early in 1755 Braddock arrived to lead such men as Washington against Duquesne in the Ohio Valley and soon to demonstrate with his life the ineptitude of European training for American warfare.

Connecticut had stepped to the front with 1,000 men and five hundred reserves for the northern army, Massachusetts to furnish 1,200, New Hampshire six hundred and Rhode Island four hundred. The Assembly voted £7,500 in bills at five per cent. for three years and a tax of two pence on the pound. And this, incidentally, was while the Assembly was granting rights to Phineas Lyman, Roger Wolcott, Jr., and others to form the Susquehanna Company to go out to Pennsylvania's neighborhood but within the territory named in the charter and establish Wyoming, since tillable land in Connecticut was pretty much taken up.

Commissioned major-general, Phineas Lyman of Suffield, a lawyer and a magistrate of this Assembly, was given in March, 1755, command of 1,000 Connecticut troops in the army of General William Johnson of New York for the attack on Crown Point, the Lake Champlain stronghold. Lyman also commanded the First Regiment with John Pitkin of Hartford lieutenant-colonel; Elizur Goodrich of Wethersfield, the Second Regiment with Nathan Whiting of New Haven as second in command. The majors respectively were Robert Denison of New London and Isaac Foote of Branford. That was in March. In August a third regiment was raised with Samuel Talcott of Glastonbury colonel, Eliphalet Dyer of Windham lieutenant-colonel and Joseph Wooster of Stratford major (Israel Putnam of Pomfret a second lieutenant); and a fourth regiment with Elihu Chauncey of Durham colonel, Andrew Ward, Jr., of Guilford lieutenant-colonel and William Whiting of Norwich major.

At the same time New York, being short of recruits, was given the right to enlist three companies in Connecticut, Major Eleazer Fitch of Windham commanding. Lyman reported in Albany in June. Sent up the Hudson, he built a storage fort and pushed on to Lake George in August. The enemy were approaching Fort Edward from Ticonderoga. Word was sent to the small garrison and a force under Whiting and Colonel Ephraim Williams of Massachusetts was dispatched to cut off the French. Dieskau, the French commander, had missed his trail, had found himself south of Edward and was turning back on the road to the lake which his Indians were much more willing to approach since they believed the camp there was poorly equipped. Thus Whiting's column, designed for the relief of Edward, while pushing on in the gray of dawn, was ambushed. Colonel Williams and many of the soldiers and Mohawks were killed but Whiting rallied the survivors and brought them back to Lake George.

General Johnson having been slightly wounded, the command almost from the outset of the general engagement that followed had devolved upon Lyman and, though taken at disadvantage, he conducted the heaviest battle (September 8) that had been fought in the colonies for five hours or until the French were nearly wiped out and Dieskau a prisoner.

So great was the rejoicing in Connecticut that Talcott's and Chauncey's regiments were soon enrolled, seven hundred and fifty men in each. Their task proved to be merely to help erect Fort William Henry on the site of the battle. England knighted Johnson and allowed £50,000 for expenses; Lyman who had fought the fight was ignored. When the troops returned home they carried the memory of a great opportunity lost. Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting and Major John Payson* of Pomfret with a portion of the troops were left to garrison Fort Edward. To Lieutenant Putnam the Assembly made a "grant" of fifty milled Spanish dollars for work in scouting and a like amount to Captain Noah Grant of Windsor.

A Niagara expedition was a failure but that in Nova Scotia captured two forts and caused the removal of 15,000 Acadians to remote places, part of them to Connecticut.

* Payson was in command of three Connecticut companies in Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Massachusetts regiment. Putnam was detailed with these companies.

The return of the troops was delayed till December through desire of Massachusetts to conduct a winter campaign, though Connecticut considered it inexpedient. In January, 1756, however, the Assembly agreed to take part, even while stating that equipment and funds were exhausted and the government should reimburse. Colonel Jonathan Trumbull was serving on most of the commissions appointed, and General Lyman with Shirley. Of zeal there was abundance; men would be impressed into service if necessary. The decision was for an army of 10,000, for which in February the Assembly voted £2,500, the government to loan part of the funds. It also was voted to burn all bills of credit, old and new tenure, and take the specie from the treasury, hoping for reimbursement and also to round up the many counterfeiters, especially in New York. An embargo was being placed on food products.

The March session of the Assembly (with emphasis upon some secret being maintained by its members) authorized the 2,500 men for Governor Winslow of Massachusetts, or double the colony's quota. The "secret" doubtless had to do with the tendency to assign colonials to duty under British officers. From the old roster Lyman, Wooster, Nathan Whiting and Andrew Ward, Jr., were appointed colonels and Fitch and William Whiting lieutenant-colonels. The other lieutenant-colonels were Nathan Payson of Hartford and Stephen Lee of New London, and the majors, Joseph Storrs of Mansfield, Jehosophat Starr of Danbury, John Patterson of Farmington and Benjamin Hinman of Woodbury (Southbury section). But Shirley would have to provide the material while Jonathan Trumbull was being appointed to go to England to solicit reimbursement for past expenses—a mission not carried through. The militia meanwhile was being organized as a colony home guard, with antiquated equipment.

In May, England's formal declaration of war upon France, which Frederick of Prussia caused to develop into the seven years' war of the Austrian succession, gave the situation a different complexion. For Virginia—where George Washington had received a colonial commission for which he demanded and secured full recognition from the regulars—the Earl of Loudon was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief over an organized army and James Abercrombie to succeed Shirley in the field.

Loudon was late in arriving, Abercrombie later and their supplies some time after. When Abercrombie finally reached Albany to take over the finest army ever assembled on the Continent up to that time, it was midsummer. There were 10,000 well-seasoned men. A filip had been given by sending over to the colonies £115,000 for their services in the past, of which Connecticut received £25,000 and forthwith rearranged her notes with Massachusetts. Her regiments were on the front line but there were no field activities. Abercrombie, from his dallying, was given a sarcastic nickname. There was force enough and will enough to push through to Montreal, and all expected just that.

In October an enthusiastic Assembly voted to strengthen the Connecticut line with eight more companies, drawn from the militia, but on word from Loudon cancelled the vote. The precedence of Royal over Colonial commissions became

so keen that the provincials were threatening to return home till Loudon decided that all units should retain their officers, and the regulars be employed only on garrison duty. Again, by dallying, the supreme opportunity was lost. The Indians made a treaty of neutrality with the French under the efficient Montcalm who had captured Oswego and wealth of booty in August, but held the balance of power by claiming all territory between the Hudson and the Maumee.

At a conference of Governors and commissioners in Boston in January, 1757, support for another campaign with Loudon was agreed upon but with hope that commissions of provincials would stand more nearly on a par with those of the regulars. General Winslow was asking that he receive from the New England colonies financial recognition of his services the previous year; the Assembly responded that inasmuch as there had been agreement that he have the high command while Connecticut had the junior command (General Lyman), it believed Connecticut had done enough. As a result of the conference the Assembly, nearly every member of which in this period had a military title, voted for a regiment of 1,400 men under Lyman, with Whiting lieutenant-colonel and Nathan Payson major. Taxes were increased, church contributions solicited and another lottery authorized. Recovery was to be obtained on unpaid-for bonds and delinquent mortgages. A duty was laid on shipping and on tea "and sundry things." England was sending 6,000 but with Louisburg as chief objective and General Daniel Webb's forces for the lakes depleted. The Louisburg attack was abandoned in August by Loudon with his 10,000 men and a fleet, because of the strength of the defense.

Connecticut's regiment was the only reinforcement for Webb at Lake George. Montcalm quickly led his army and Indians in that direction, to annihilate Fort William Henry. Webb with his 7,000 men had moved up to Fort Edward on the Hudson, a short distance westerly of William Henry, which was held by Lieutenant-Colonel George Monro and a small force. On Monro's report of possible attack, Webb with an escort and Captain Israel Putnam went over to investigate. From his rowboat Putnam saw the French landing up the lake and arrows were fired at him and his men. There still was time to bring up support from Edward but Webb did not act upon the report. The next morning Webb ordered one regiment to Monro and Monro sent runner after runner for more. Webb, though lately reinforced, was obdurate. Putnam started out with his own men but was promptly recalled by messenger. Webb's advice to Monro was to surrender.

Monro held out till guns and ammunition were exhausted. Montcalm, appreciative of such courage, gave the garrison, including a few women and children, an escort to take them to Edward. But the Indians, celebrating the fact that they were fighting in their "own country," had indulged in much "firewater" which they had found in the British camp on the lake shore near the fort. They overtook the escort, killed and mutilated some thirty of the English and fought fiercely with the French rescue party. Only about six hundred reached Edward with the aid of the French themselves.

On alarm-call, Connecticut foot and dragoon militia hurried across country. They got horses and provisions when and where they could on the way. Two

months later the Assembly was sending out a commission to locate horses and pay those who had furnished rations along the route. In October Loudon released all provincials except a small body of rangers.

The March session of the Assembly in 1758 received from William Pitt, new and forceful head of the ministry, a letter telling of the strong desire of his Majesty, George II, to repair losses and his disappointment in the preceding campaign. To avert the damage impending, he had confidence in coöperation throughout the Kingdom. His hope was that New England, New York and New Jersey could furnish 20,000 men to join with the regulars in an invasion of Canada, with due compensation from Parliament. The Assembly "resolved that," though the colony had raised in the previous three years a much greater force than its just proportion—by reason whereof the number of men was greatly diminished and strength much exhausted—nothing should be wanting to promote the good design, and further "resolved that" 5,000 men be raised, though sensible that that number exceeded the just proportion even of 23,000.

England's navy had isolated Canada. The great Pitt had taken hold. Loudon was recalled, three expeditions were planned—Jeffrey Amherst and James Wolfe with Boscawen's fleet for Canada; Forbes to clean up the Ohio Valley, and Abercrombie, as friend of Earl Bute but with Lord Howe at his side, for the lake region. In Connecticut's four regiments Lyman, Whiting and Payson continued in their old positions in the First for 1758; Nathan Whiting in the Second with Samuel Coit of Preston lieutenant-colonel and Joseph Spencer of East Haddam major; Dyer in the Third with Benjamin Hinman of Southbury lieutenant-colonel and Israel Putnam major; John Reed of Fairfield colonel of the Fourth, James Smedley of Fairfield lieutenant-colonel and John Slapp of Mansfield major. There was an issue of £30,000 of bills of credit; an eight-pence tax if an insufficient sum were received from England; a nine-pence tax for immediate funds and £25,000 to be borrowed. Louisburg fell after desperate defense in June and July, which, in that field, had to suffice for the present as the season was getting late and there was loud call for Amherst from Lake George.

The brilliant Montcalm, greatly outnumbered, had terrorized the feeble Abercrombie after Lord Howe had been killed in a skirmish. Abercrombie, as incapable as ever, had found at Lake George an army of 6,400 regulars and 9,000 provincials. July 5 he had started in boats down Lake George toward Montcalm's Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) at the head of Lake Champlain; on the 8th he had had blind fighting with heavy loss, upon which he took to his boats and returned. At his old quarters, scouting parties harassed him.

Major Putnam accompanied a detail sent out to reconnoiter. The British officer in command amused himself with target practice in the woods. In the Indian ambush which naturally resulted, Putnam and a dozen men became separated. The men were killed but the major was reserved for the stake. After he had received scars which he carried to his grave a French officer intervened and he was taken prisoner to Montreal, whence he was exchanged in the fall.

Sir Jeffrey Amherst, without orders, had brought with him from Louisburg, by way of Boston, four regiments and a battalion, arriving in October, just prior to his receiving his appointment as Commander-in-Chief and sinecure Governor of Virginia. Abercrombie returned to England, there to vent his spleen against Americans. Montcalm was retiring and the season was too late for renewing the campaign. Except for garrison details and rangers (two hundred and eighty) the troops returned home. A number of the English that winter were billeted in the colony. Many men enlisted in the King's regiments.

The first Act of the Assembly in February, 1759, began thus: "Whereas, this colony have paid large taxes ever since the present war and lately have paid two taxes, one to discharge the expenses of the last campaign, and the other for the sinking and discharging of the bills of credit emitted in March, 1755, and not in a capacity to supply money timely for raising forces for the ensuing campaign therefore"—the sum of £20,000 in bills of credit, "equal to lawful money," but not to be legal tender (that having been restrained for the colonies in 1711), should be issued, with poll and estate tax of five pence, to be paid in "lawful money." Pitt had called for 20,000 men from New England, New York and New Jersey colonies and the Assembly voted the quota, 3,600, a fair proportion to be taken from each militia regiment, to draft if necessary and to accept a surplus up to one hundred men for each company.

For the regiments, Lyman and Payson were appointed colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the First, John Slapp of Mansfield major; for the Second, Nathan Whiting colonel, Joseph Spencer of East Haddam lieutenant-colonel and David Baldwin of Milford major; the Third, David Wooster of New Haven colonel, James Smedley of Fairfield lieutenant-colonel and David Waterbury of Stamford major; the Fourth, Eleazer Fitch of Windham colonel, Israel Putnam lieutenant-colonel, John Durkee of Norwich major. They reported to Amherst who intended to make a junction with Wolfe at Quebec while another expedition was reaching Montreal by way of Fort Niagara. Montcalm, his forces and supplies diminishing through lack of touch with France, was forced to withdraw toward the St. Lawrence. Ticonderoga was easily taken; Crown Point was evacuated. Thereupon the heavy work of the army that summer consisted of building the boats in which the men were transported down the lakes. In October, £15,000 was sent from England on previous account.

For 1760, faith, business and zeal had revived. Wolfe, three times wounded, had given his life in taking Quebec September 13, 1759—partly, perhaps, because Amherst had not pushed on to him in the late summer—and the brilliant Montcalm had lost his life on the same Plains of Abraham. Murray had succeeded Wolfe; Lévis, in April, 1760, was moving his 6,000 men from Montreal to dislodge him, praying that a fleet would come to his aid. But the French navy had been decimated, while the English Armada was close at hand. Pitt knew that the fall of Quebec would hasten the end of the European war.

Amherst with the main body of his army moved by way of Oswego, leaving General Haviland to clear up the line through the lakes. On entering the St. Law-

rence from Lake Ontario, Amherst came upon two naval vessels which overmatched his simple transports. The reckless but ingenious Major Putnam devised a plan. With two large boats he was rowed near the enemy and succeeded in getting under the stern of one of the two vessels, whose men were astonished. With a rigging he had prepared he quickly blocked the rudder so that this vessel was helpless; the other was grounded. There are many stories of the voyage more or less legendary but the point is that on September 7 Amherst joined Murray at Montreal and the following day Haviland arrived with his forces from the lakes. The capitulation of all Canada was effected.

Benjamin Franklin in London joined with Pitt's followers in insisting, against considerable opposition, that England retain these holdings. Already the loss to France meant cessation of the inter-colonial wars—the colonies could go on with their agriculture and industries.

The youthful and headstrong George III had come to the throne in 1760. Situation in the European war was critical. There was chance that Canada might be turned back to France in the bargaining at the end of the war. With view to reconditioning posts and strengthening the hold on territory, the colony responded to the call in 1761 by sending two regiments under Lyman, Whiting, Payson, Smedley, Durkee and Baldwin, with chief station at Crown Point. The year following, Pitt had resigned but his suspicion that Spain was acting secretly with France, which had caused criticism, was soon confirmed by the latter's open alliance. Obviously Spain's holdings in the west must be seized. Albemarle with fleet and army was sent thither, assumably to eradicate pirates and smugglers.

To the call for Colonial troops for 1762 Connecticut responded with 2,300 men, under the same officers except that Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam took the place of Payson. (As in all campaigns, the colonel, the lieutenant-colonel and the major were also captains of the first three companies.) Enrolled for duty anywhere in America, Lyman and Putnam with eleven companies of their regiment, 1,100 men were sent to join Albemarle along with other colonials. After Putnam's ship was wrecked, they shared in the last two weeks of the horrible but successful siege of Havana under a midsummer tropical sun. Disease and thirst carried off thousands, as they had in the memorable campaign of 1740. Of the regiment only six hundred and fifty were living at the muster-out; of Putnam's company only twenty. The other regiment, to whose men a bounty of £5 was offered by Amherst, reported to that commander for duties at northern posts.

Preliminaries of peace were signed November 3, 1762, the Treaty of Paris, the following February 10. July 6, 1763 was appointed by the Assembly, on receipt of this news, as a day of rejoicing and thanksgiving. By the treaty England held all of North America east of the Mississippi and certain interests in the Indies, Spain yielding Florida along the southern coast in return for Havana. The Indians not having been taken into consideration, Chief Pontiac of the Ohio Valley roughly organized them and in 1764 Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam, on request from England,

was again called into service with five companies for action under General Gage at Fort Pitt and other border posts, but the anxiety was of short duration.

With one-fifth of man-power exempt because of service (and receiving colony pay higher than that of the regulars), the taxes levied during this last war amounted



GURDON SALTONSTALL

Of New London, Chief Justice of Connecticut, 1708-25, and Governor

to £410,933; bills of credit to the extent of £346,500 were issued, of which a balance £82,000 had remained over, undischarged. England furnished funds totaling £316,788.

The colony's governors during the period of the intercolonial wars were Robert Treat of Milford, 1683-98; Fitz-John Winthrop of New London, 1698-1708; Gurdon Saltonstall of New London, 1708-25; Joseph Talcott of Hartford, 1725-1742; Jonathan Law of Milford, 1742-51; Roger Wolcott of Windsor, 1751-54, and Thomas Fitch of Norwalk, 1754-66.

The Connecticut "Adventurers" added a sequel to these stirring events. In October, 1762, the King ordered that survivors of the "war in America" should receive land grants and (later) a share in proceeds from sale of booty and ships taken. The land grant would mean from fifty acres for privates up to 5,000 for field officers. In the following June, on call of Lyman, a meeting was held in Hartford to form a "Company of Adventurers" to secure collective land-grants sufficient for a government in itself. Members paid £2 each and Lyman was sent to England with the request. It was common knowledge that the King desired to have homesteads established. In August, 1764, the membership fee in the Adventurers was increased to £3. Eight years later Lyman in England wrote of "fruitless promises and ministerial disappointments." The soldiers were much dissatisfied with the cash bonuses they had received. Lyman was representing Pennsylvania subscribers also and had asked for Governorship of the new section, with a baronetcy.

In 1770 he received a grant for himself of 20,000 acres in "western Florida" (present Mississippi). In 1772 he petitioned for a grant for himself and the soldiers. That year he returned, with what was believed to be a regulation grant on the Yazoo, between latitudes 32 and 34. In a meeting, the Adventurers, Lyman presiding, appointed a committee headed by Captain Roger Enos of Windsor, late of Lyman's company, who was to become colonel of one of the regiments in this colony, in 1777-78. This committee was to explore the proposed grant. The captain, with Colonel Putnam, Putnam's son, Daniel, aged thirteen; Thaddeus, son of General Lyman, and Lieutenant Rufus Putnam, sailed in the sloop of Captain Wait Goodrich of Wethersfield, December 19, 1772. Nearly a year after that they reported that Governor Chester of Florida told them he had no instructions relative to such a grant but that they should go on and take up the township of 20,000 acres indicated by his grant, bringing their families afterwards. Meanwhile the King had forbidden grants anywhere without his approval except to actual participants in the war.

Lyman, who in the earlier days had started a law school in Suffield, had had an extensive law practice, was on the Massachusetts Boundary Commission and led in the dispute with Massachusetts on that subject besides being one of the colony's most prominent citizens in various other ways before the war, returned with his son, deeply impressed with the prospects for the colony on the Big Black River. Taking his son, Phineas, and five slaves with him, he led one of the parties that sailed in December, 1773, for the promised land. His wife and his other children sailed with a Massachusetts party the next summer, but only to find that both the general and his son were dead, the general having died September 10, 1774. Mrs. Lyman lived but a few days after that experience. The son, Thaddeus, returned to Suffield. Timothy Dwight paid a very high tribute to the general.

In 1774-75 a number of settlers did start for the section, as it had been granted by Governor Chester, under the terms of the King's early proclamation, but the books had been closed before the settlers reached their destination. In 1798 Richard Alsop of Middletown, appointed by a committee, wrote to the American ambassador in London, Rufus King, and was informed that no record of anything could

be found except the personal grant to Lyman in 1770. In 1803 heirs of Putnam authorized prosecution of a claim for a township out of nineteen such granted by the government to the Adventurers. There is no record of the outcome.*

* Credit should be given to William H. Putnam, of Hartford, a descendant of General Putnam, for his persistency in behalf of the Connecticut Historical Society in unearthing the romantic details of this association of Adventurers, which included members of many Connecticut families, in Connecticut and in other States today. Records and correspondence had seemed to have vanished.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

War's Aftermath

Heavy Burden of Costs—Moral Laxity, Religious Controversies—Witchcraft Cases—The "Great Awakening" and Reform.

The long-drawn-out wars under adverse conditions of all sorts and under stringent financial conditions had lowered the standards of morality. While this accords with history of wars in general, it was the more notable here because of the standards that had been set up by the founders, and already changing with circumstances. Masses cannot cohere like a group of disciples. The point to be carried along in the history of the Commonwealth is the preservation of the terse governmental principle of human rights, always defeated heretofore. At intervals, in chronicling, the point may seem submerged, even in modern generations, but only to reappear with renewed assertiveness. Never was it more imperiled than in the middle of the eighteenth century when, beset by foes from without, it was a victim of foes from within, godly and ungodly, and all following their instincts or their inheritance.

License for war always seems to carry with it license for unmorality. The Crusaders themselves are commemorated for the intensity of their purpose, according to their lights, and not for their individual laxity. Connecticut settlers, whose numbers had been increased by a hundred thousand in a hundred years, while mostly of Saxon blend, included men and women already attracted by the principle of comparative freedom. Hooker, Haynes, Winthrop were mere names while the soil and ships demanded attention if one would survive and that, too, even though they felt the strong hand of the church through the Legislature; they must dig and they must spin and pay the taxes imposed by the wiseacres for the good of the Colony or for some rather hazy purpose across the seas. There was no vehicle for distributing information. But there was the town meeting—like the palladium.

Introduction of paper currency was inflation, meaning low wages, high prices and heavy taxes, simply according to the laws of political economy as immutable in any age as the Law of Moses. But the Legislature was desperate. By 1740 the Colony's debt was nearly 50,000 pounds and increasing.

Pounds, shillings and pence had to be synonymous with bushels and pecks of corn and be so expressed in commercial regulations. Naturally this had to be so in the beginning; with the wars it had to be so now. When Massachusetts back in

1652 issued a "Bay shilling," with orders for its use in Bay territory only, it was clipped and sweat and got out of bounds till it was repudiated. Spanish "pieces-of-eight" and French coins stole in with the few from England, to be seized upon as treasures. Governor Winthrop's expenses in securing the charter had to be paid by shiploads of produce sailing from New London and the traffic of that sort in the days preceding the Revolution was the chief source of income for men like Jonathan Trumbull. The stringency in Winthrop's day had increased in the 1700's with their wars till it was to be as great as in Trumbull's day.

Besides the town meeting there was the government within a government established by the Saybrook platform in 1708 and approved by the Legislature. It was to secure regularity in church administration, as worked out by a synod. Intrusion on territory, internal or external clashing of church societies as their numbers increased and various questions like that of toleration were to be passed over to the consociations, one in each county with two in Hartford County. But everyone must contribute to church expenses whatever a man's denomination or even if he had none.

In the day of debacle the town meeting, under clerical influence, spurred on the Legislature. That body noted the spread of licentiousness, intemperance, pugnacity, false witness and violation of the fundamentals of progress. The Legislature requested the ministers to report, which they did, sadly, in 1715, revealing lack of Bibles and contempt for law. The Legislature spurred on the courts and the courts the constables. A constable was browbeaten, soused with water and told to go out in the field and help bring in the crops—where he belonged. Governmental sternness was reflected in compelling Thomas Hutchinson to confess that he had smiled in church. Listening to an unordained minister in the pulpit, in 1723, meant a fine of ten pounds or thirty blows of the lash for the listener. The clergy themselves, in 1740, came to require legislative attention; they should confine their preaching to their own parishes or pay a fine of five hundred pounds. And foreigner or stranger, licensed or unlicensed, who should preach in violation of the act made and provided, should be sent from one constable to another until he was passed beyond the Colony boundaries.

What with the increasing evils from wars, it was well that standards were broadening out. As early as 1696, in Hartford, the Boston-persecuted Quakers were permitted to speak publicly after Sunday service hours, and in 1729, through William Penn's influence in London, they, together with the Baptists, were exempted from the church tax law on condition that they pay their own expenses.

Meantime, the Episcopalians who, in 1701, were starting a mission in Stratford had complained to English church authorities that they had to pay taxes to Congregationalism. Connecticut, while Archbishop Laud's persecutions had not been forgotten, and disturbed by bills in Parliament in 1701 and 1706 looking toward the appointment of a bishop for New England, put into the Saybrook platform a proviso that dissenters from Congregationalism should be allowed to qualify in court to organize independently, with oath of fidelity to the Crown, provided there was

no detriment to the established (Congregational) church, but with no tax exemption. Ardent Episcopalian missionaries, spreading their gospel in many towns, inveighed against the double taxation till in 1727 the Legislature decreed that taxes received from Episcopalians should be returned to their churches—which was rather more liberal than the attitude of other Colonies, according to their own testimony. The whole discussion culminated in the consecration in Woodbury in 1784 of Samuel Seabury, America's first bishop, as will be narrated. Baptists and Quakers also were to obtain further rights. With the abusive and turbulent "Rogerenes" of New London County, a Quaker offshoot which in the 1720's tried to interfere with church services, there could be no compromise.

In the back country towns, weird tales of witchcraft were being heard with suggestion that the old law of the previous century should be revived. It must have been in an effort to bring contempt upon the legislative body, for in the mass of people there were many who never had known the facts of that era. Briefly stated, that was an evil first marked in 1603, in the reign of James I when formal legislation was adopted to put an end to supposed incantations of a harmful nature. If bodily injury resulted from it, an offender was to be considered "a felon without benefit of clergy." The scourge had run through Europe for several generations, with executions reckoned at 100,000.

As has been told, in relation of Roger Ludlow's experience, the New Haven Colony had taken up the hue and cry in 1642, but it had been in Salem, Massachusetts, that the evil reached its greatest proportions near the close of that century. Also Young had been hanged in Hartford in 1647. Mary Johnson the eager clergy had tested carefully and with grave doubts till the poor soul, in the pains of childbirth, admitted her baneful influences over her neighbors and Mather in his *Magnalia* thus expressed it: "She died in a frame extremely to the satisfaction of them that were spectators of it." In 1653, John Carrington, a Wethersfield carpenter, and his wife were hanged. The case of Goodwife Knap of Fairfield has been mentioned. In 1662 there was an epidemic of cases around Hartford, some of the afflicted being overcome in church, like Ann Cole who accused Mrs. Richard Seager. Mrs. Seager was imprisoned for a year. The most notorious instance was that of Rebecca Smith, in which she implicated her husband and both were studied by the two ministers, Haynes and Whiting, whose report was taken by the court to confirm their guilt and they were hanged on gallows hill, near present Trinity College. Mary Barnes of Farmington fell a victim at about the same time, though there is no statement of her execution. Catherine Harrison, a well-to-do Wethersfield woman, was haled before the General Court with Governor Winthrop and Deputy Governor Leete presiding over the assistants. The court not agreeing, she was remanded to prison for two months. The Rev. Gershom Bulkeley of Wethersfield reasoned it that she must be guilty. In May, 1670, the Assembly ordered her release from prison on condition that she leave the Colony, which she did, going to Westchester, New York, where further prosecution was undertaken in vain and she was sent her way. In 1692 in Fairfield, Governor Treat, Deputy Governor Jones and Secretary John Allyn, with a petty jury, heard two hundred

witnesses testify against four women, all of whom were acquitted by a jury except Mercy Disborough, and she was released on a memorial. It is believed that there were nine executions in Connecticut, possibly eleven before there came a general revulsion of sentiment. Yet the great legal authority Blackstone was writing a full century later: "To deny the possibility of, any actual evidence of witchcraft and sorcery is at once to flatly contradict the revealed word of God in various passages both of the Old and New Testaments." It probably was the statement of this and other well-known authorities which led to the suggestion in Connecticut that the performance of some of the Separatists was due to collusion with Satan. There is no record of any action having been taken but there certainly was enough desperate and scandalous conduct by those who were in despair over their own distressful conditions.

As matter of fact such conditions were being met with the courage and determination that had characterized the days of the Pequot War when words from Jonathan Edwards made the waters seethe by introducing what was to be known as the "Great Awakening." Famous as one of the best masters of the English language and of oratory, he blazed forth the doctrine of hell fire to be heard above the groans of those who were leaving their farms to answer the calls for war service or who were seeing their paltry earnings taken for taxes.

Jonathan Edwards was the gifted son of Timothy Edwards, the eminent minister of the church in present South Windsor. Jonathan was the only son in a family of ten children. He was born October 5, 1703. His mother was the highly cultured granddaughter of the Rev. John Warham, Windsor's first minister. He won his academic and divinity degrees at Yale at an early age and at twenty-three, after two years as an instructor at Yale, became associated with his distinguished grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, in the well-known church in Northampton, Massachusetts, where he continued for two years. His fame as preacher and writer was to extend beyond the seas. The popular Scotch preacher, Thomas Chalmers, said of him: "I have long esteemed Edwards as the greatest of theologians, one who realized in his own person a most rare harmony between simplicity of the Christian pastor and the prowess of a giant in philosophy."

It was his sermons in December, 1734, that started the historic "Great Awakening" throughout New England and down into the southern Colonies. Among the later and most affecting of his sermons was that in Enfield July 7, 1741, true to the type of those which made his audiences intensely responsive. From the text, "Their foot shall slide in due time," he portrayed God holding the sinner over a fire. "If you cry to God to pity you," he said, "he will be so far from pitying you in your doleful case, or showing you the least regard of favor, that instead of that, he will only tread you under foot. And though he will know you cannot bear the weight of omnipotence treading upon you, he will not regard that, but he will crush you under his feet without mercy; he will crush out your blood and make it fly, and it will be sprinkled on his garments, so as to stain all his raiment. He will not only hate you but he will have you in the utmost contempt; no place will

be thought fit for you, but under his feet to be trodden down as the mire of the streets."

There also were sermons on the joys of faith, not all on damnation but enough for the frenzied awakening. The movement was beginning to wane at the time of the Enfield sermon, only to be taken up and carried on by George Whitefield, the English founder of the Calvinistic Methodist sect, who was making a tour of the Colonies, promoting frenzy, but not foregoing and incidentally delivering censorious utterances about Yale and Harvard colleges, which had remained calm. The Rev. Gilbert Tennent and the Rev. James Davenport followed an emulating path, indicated by this extract from a report by Dr. Chauncey of a meeting in Boston: "Some are screaming out in distress and anguish; some praying; some jumping up and down; others exhorting; some lying along on the floor—the whole with a very great noise to be heard at a mile distant, and continued almost the whole night." The Rev. George L. Clark says: "Communities gave themselves up to a kind of a debauch of emotion, which was supposed to require three stages: a heart-rending misery over one's sinfulness, a complete willingness to be saved or lost as God wills, and ecstasy when one came to feel that he was one of God's elect."

Whitefield revisited the Colonies in 1744, after the Legislature had undertaken to suppress the irregularities; several exhorters had been jailed and the excitement was subsiding. It is to be marked that there was a change in public sentiment, a tendency away from the old order, a recognition of denominations, a dropping of the half-way-covenant theories and a beginning of the development of what took its place in history as "The New England Theology." Unordained preachers became known as "Separatists" and their congregations built churches for themselves—in Windham County one in almost every town. And the factions were called "New Lights" in distinction from the established order of "Old Lights," but with rather more vituperation in the expressions used by the latter as, for example, "Dead Dogs" and "Lying Shepherds." Mr. Tennent spoke of the regulars as "hirelings, caterpillars, Pharisees, seed of the serpent."

Against that vituperation the regulars in some instances invoked the law of 1723 providing a fine of ten pounds or thirty stripes with the lash for those who listened to an unordained preacher; or, if the New Lights had a majority in a particular town, the property of an Old Light minister could be over-assessed. In Canterbury, fifty families worshipped in a private house because the minister was not a converted man as they considered it and all of them were fined or imprisoned. To pay the taxes goods had to be sold at half their value. In Norwich General Jabez Huntington's mother-in-law, a widow, was seized by the tax collector on a night in October, 1752, and General Huntington paid the amount two weeks later, after his protests in the cause of decency had proved unavailing.

Revision of the laws by Roger Wolcott, Jonathan Trumbull and Thomas Fitch, all to be Governors, and John Bulkeley, to be judge of the Superior Court, was agitated in 1742 and accomplished in 1750 when persecution features were wiped out but with no provision for relieving the Separatists from the general taxation in favor of the Congregational or so-called "established church." Protests from the

Separatists in 1753, representing more than a score of their churches, were sent to the Legislature. On their failing to obtain the desired results, they embodied their complaints in an appeal to the King's council in England where a "committee of dissenters" succeeded in holding it up through fear of moving the King to annul the charter.

At about the same time President Clap of Yale, an Old Light, with desire to avoid confusion among his students, secured consent to create a college church and thus be free of the contentions and bickerings in the town church. In a word, the time had come, slowly, to be sure, yet with that certainty which had characterized the Colony's history from the beginning, when wise men arose to nullify the effects of the Saybrook platform and restore to the churches their early freedom. The Presbyterian principle was voided by the Legislature in 1780 after seventy years of control. The revised statutes of 1784 contained no reference to the Saybrook platform though church attendance on Sunday was required, with penalty of fine.

From 1791 there was full emancipation from that Commonwealth control which had worked to advantage in the day of its adoption as a *deus ex machina* but had become thoroughly outdated. There had come a wider interest in the purpose of the gospel and the way was made clear for complete separation of church and State in the new Constitution of 1818, even to the removal of a tax upon all and sundry for church support. Rental of church pews as a source of income, or contribution in a popular disguise, was first adopted in Norwich, in 1791, and it then was by auction.

Out of it all developed what drew nationwide commendation to be known as the "New England theology" under such theologians as the two Edwards, Samuel Hopkins of Waterbury, anti-slavery champion, Edward Bellamy with his historic school in Bethlehem, Timothy Dwight beginning with his school at Greenfield Hill, Nathanael Emmons of East Haven, Stephen West of Tolland and John Smalley of Columbia and New Britain.

The value of the whole in the development of the germ of free government—the misery and anguish and the lawlessness of the humbler population, induced by the cost and human sacrifice for wars in remote places, along with the perverted religious fervor—the value of the whole, for a period covering the greater part of the century, following the labor of the planting in the previous century, cannot be appraised at its full without a comprehension of each item by itself and as a total. Nor yet can there otherwise be true measurement of the part the Commonwealth played in the not-distant founding of a national democracy.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Need of Funds

Land Income from Litchfield County—Interferences Therewith—"Hampshire Grants" Settlements—Development of Counties—Schooling for Indians.

Election to the General Assembly was esteemed a high honor, yet in this Colonial period it was like a sentence to hard labor. The combined effort of that body was exerted in two directions—for consolidation of gains and for defense, both with a sense of freedom newly developing. At times in the centuries preceding, free government had had a start but only to be crushed down.

Of the preservative methods of each generation since adoption of the Fundamental Orders—some of the methods in themselves almost destructive—none were to be more noteworthy or indicative of the future than these in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Emotional and martial waves had swept the land, as in all the world since the futile inspirations of Demosthenes, till, in the story of this small Colony, we come to the intensely practical point where mere paying the way, together with the future of the natives of the soil, asserted itself. In all history, taxes, whether free or extortionary, play the subtlest parts.

In Connecticut there was no local "king in council," aided by groups of trained men giving all their time to means and methods of raising revenue. There were only a few men, inexperienced, to work out, almost *de novo*, the general underlying principles. As has been shown, they reverted to the first principles of their sires with their patent rights when, on coming to this country, they held undivided or forfeited land as assets for the common body of participants. It was the corporation idea.

Land was forfeited by failure to work it or to pay the taxes. In this way, paying tax was somewhat like assuring membership in a land corporation, an advantage unknown to the Athenians and their successors in the cause of human aspiration; the wealthier acquired greater possibilities of yield while at the same time the poorer shared the general benefits and felt less burden. It soon was to have to do with the ultimate breaking away from Royalty's dictation. The yield in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even after really sympathetic England began to allow a stipend in the heavier wars under Pitt's régime, was barely enough to admit of respectable existence. Fortunate indeed was it that the first glimmer of "Yankee" resourcefulness had enabled them to sell their products in distant

places, though far from developing the principles that New Haven's courageous Governor Eaton had depended upon.

The task of fixing the first table of tax valuations had fallen to a small group of assemblymen. The valuations for Hartford had been naturally the highest, ranging from twenty shillings an acre in the South Meadows to from forty to fifty shillings in the north section, house lots at forty shillings, with the rate jumping from one penny to eighteen. For the Colony plan there had been ready recourse to Hartford's early example of setting off an undivided strip of land a mile and a half long on its western border which was not to be divided and sold for proprietorship till 1672, as told herein. The principle was sound even though subsequent litigation did not end till 1755, and then it was with decision that purchasers of land there were invested with fee and the principle had been established.

It had been the intention, after setting off Glastonbury from Wethersfield in 1690, to open up the western holdings for orderly sale and settlement, but the advent of Sir Edmund Andros with intent to seize the charter had interfered. Perceiving that he would exercise the right to take over all



CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, PLAINFIELD, 1816
(Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)
(Courtesy of The American Scene)

unoccupied land, the Colony proceeded to parcel it out on the eve of his arrival, the main portion being assigned to Hartford and Windsor. As soon as possible thereafter, or in the early 1700's, the territory to the Housatonic River had been surveyed from as far as Mattatuck, where Waterbury now is, up to the Massachusetts

line. Then came more war and Indian alarms till 1713 when New Bantam (Litchfield) was recognized; also the Indian purchases at Mattatuck of John Stanley and John Andrews of Farmington.

Incidentally these purchases are of special interest in that they illustrate the "tips" from explorers or wise Indians from time to time in various parts of the Colony that there were mineral deposits to be availed of, thus arousing the zeal of adventurers to a degree quite like that of the thousands of explorers in western America at a later date. The Colonists were keen on the scent of ore of any kind. But however strong the lure to settlement and extensive fencing in, the modern fame of Waterbury for brass did not have its origin in its first adventurous episode. Modern zeal and precaution, however, does not exceed that of the settlers. William Lewis and Samuel Steele of Farmington in 1657 had made a purchase of a circular area in the present Waterbury section sixteen miles in diameter, dealing with the two Indian tribes which shared the banks of the Naugatuck as a sort of game preserve and adjusting their purchases in 1674 and 1684, with a later reconveyance to Stanley and Lewis and their associates August 11, 1714, all under the watchful eye of the General Assembly. The original papers were not to come to light till 1890.

In 1720, after the Queen Anne's War had interrupted the general plan, Ensign Thomas Seymour and Sergeant Thomas Ensign of Hartford and Windsor respectively were authorized to make surveys of the vague northwestern regions, and allotments had been prepared for sales, when protests on the ground of irregularities were listened to by a patient General Assembly which called upon New Haven officers to interfere in the interests of harmony. By 1726 there was a compromise under which Hartford and Windsor should have only the eastern tract, the Colony the western part and the Litchfield region to belong to the "proprietors." By this the Colony got 120,000 acres, with Waterbury set off to New Haven County by request, while Hartford and Windsor received present Colebrook, Hartland, Winchester, Barkhamsted, Torrington, New Hartford, Litchfield itself and Harwinton, or 326,000 acres. The apportionments between the towns of Hartford and Windsor were made by Captain Thomas Seymour for Hartford and Lieutenant Roger Newberry for Windsor as a committee. Colebrook, Barkhamsted, Torrington and half of Harwinton were awarded to Windsor and the rest to Hartford.

The war with France and the attacks by Indians had greatly interfered with migration to these towns. In the 1723 period Major Talcott and his three hundred men had to scour the frontiers from Hartford to New Milford, and scouts were sent out from Simsbury to the Housatonic. A number of the settlers abandoned their holdings, Litchfield in particular suffering. It was necessary to appoint a war committee, consisting of Colonel Matthew Allen, Esq., Captain Roger Wolcott, Esq., Colonel William Whiting, Captain Aaron Cook, Lieutenant Nathaniel Stanley and Captain David Goodrich, while a separate contingent had to be sent to reinforce Deerfield, Massachusetts, and another to the Colony's western confines. Deserting settlers were warned to return to their stations or consider them forfeited. Norfolk and Salisbury were sold at auction in 1738. The value of any Indian scalp brought in was fixed at £50.

The last great alarm was near the close of this war, in March, 1725; contingents in Hartford and vicinity were held under arms and Captain Cyprian Nichols with fifty men was sent to strengthen the forces in Hampshire County. When the Colony's northern section was sold, the funds went in perpetuity to the schools. The formal establishing of Litchfield County was delayed till 1751.

It can be seen that it was the northwestern part of the Colony that had to bear the brunt of the French and Indian threats in this period of attempted settlement with all its complexities and small gain financially. A side feature of it—and a feature that had to bear the brunt of later import—was the settlement of some of the Connecticut people in present Vermont, formerly known as the "Hampshire Grants." That territory was in dispute. New York claimed it to the Connecticut River; France, with her hold on Lake Champlain, considered everything hers as far as the Green Mountains, while Wentworth, the Royal Governor of New Hampshire, was conveying the lands between that lake and the Connecticut by what was given the name of "Hampshire Grants." New York's claim, which was in the courts for many years, was based on the grant of Charles II to James, Duke of York, which, it will be remembered, extended to the Connecticut even in the Colony of Connecticut.

In one of the disputes about the Massachusetts-Connecticut boundary line—the one in 1714—Massachusetts had allowed Connecticut 60,000 acres of her western territory, or land which then was practically unexplored. In reality, some of these acres were in present Vermont. They were bought in large part by Connecticut settlers, and Fort Dummer, at present Brattleboro, Vermont, only sixty miles north of Springfield and within the Massachusetts allowance, was their chief protection. These settlers, carrying with them the "town-meeting" ideas, maintained the principle of what was dubbed in correspondence "independence and unbridled democracy." When in 1777 the territory now Vermont became a State, its designation was "New Connecticut" for its first year, and its first Governor and forty-five Governors in later years were of Connecticut origin, together with Supreme Court judges and United States Senators.

Prominent among the early settlers were Ethan Allen, born in 1739 in present Southbury when it was in Litchfield County, and his Roxbury neighbor Seth Warner. They went to present Bennington and were leaders in the "Green Mountain Boys" organization in opposition to the New York and Hampshire grants claimants, and later, in the Revolution.

The poems of Robert Burns were not to be current in the Colonies till somewhat later. If they had been at hand in the middle of this eighteenth century, assemblymen might have quoted:

The best laid schemes o' mice and men
Gang aft a-gley;
And leave us naught but grief and pain
For promised joy.

Plans for financial security in the holdings of the northwestern territory had gone astray like many others. But there could be no faltering. There was the same courage that had been indicated by Secretary John Allyn when, just prior to Andros' coming in 1687, he had complied with the request of the English Board of Trade and had said the terrain was mountainous, rocky and swampy; most of it that was fit had been taken up and "what remains must be subdued, and gained out of the fire, as it were, by hard blows and for small recompense." There were twenty-six small towns aside from Hartford, New Haven, New London and Fairfield; labor was costly. The general valuation for tax purposes was £110,000, two-fifths of it in the nature of poll tax—which, by arbitrary schedule of wealth, was perforce more like an income tax.

Nevertheless since that time growth had been constant. Between 1700 and 1745, thirty new towns had been incorporated in the eight counties and in 1755 the estimated population was 100,000. By 1762 all available land had been allotted to the townships, so that the future new towns had to be carved from the old ones.

The northeastern region had been materially different from the northwestern. Despite its forbidding soil and Indian drawbacks, it was well taken up, being on a line of travel, the Old Connecticut Path, between Boston and the Colony. Woodstock had been established in 1690, Windham in 1692 and Pomfret, Plainfield, Canterbury and Killingly in good sequence, with Ashford holding its first town meeting in 1715. In forty years there were eight towns in the "hard scrabble," each with its little church, each with its gristmill and tanneries, and very limited food supply. So Windham had quietly attained countyhood in 1726.

Tolland County, with similar terrain but out of the beaten path, was not formally constituted till 1785. The towns of Tolland (1715), Bolton (1716), Somers, originally East Enfield (1734), Ellington (1735), and Willington (1754) had formed the sturdy nucleus.

Both Windham and Tolland counties were to have reminders of the Indian occupation in the days of Uncas, by no means as severe as those in New London County but sufficiently disturbing. When Joshua, the third and very presumptive son of Uncas, died in 1676 he bequeathed a good part of his land in that section to Hartford, East Hartford and Windsor men, reserving hunting grounds for his sons. Captain James Fitch of Norwich and the Rev. Thomas Buckingham, then of Saybrook, were the administrators. In 1706 the Hartford legatees and in 1715 the Windsor legatees received grants of township privileges in that territory. One of Joshua's sons had left land to Major John Clarke and Mr. Buckingham. Titles were confusing. When Clarke pressed his case in court he won but Fitch refused to surrender the claim, whereupon he was brought to Hartford jail. A body of his friends marched to his rescue, broke in the jail doors and liberated not only Fitch but all the prisoners. Colonel Whiting, the sheriff, summoned a posse which overtook the invaders as they were reaching the ferry at the foot of Ferry Street. The colonel and his posse were defeated but later fifteen of the rioters were brought to trial in special court and convicted. Fitch was acquitted on the ground that he had had no part in the fight. The incident is illustrative both of the uncertainties

connected with Indian lands and of the spirit of lawlessness that had developed. In 1717 the General Assembly decreed that thereafter all buying of the natives would be by the Colony and in the name of the Crown.

Middlesex County also was constituted in 1785, the same year the General Assembly was taking up the reconstruction of the territory east of the river, in accord with various petitions, some of them arousing serious protest. Saybrook (1635), which had parted with its possessions east of the Connecticut for the benefit of New London and Norwich, and which itself was eventually to be divided into Saybrook, Essex and Old Saybrook, had gained neighbors enough both sides of the river to the north for a county, including Middletown (1651), Killingworth (1667), Haddam (1668), Durham (1704), East Haddam (1734) and East Hampton (1767). By taking a slice from each of Hebron of Tolland County, of Colchester of New London County and of Glastonbury of Hartford County, the town of Marlborough was marked out to fit in between the northeast corner of Middlesex County and the southwest end of Tolland County in 1803.

The territory of the eight counties today, divided up into five Congressional districts, shows: First District, Hartford County; Second, Tolland, Windham, New London and Middlesex counties; Third, New Haven and nearby New Haven County towns; Fourth, Fairfield County; Fifth, Litchfield County and towns in the northern part of New Haven County. Of State Senatorial districts there are thirty-five, the first being Hartford alone, four districts in New Haven town and the last of the districts being the whole of Tolland County. In this there is evidence that the grouping of population has continued from the days of the first settlements.

At this juncture we have it, then, that the Legislature, in its efforts to get more land in shape to become taxable—which was the particular *desideratum*—was perplexed by Indian interferences in novel forms. Terrorism locally had passed but the confusion of land records, of which the one instance just mentioned is only an example, was disturbing. Through the generations the natives had found the provisions of nature abundant for their needs, yielding fish and game and maize wherever they roamed; they never could be brought to prefer European ideas. They would have had to admit that they had welcomed the English as allies against invading red men but that was not saying that they wished to be absorbed and dictated to.

The earliest of the settlers, for their part, had tried to impress the natives with the idea of a nobler life. Uncas favored until he suspected a scheme to undermine his power. The Rev. Abraham Pierson of Branford, zealot that he was, mastered the Indian language so that he could preach to the godless aborigines when and as he could make the opportunity. The greatest of the apostles, his life devoted to it, was John Eliot, Cambridge-trained, Hooker's friend in England. He worked early and late, aided by generous funds from England, only to be rebuffed in Hartford by chieftains who said simply that the whites had stolen their lands and now would reduce the rightful owners to servitude. The Rev. James Fitch of Norwich in the 1670's was a faithful, patient missionary until he detected the unconquerable antipathy of Uncas, who personally had shown high regard in worldly affairs.

In Farmington, as has been noted, a primitive school was set up in 1648 which was continued, with participation by Hooker himself, the Rev. Mr. Stone, the Rev. Mr. Newton and other leaders, till 1697 and with further effort in the 1730's. The church records bear the names of three of the fifteen Tunxis Indians who at one time or another attended the school. Major John Mason's grandson labored arduously with the Mohegans and was paid for his work, while the General Court in 1727 commanded that households teach native servants the rudiments under penalty of £40, and in 1733 appropriated money for the Farmington school. Contributions to the cause at Fast Day services were ordered in 1736.

Sampson Occum was the first outstanding brave to become amenable to what the Christians still thought to be the best plan for the natives. Having been converted in 1740, during the Great Awakening, he presented himself to the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, Lebanon's minister and a preacher to the Indians, and for three years studied with him. Other of the settlers were attracted to the cause. John Moor of Lebanon, at his death, gave his house and his land for Wheelock's classes. The Rev. Jonathan Edwards was deeply interested till he left to become president of Princeton College. Wheelock by 1762 had assembled more than a score of pupils, including Mohegans, Mohawks and Delawares, aside from a few girls who took up sewing and housekeeping. The hopeful and encouraged settlers contributed what they could.

In 1769 they rejoiced over Occum's ordination by the Presbytery at Suffolk, Long Island, where he was doing missionary work, a work which he carried on despite his intervals of intoxication. In 1766 he had gone with Nathanael Wheeler to get subscriptions in England, where he made a favorable impression, the King contributing £10 personally, Lord Dartmouth £50 and soon there was a total of £7,000 plus £2,000 from Scottish enthusiasts.

New Hampshire being on the frontier and hence with the possibility of neutralizing the French-Indian influence, and also it being a Royal province, the "Moor Charity School for Indians" was removed thither, locating in Hanover, the town where, with charter from George III in 1769, at the hands of Governor Wentworth and with a grant of 44,000 acres, Dartmouth College was being founded. The Rev. Dr. Wheelock took his school there in 1770, six pupils to add to the sixteen whites, but under an independent charter—to be continued as a department till 1849. The unsupportable faith that the Indians could go on into the higher classics was one of the causes of eventual failure. Reluctantly it also was accepted that Europeans and native Americans could not coördinate.

CHAPTER XL.

Whig Influence in England

Peril from One of Winthrop Family Greatly Disturbs—Law Peculiarities—
Primogeniture Unthinkable—Commerce, Mines, Silk Worms, Ingenuity.

The attitude, or attitudes, of the Mother Country to the Colonies in the course of this eighteenth century, leading up to independence, calls for close scrutiny if the sequel is to be rightly comprehended. After the fatuous grant of western Connecticut to the Duke of York and after the Andros interruption, in the preceding century, and despite the boundary and Mohegan incidents and other matters that have been detailed, there was seemingly governmental indifference to the free Colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut. The attitude of the English people themselves was of the kindest, as witness their contributions for Yale and Dartmouth and for the Indians, their cordial reception of Colonists visiting the home land and the increasing number of those who were removing this way. The immigrations were by no manner of means to an Eldorado or for pure adventure, or yet, as a century earlier, for blind refuge; they were coming in because it was considered a land of opportunity without breaking home ties so precious to every English heart.

Governmentally Connecticut sensed a spirit seemingly of general indifference toward both herself and Rhode Island. It was as though England had said that they had chosen their bed and now could sleep in it. After Cromwell's day there had been no asking for maternal help and it was not being offered. The independent charters did not at first and to much extent bring these two Colonies directly under the observation of the board of trade in a special way as in other Colonies and there was only a wink at the self-assumed Connecticut rights to inflict capital punishment and to try robbery cases and the like which the charter did not authorize. Connecticut's aid in the Colonial wars was generous and, till 1664, without compensation. Not that Parliament did not hear complaints on various scores against her but it was a Parliament where Whig influence might become stronger, and that was what the Tory powers did not care to have happen.

The explanation lies in the fact that England, after the fall of Marlborough and the end of Queen Anne's War, had realized the finish of a silent constitutional revolution that actually had been in process since the restoration of the Stuarts. Power had been transferred to the House of Commons; the Crown ministry was

henceforth to be an executive committee for the majority of the members of Commons, usually with a great Commoner at the head, like Walpole, the first one—like Pitt later. The two Georges who in turn, beginning in 1714, succeeded Queen Anne (in direct line from Elizabeth) were Hanoverians, with the mob crying "Liberty, property and no pretender" and the Whigs out for constitutional liberty, Townshend the Secretary of State in an administration that was to continue for fifty years.

Trade and finance were to be recognized, with public credit maintained, religious persecution ended, liberty of the press assured. The day of Pitt, the "great commoner," who framed the plan by which Amherst and Boscawen, with Colonial aid, rid the Colonies of French terrorism in 1758-59, was near. The mighty Amherst and the sainted Wolfe were his men in the field, beloved by all Americans. Montcalm, the master of strategy, had to fall before them. And 1759 was the year of triumphs at Linden, Lagos, Quiberon, Plassey, wherever the arms of Britain went.

And the problem of the Colonies as a whole was complex. Sight of this important fact is lost if attention is confined to Connecticut. Sundry nationalities were represented, with different religious creeds. The North was industrial, the South agricultural with its great plantations and negro slavery bringing it wealth and aristocracy. New England led in education and in political hard-headedness. New England was a Puritan stronghold, Episcopalians prevailed in Virginia, Roman Catholics in Maryland, Presbyterians and Baptists in New Jersey, Lutherans and Moravians in Carolina and Georgia and Quakers in Pennsylvania.

In their forms of government there was a similarity, on the principle of an Assembly chosen by the people, in some cases named by the Royal Governor and hence not distributed by England. In each instance privileges were fixed by charters under which taxes were arranged for. Both Walpole and Pitt frowned down the suggestion of an excise. With restriction of trade, there was at the same time the benefit of commercial privileges of British subjects and protection from French aggression. The French effort to hem them in along the coast by extending the Indian barrier southward from the Great Lakes and the Ohio had been thwarted by Amherst and Washington at Fort Duquesne, and Pitt's name had been given to the town that marked the removal of that obstruction.

These are the features, all under supervision of England alone, that are essential to the comprehension of the development of the little Colony, still nurturing the principle of popular government.

Under favorable circumstances John Winthrop, Jr., had obtained the charter; Fitz-John Winthrop in 1693 had reviewed Colony conditions satisfactorily to the Board of Trade; Sir Henry Ashurst and Jeremiah Dummer, covering till 1730, had been astute supporters of New England, and Francis Wilkes succeeding them had opposed the recurring plan of combining Connecticut and Rhode Island under a Royal Governor. Under the charter there could be no appeals to the King from local jurisdiction; the Attorney-General's reaction to this was that there could be appeal to the King in council on general principles, to decide upon merits. This brought about no dispute, except one, and matters were allowed to drift. Connect-

icut respectfully answered queries in due course and on rare occasions till 1762. As an illustration, she received the orders under the navigation act—and they were evaded blandly by her mariners, as in other Colonies, when she found them unjust. Connecticut was not obliged to await the King's approval of the election of a Governor, yet every Governor took the oath as did other Governors, not always executing, however, the bond for observing the navigation acts after 1722. Punctilious in many respects, Connecticut could also be evasive when her rights seemed to demand it. There was studious compliance with regulations that were perfunctory or not contrary to the Colony's sense of justice and the right to exist.

By the charter, laws were not to be passed upon in England. Nevertheless Connecticut set out to comply cheerfully with requests for copies of them, and then, while she made no demur, she somehow was greatly delayed in getting them over, the different calls for them and apparent attempts to respond covering a considerable period of years. Critics who have attempted to make this and other facts look like evasion—however it be that none was detected in England—have not kept in mind the home events which through these years were demanding the closest attention of the Colonists, people and officers and especially the treasurer. They framed no excuses or when they seemed to, they did not reiterate; they took it for granted that the regular reports showed that their time was well taken up. Seeming delays were often due to confusion on one side of the water or the other, as inspection of the courtly letters today will show.

In 1718, however, by the governmental reorganization, the Board of Trade had a special legal adviser of its own in place of the Crown lawyers, Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, and the discussions had become more meticulous and enlightening when in 1725 the appointee was Francis Fane, obviously overworked but an illumining critic. During his incumbency, or till 1746, he made nine reports, covering three hundred and eighty-seven acts, of which he recommended to the board for disallowance twenty-eight as being unreasonable or severe, nine for looseness, seven as inferior to English laws, five for enlargement and the others chiefly for form's sake.

All today have been worked out by Professor Charles M. Andrews, showing an admirable, commonsense commentary on the legislative data of a Colony doing its best under the limitations of congestion and lack of experience. Some of these points are essential to general history, as when Fane says that civil and judicial authorities were given too great discretion for the safety and welfare of the people—too frequent opportunities for injustice, nay, even oppression. Thus, courts could reject a suit at will or inflict a punishment at discretion, instead of following rules of law. Language often was vague and definitions of offenses not explicit, as, for example, relating to profanity, false-swearing, reviling and misbehavior. Unreasonable was the law forbidding a servant to buy and sell and trivial many of the charges against breaking the peace.

It is in accord with the changing sentiment in England that Fane criticizes the severity of the penal code, particularly relating to lying, wearing women's apparel, delinquency and heresy, making it possible to include the innocent. He was emphatic

in condemning the laws calling for branding or stigmatizing or displaying the capital "A" or other penalties that tended toward making incorrigibles.

Fane clearly could not comprehend the imposing of the death penalty according to the Mosaic code, maintaining that, terrible as had been some of the English laws, they never had pretended to find warrant in the Scriptures for capital punishment. Punishment for idolatry was deemed useless.



A TYPICAL COTTAGE, CHESHIRE, NEW HAVEN COUNTY
(*Courtesy of The American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain*)

Blasphemy was only a minor offense, as in England. Witchcraft should be omitted (and this just after England had had such a wave of it). In fact, throughout all his comments, the Puritans' somewhat formal adherence to the letter of the Biblical law is a matter of much concern to Fane, and there is no doubt that the observance of the Sabbath (from Saturday night on) as a factor in legislation went against his grain. "Why," he asks, "should crime be punished more severely when committed on Sunday than on any other day of the week?" By what right is the playing of games or drinking in private houses or harmless recreation on Sunday or leaving one's house on that day except to go to church prohibited? Why should young people be forbidden to meet in company on Sunday evening or the eve of a lecture day or fast day? Why forbid drinking in a tavern when there is no criminal intent?

The allowing of no ministry to be established in the Colony "distinct and separate from and in opposition to that which is openly and publicly observed and dis-

pensed by approved ministers of a place" he considered a reasonable measure, though in general he believed that all ecclesiastical affairs needed careful thought. The law prohibiting the selling of one's house or lands without first offering them to the town would be improper in England "though possibly necessary in a country encompassed by enemies." To prohibit single persons from keeping house without consent of the selectmen seemed an unreasonable encroachment on personal liberty. The law assessing all in a community for the maintenance of the Congregational church, so strongly resisted by the Quakers and the Episcopalians, was deemed reasonable. Other laws were objected to because they applied penalties hitherto unknown.

Fane saw reason for variation from English law in the law for punishment of treason, thought the forms of summonses better than those in England and believed the military arrangements necessary in a new country though clearly improper in England. This comment shows an astonishing ignorance of what the Colony had to contend with. He added that in general he believed the Colony knew best what was essential for local happiness and welfare. Matters relating to private or domestic concern he considered beyond Royal control—like those having to do with fences, rates and taxes, excise and imports, nominations and elections, schools, militia, police and internal trade.

In the matter of bills of credit, he first favored including that topic as a domestic concern of the Colony, but after the long and exciting debate in Parliament, which in 1751 prohibited paper money in New England, he recommended doing away with such legislation on the ground that "the multiplying paper credit beyond what is necessary is liable to many inconveniences." This is an argument against inflation like that which has rung clearly through all periods of world civilization.

The reports of Fane were not published in the Colony and probably were not known to any except those immediately concerned.

It would materially break the sequence of the story of Connecticut to ignore certain features of the Colony's settlements less conspicuous or more subtle than these of dividing up the land, of trying to humanize the natives, of undertaking to meet deficits and of adjusting the laws as needs developed—the sequence which carries on to the day of national expansion. It would be like a story half told and wide of the mark.

Attempts to account for the increase in population up to 130,612 in 1756 are various but often overlook the pre-feudal system of division of land in a family estate and neglect the statements of contemporaries themselves, like Governor Joseph Talcott of Hartford (1725-42), who thus expressed it:

"And much of our lands remain unsubdued, and must continue so without the existence of the younger sons, which in reason can't be expected if they are no part of the inheritance; for in this poor country, if the landlord lives, the tenant starves: few estates here will let for little more than for maintaining fences and paying taxes. By this custom of dividing inheritances, all were supplied with land to work upon, the land as well occupied as

the number of hands would admit of, the people universally employed in husbandry; thereby considerable quantities of provisions are raised, and from our stores the trading part of the Massachusetts and Rhode Island are supplied, the fishermen are subsisted, and the most of the sugars in the West Indies are put in casks made of our staves.

"By means of this custom, his majesty's subjects are here increased, the younger brethren do not depart from us, but others are rather encouraged to settle among us, and it is manifest that New England does populate faster than the colonies where the land descends according to the rules of the common law. And such measures as will furnish with the best infantry does most prepare for the defense of a people settled in their enemy's country. If this country be, so ancient and so useful, *non est abolenda, sed privare debet communem legem.*"

The explanation of this goes back to the early days in England before there were formal feudal estates. New England Colonial history in more ways than one recalls those inherited traits of the "free-holder" class, impossible of perpetuation in later England herself. The very layout of the New England villages, with their main streets and commons and their meadows held by a few, is fully as reminiscent in Connecticut as it is in England's countryside where equality once had been the rule. The early English manor and the New England town are close relatives. Both represented the law of real property. In Hartford and New Haven proprietors and townsmen divided and subdivided the land according to the means and desires of each settler, and taxes were made equitable. Laws to be equitable had to be consistent with that principle rather than with the latest English code.

This must mean that primogeniture in Connecticut was unthinkable. Few men made wills. The intestate estate, after the widow's dowry and her one-third of the personal estate had been set aside, passed to heirs in equal portions, with two portions to the oldest son. Nothing but this Mosaic principle would have been suitable for a community counting on popular development in contrast with old England, where feudalism had been established in the course of time and the eldest son was the inheritor, to the end that the estate might be perpetuated.

In New England there was encouragement to the younger ones of the family to help work the father's farm to best advantage precisely as there was encouragement for tenant families in England to come over here. "For over one hundred and fifty years Connecticut of all the Colonies was the most independent of the mother country," says Professor Andrews, and adds that the laws were based upon conditions, "not only on legal theory but on custom, laws that either were not known to England or were not in accord with it." And therein abides a point in close accord with Hooker's principle as a seed of independence that, after much stress, was rapidly developing.

The non-primogeniture idea was carefully expressed by the first General Court and was included in the code of 1650, again in the revision in 1673 and reaffirmed by the General Assembly in 1699. Governor Law (1742-51) said it was according to the "principles of righteousness and equity lodged in the breast of the county

court." And yet the Winthrop charter read that the laws should not be contrary to the laws of the realm—therein differing from Rhode Island's which had added "as near as maybe." Specifically the variance lacked Royal attention from 1701 to 1723 except as a part of the general proposition to unite the northern Colonies under one Royal Governor or consolidate New England under the Royal province of New Hampshire. There were enough other complaints that men of the Dudley and Randolph type could formulate, and did, like harboring pirates, encouraging manufactures, the navigation laws, ignoring the admiralty, neglecting military obligation by not building forts, protecting refugees, not helping New York against French and Indians and whatever else envious Loyalists anywhere on the Continent cared to mention after the manner elsewhere indicated in these pages.

A bill to take over all Colonies actually did get through to the House of Commons in 1706. In 1715 the discussion was resumed, with Whiggish influence already being felt, on which occasion the government had the grace to sound Colony sentiment and Governor Gurdon Saltonstall made his masterly reply with incidental or strategic commendation of the fairness of King and ministry. The records show that the would-be faithful Board of Trade and Privy Council had received and withstood numerous complaints from those who longed for Colonial office and control.

This brings one to the celebrated case of John Winthrop of New London, nephew of Connecticut's Governor John Winthrop. When his father died intestate in 1717 he claimed all the large Winthrop estate, by English precedent, but lost his suit in home court when his brother and sister contested the claim, under the Connecticut law and practice. The rest of his life he spent in England agitating against the decision. In 1728 he did, privately, secure an order in council, upsetting the decision in Connecticut. His sister's husband, Thomas Lechmere, had fought in vain against his brother-in-law, but so inefficiently that the British council was left misinformed and, on general principles, constitutionally opposed to the Connecticut law.

The decision would mean invalidation of titles in many Connecticut communities, the ruin of many junior inheritors since 1639. Another resultant would come to be the undoing of family freedom and of consequent coöperation in land development unless judges boldly disregarded the finding and the enemies of the charter were thereby given a full field to have the sacred document annulled. The ramifications within and outside the Colony would be incalculable, indirectly injurious to England herself—and that, too, in the matter of competitive manufactures to which naturally the youth of the Colony would have to turn.

Winthrop, according to the statement of the Colony's then agent, Francis Wilkes, had testified among other things in 1731 that the operation of the Colony law robbed many people of their rights, that fraud was practiced under it and, in general, Wilkes further said, their lordships had felt that Colonists should continue to hold the land they then held under the Connecticut method but that a new charter should be given, "more consistent with the honor and interest of Great Britain." The expense of taking the matter to Parliament would be very heavy, and Wilkes awaited directions.

Governor Talcott's response was scathing. The charge of probate-court fraud he denounced bitterly but he believed Winthrop had been guilty of "so many falsehoods, there as well as here, that, as his tongue will be counted no slander, so no man or people will be thought the worse for his reproaching of them." Many things Winthrop had submitted in writing readily could be proved false, the Governor wrote. "And as we are informed that a liar shall not stand in the presence of the king, so I am persuaded that the king's prime ministers will take no delight in any such person."

The matter was left open. Bitterness increasing in the Colony, Governor Talcott in 1740 wrote again to the Colony's agent, reviewing tersely the whole history of Connecticut and its dependence on its method of settling estates up to the time the King had declared the law void, and that meant total ruin after all the suffering and expense "in blood and treasure." "We have not put the crown to any expense to subdue the country for us, nor to defend us. . . ." These points he hoped would be reviewed "if Lechmere gained a rehearing."

During this time Parliament was beginning to manifest an interest in all Colonial affairs and could well reach a point where the revolutionary course in the England of 1689 might find a parallel, but in general, with the Whigs, there was a sentiment against such crises. The Whigs were not of an ebullient type. The Board of Trade, Crown lawyers and Privy Council had acted according to their lights in Colonial matters, even though on somewhat ex-parte testimony and with lack of comprehension of the American facts. It would seem to have been agreed that it would be well enough, for this Connecticut affair, to let sleeping dogs lie and abide developments if any, for after loud-sounding resolutions by the aristocratic House of Lords there was postponement to some other time—which was to be not so far in the future. The theory of free government maintained its course.

CHAPTER XLI.

Commerce Discouragements

Dependence on Agriculture under Adverse Conditions—Walls in Woods Today Indicative—Census and Farming Comparisons—Granby and Salisbury Mines—Clash with England Over Collecting Customs—New London's Preëminence.

Spirit of independence had distinguished the New England Colonists, and those of Connecticut in particular, from the first chapter of men who had come as refugees. They did not have to have the courage of those who first came to the Bay Colony, never quite certain whether they had escaped vengeance. Those who came to Windsor and Hartford came with the encouragement of the younger Winthrop and the Warwick patentees; those who sailed into New Haven Harbor came with a confidence in profitable commerce as well as in freedom from church persecution. Speaking generally, those who came still later, whether from England or other Colonies, came largely because they would not be under the thumb of a Royal Governor. They realized what that meant more than is usually credited to them. Yet every page of their intra-colonial history reveals independence in life and action—and not always harmonious.

It frequently happened that they could not live together in the same church. Bitter words were spoken and loving ties sundered, but cold history looks back upon it as a means to their occupying their Canaan. Not always was it, as in the case of Farmington, peaceful unto this day and with the only continuous estate in the country, that of the Wadsworth family. Aside from Farmington, there were, then, three causes for creating any new town—lack of agreement in church matters, hope of greater independence, and more gain in adventuring.

Those of the last-named class were the ancestors of the pioneers who in later years were to flock westward. In this eighteenth century they were going out into the woods to get better furs or pitch or staves for the West Indies rum hogsheads and more particularly for a patch of rich virgin soil. Being obligated to attend church, they were granted "winter privileges," meaning that a minister or deacon would visit them each Lord's day. Many settlements outside of New Haven County were made in that way. In due time there would be enough families to warrant the support of a minister, whereupon a church would be organized, on approval of the General Court or synod, as has been told. If a church split and a minister were

taken along, the church must gain approval. Bounds were fixed in each instance and allotments paid for, after the Indians, if any, were satisfied. The only exception to this method was when the government arranged to take up the northwest section for the benefit of the Colonial treasury with results as we have seen.

Alluvial soil was the *desideratum*, beginning along the rivers. After the flood of the first year there had been nothing but an occasional freshet—nothing like the flood of 1936—to wash away the humus in a wholesale manner, and the centuries of leaf mold, once the trees were removed, meant harvests. Much different was it to be in future generations when hills were denuded by crop-raising without fertilization or crop rotation, and the stories of western prairies were to make that far country seem like Utopia in comparison. Between Goshen and Cornwall there is today one of sundry notable examples—large stones, roughly hewn (for it must have been a fine estate), carefully laid up into long walls through what are now dense woods, sprinklings of gnarled fruit trees among them.

And not far from them, at the edge of the beautiful and historic village of Cornwall, is "Cathedral Pines," now in a State park, thanks to the generosity of the Calhoun family, a large grove of primeval pines. Then, as though to mark the crowding contrasts in Connecticut's history, there stands, a little easterly of the massive, overgrown walls, in a small, typical "four-corners," an imposing statue, government placed, of a hero of the Mexican War, a West Point friend of Robert E. Lee, a Union major-general in the Civil War—John Sedgwick, born in this hilly, rocky town of Cornwall. And here further it may be inserted that this mountainous Litchfield County today, with its rivers and streams and lakes, its steep but well kept roads, its summer residences, Mohawk and Housatonic State Forests, is the leader in the State for dairy products.

The crops of the Colony in its first century were chiefly maize, grain, rye, barley, flax and hemp, onions (especially in Wethersfield), turnips and carrots. Potatoes were raised chiefly for the animals. Apples were abundant, utilized for brandy and apple-jack when the Revolution interfered with the West India rum trade. Of maple sugar there was abundance for pancakes and for exportation—16,000 pounds from Norfolk alone in 1774 and half as much again ten years later. The farms of Yale College in that section yielded abundantly. Raising of silk worms was undertaken. Governor Jonathan Law of Cheshire was actually the first to cultivate them and in 1747 made public demonstration of results by appearing with coat and stockings made of native silk. When President Ezra Stiles of Yale took up the subject, mulberry trees were distributed among many of the towns. Chestnuts, walnuts and butternuts were served around every great fireplace along with cider and popcorn.

For ordinary home use grain was powdered in stone mortars, Indian fashion, even when gristmills were set up. Mortars and pestles of Indian make are to be seen in many of the old homes today, and occasionally with them the chiseled lye-stones which caught the drip from the barrels of wood-ashes.

Though the ordinary farmer had difficulty in paying his taxes, he lived well. From New London County in particular, according to the records of exporter Jonathan Trumbull of Lebanon, went large exports of beef, pork and mutton, while, as now, the northwestern section continued to excel in dairy produce. Cheese readily lent itself to commerce. Back from the main rivers and the shore of Long Island Sound, that is, at an altitude of over five hundred feet, lay the heavily timbered districts. Though the average size of farms there is greater today than then, the open lower lands commanded the higher prices and the population was larger. An effort in the present century to plant colonies of Europeans in Connecticut near large industrial towns was not successful, since both men and women came to prefer factory work or life in New York's ghetto. They preferred massing, nevertheless, some of these made unwonted hillsides of Glastonbury and along the Connecticut bluffs yield richly with grapes, melons and berries and today are a prosperous colony, not worrying about the hard times. Their indigenous valley neighbors turn to a very high quality of tobacco, mostly under filmy tents.

For a true picture historically it is unfortunate that, since the days of the letters of the Frenchman Crèvecoeur who was writing more specifically on causes of emigration to the Susquehanna in the latter part of the eighteenth century, commentators have given greater attention to scientific analysis of the reputed decline of agriculture in Connecticut than to what the farmers really achieved and are today achieving. Income as evidenced in land valuation and consequent taxes, together with contemporary correspondence, was more indicative of the actual living and the development of thrift. The "restless shifting of population," so often referred to by the researchists, can be met with statistics showing the great number of descendants of original settlers still to be found in every Connecticut county. In many counties outstanding names in 1670 or 1680 are outstanding names today. According to the researches of Ales Hrdlicka, the foremost American anthropologist of modern times, this proportionately is evidence for the Connecticut Colony more than for any other, while at the same time names of towns and institutions in the west and south attest the pioneer spirit of many from this section.

Further, there are the census figures. Population doubled in the twenty-four years prior to 1756, partly because every youth was given his rights under the inheritance law for intestate estates and every new-comer had his opportunity under the principles of free government. In 1790 the figure 150,000 showed an increase of nearly 90,000 in thirty years. In this increase Litchfield, Fairfield and Windham counties had done the best, largely because of advance in valuations on property in Hartford, New Haven and New London counties. Removals had been more pronounced in Tolland and Middlesex counties where rocky hills were numerous and roads forbidding. From the end of the Revolution to the turn of the century, Connecticut's increase was only 5.5 per cent. as against 31 per cent. for the country at large, in a measure explained by its available soil's having been exhausted in winning glory as the "provision colony" during the war. After that, when freed

of England's restraint upon manufacturing, ingenuity was being turned more toward machinery. Its figure in 1800 was 251,002. Also, after the war, in which it had made worthy record, all produce that could be spared had to be taken to England for sale and income be used to reduce heavy indebtedness, with prices consequently increasing in home markets. For a time corn had to be imported from Virginia.

Then was to come an agricultural "great awakening." Towns, like some in Middlesex County and northwestern sections, stated fully their complaints when called upon by the State authorities to contribute to the general welfare in road repairs and other ways. Newspapers told how there could be betterment. Statistics were prepared to state and explain the migrations on the part of the less favored, and there were abundant quotations from ancient and modern philosophers to the effect that above all else the progress and success of a nation had to depend on agriculture. It was argued that while there was ready capital for industries and legislative favor, nothing was being done for the farmer. If this were to continue, the penalty would be heavy. A State which was near good markets and could produce all manner of crops should arouse itself.

Ezra Stiles and Timothy Dwight were among the agitators. There must be more care in upkeep of the soil, in repair of buildings and in advancing school standards. The *Connecticut Farmer*—a publication whose support betokened the high character of the farmers as a whole—urged a surplus in beef, ham, cider, porter, ale and the substantial products to be exported in ever increasing quantities. There were no blazing headlines but columns of fine type, interspersed with short paragraphs with this and that "latest news" brought in by some sloop or ship from remote ports, all to be read by candle light.

Societies were formed for discussion, for lectures by men of experience, for contributions to the press: soon for exhibitions and thence to agricultural fairs and the formation of county and State boards. With new tokens of inventive genius and growth of industry, the cry for agricultural supremacy did not abate, for there was the conviction that agriculture was the basic art. Nearly all legislators were devoted to agriculture and laws relating to it were preëminent.

With marked improvement in some particulars came failure in others, due in large measure to development of western competition. By the close of the twentieth century, baled hay from distant places was to crowd from the market what Connecticut had been furnishing and in many particulars greater variety was planned. Soon motor trucks were to be furnishing ready transportation to market, tobacco acreage was increasing, Connecticut corn was winning prizes at western fairs and State board and State college were not begrudged the means to increase variety and to raise standards. Rural beauty was exploited, to considerable degree by enterprising railroads and steamboats. Today many old estates have been acquired by city residents who revel in the atmosphere and scenery so near their places of business. And a large proportion of these are descendants of the settlers.

The Indians had worked no minerals but they had been clever in indicating possible mines when they perceived the white man's desire for them, as when they

led the junior Winthrop to a graphite lode, useless though it was. Winthrop was not discouraged; as iron and copper were especially to be desired, he appealed to the General Court to encourage "search and trial in this country," to which that body cordially responded. By 1665 iron works were under way, Winthrop having joined with Stephen Goodyear of New Haven in establishing a rolling mill and forge at Lake Saltonstall east of New Haven, where work was continued for several years.

Meantime Winthrop had located a lead mine, bearing traces of silver, near Middletown, which was worked for a brief period. There were discoveries of copper in the Simsbury area. In 1709, the General Assembly granted America's first mine charter, for a company to work mines in Granby, then a part of Simsbury where in 1705 a committee of investigation had declared silver and copper existed. Assay in England revealed the presence of from 15 to 20 per cent. of copper with a small amount of gold and silver but so severely imbedded in quartz



EAST GRANBY MINE, LATER NEWGATE PRISON
(From Barber's Historical Collection, 1836)

as to necessitate a smelter, and, as England allowed no smelter here, that work must be done in England. Cost of transportation and the sinking of one vessel and the French capture of another hampered the enterprise till the buildings were attached in 1725. Nevertheless for a long period of years work was carried on spasmodically, sometimes by chartered companies, and "Granby mines" later were to have their romantic place in history. In 1728 Joseph Higley secured the first patent for a steel process and in 1750 there was a furnace at Killingworth.

It was in 1732 that the first real iron mine was discovered. This was at Ore Hill in Salisbury, a short distance from the New York line. The original grant of the land had been to Daniel Bissell of Windsor in 1731. Surface ore was used in various private forges, furtively because of England's restrictions. A forge was established at Lime Rock, five miles from Salisbury, in 1734—the main one in Lakeville in 1748, and two miles from the mine proper the first blast furnace was built

in 1762. In 1766 Governor William Pitkin in his formal report on the Colony to the Lords Commissioners for trade and plantations made reference to the "single instance of a furnace, the only one in the Colony for making pig iron." The researches of Captain Louis F. Middlebrook of Hartford, privately published in 1935, show that the owners at that time were John Hazelton, Captain Samuel Forbes and Colonel Ethan Allen. The minor forges were in Canaan, Cornwall, Kent, Norfolk and Colebrook, under various owners. Refined iron was turned out at works in Colebrook which were acquired later by Jacob Ogden who removed to Hartford after the works were burned in 1781.

Captain Middlebrook's details of the wonderful work done in turning out cannon and balls during the Revolution—the lead coming from the Middletown mines—is very illuminating in the study of New England genius and skill during that critical period. The great value and romance of it all will be considered in connection with that war. In later years the iron was to be utilized at the United States Arsenal in Springfield and also in the making of improved car wheels.

The Colony records have references to other attempts at iron-working—in Lyme in 1741 and in Derby in 1760. The story of the largest copper mine, opened in Bristol near the end of the century, will be told with the story of Bristol.

The immediate consideration is in relation to trade with intent to get profit from whatever could be produced. The reason why Governor Eaton's belief that normally New Haven should be a great seaport did not materialize at once has been told. The last great stake, after local disappointments and the Delaware adventures, was the "phantom ship," representing on one keel all the funds that could be raised, £5,000, mostly on credit. New London's was a more natural development. State craft nor church craft had aught to do with it. It simply grew up out of natural conditions, beginning with Winthrop's settling there. It was farther than New Haven from empirical New York, with its Dutch generalizations from limited facts, but near the Atlantic coast. Also it was nearer than Boston whither Connecticut had sent her shipments and whence she had received her exchanges from the beginning. Even Pyncheon of Springfield forwarded his furs overland by rough cart-path through Glastonbury, Marlborough, Colchester and Salem to New London, originally to diminish the amount of duty he had to pay at Saybrook. That also was the hilly road from Hartford for sea-going products. Lebanon, due north of New London, was a depot for products turned in from all northeastern Connecticut. Aside from the coastal, New London's regular trade was with Barbados, two or three round trips being made every year, and ships being built for the purpose.

Stratford (Bridgeport) and Fairfield (Black Rock) likewise developed naturally, in a promising agricultural territory, but drew considerably from the New Haven field. Though New Haven, with its greater front and increasing wealth, was to become one of the leading ports of the whole coast, there were reasons for its having to see New London excel it in the earlier Colonial days, even though whaling brought New London another advantage.

General history has not paused to analyze the sizable problem England had to contend with, in addition to its home upheavals, during the eighteenth century.

From the beginning, the effort to handle Colonial affairs while involved in wars for supremacy if not very existence itself called for the best thought and training in the realm, the final result to prove to be one of the greatest human achievements of all time. The nation was fortunate in having progressive educational systems and institutions and Anglo-Saxons with inborn principles of government for the benefit of the mass, sometimes submerged by waves of selfishness, to be sure, or wrong deduction in the hours of worst confusion.

In this eighteenth century, before England had muddled through to final security for the American territory she had claimed under world-rules governing discovery and charter grants, her changing statesmen had been perplexed with problems of both offense and defense, preëminent in the eighteenth century. What the Colonies were doing was hardly preëminent to what the excitable European nations were doing to each other's boundaries and ambitions. New England was a small place on the map but its importance was recognized by those who were assigned to the task of handling it. Interest cannot be judged by the errors to be made by them during the distractions; credit has to be given for meticulous painstaking during the period of Whiggish influence at Westminster.

During the years of the wars, England's trade was expanding. As never before was it imperative that there be navigation acts and that expense of protection for trade with other nations should be borne, so far as traffic could endure it, by the traders. For England by itself the problem of duties was easy to determine; to extend regulations to include a new-born region was quite another matter, and, as in ancient Rome, there was possibility of a form of satrapy, however repugnant to the Anglo-Saxon principles and especially to the Whig element of this period.

The promptness of the discovery of what might lead to that in America and the outcome thereof constitute an item of first importance in the history of Connecticut, neglected though it may be in the study of other phases. In it was a principle which led to revolution after Toryism for a time had superseded Whigism in England.

Back in 1659 Connecticut had put an impost on liquors from Barbados and had appointed its first customs officials: Jonathan Gilbert for Hartford, Walter Filer for Windsor, Samuel Boreman for Wethersfield, William Hill for Fairfield, Richard Butler for Stratford, John Smith for New London, John Westall for Saybrook, John Hall for New Haven and Matthew Canfield for Norwalk. Theoretically the Colonists were free-traders, but Charles II, in 1660, undertook to regulate trade with view to protection of home interests and get aid from the Colonists. No duty was imposed on intercolonial trade. Unfortunately traders improved the opportunity to ship from one to another Colony and thence to a foreign port, without duty.

Parliament in 1673 decreed that all ship captains bonded in England to bring their cargoes there should pay a "plantation duty," grading up from a penny a pound on tobacco and not be exempt from a bond not to deliver the cargoes in other Colonies. In appointing Royal customs officers, the instructions were to demand silver in duty payments so as to prevent evasion of the earlier navigation

acts and, later, to check trade with the European Continent. In 1665 Connecticut petitioned that "New London be given special privileges" with view to modifying the almost impossible silver feature and that it be a place for free trade for ten or twelve years, and again in 1680 that that port and others be made free for a time. The petitions were denied.

The Lords of Trade, a committee of the Privy Council, in 1680, called for a report which showed that, since there was little foreign traffic, there was no vice-admiralty (or marine) court in the Colony, such matters being left with the board of assistants, or Upper House of the Legislature; produce was sent to Boston to exchange mostly for clothing; some small quantities were shipped to Barbados and bartered for "sugar, cotton, wool, rum and some money"—rarely staves, peas, pork and other produce were sent to Madeira for wine. The Colony's answer to the query, "What is the greatest hindrance?" was lack of capital and high wages, and, as to improvements, the making of New London and three other ports free for a period. Of course most business was by barter, on a stipulated basis.

Five years later Governor Leete, replying to queries, said there was no license or ability to indulge in sea trade but there were collectors to see to it that the navigation acts were complied with. In truth there was small market in the Indies and there was consequent temptation to try ports of other nations, hoping to escape detection. While the Governors were made the chief enforcing agents of trade laws, they were to be sworn in by officers commissioned by the King but as the King's officers rarely were present, the oath was administered punctiliously by two or more assistants; bonds were required of the Governor after 1722. Connecticut appointees as customs officers not being recognized by England, William Dyer was sent in 1685 as surveyor-general of customs in the Colonies and deputy-collector for the English Treasury Board, with power to appoint.

Thus was John Shackmaple commissioned in 1707 to be collector for the Colony, coming direct from England and not a Connecticut man. Though by training he might be presumed to have been a worthy selection by Mr. Dyer with his Royal authority, the method of selection was resented. It was appointment by the British government without regard to the Governor and General Assembly.

The following year Colonel Quarry had been appointed by Shackmaple in a similar way to be surveyor-general for all the provinces, claiming the right to appoint deputies and "naval offices" and to regulate trade. The letter announcing this was read to a frowning Assembly which referred it to the Governor and council to determine authority. Before report could be made, a ruling was received from over-seas that vessels sailing to any port anywhere must have bills of lading signed by a Royal collector, and that, of course, meant Shackmaple, with his office in New London, whither all officers must go before they could sail even from Stratford to New York.

The carefully considered response of an amazed Assembly was a resolution that a captain could sail from or to any port in the Colonies or to Great Britain without obtaining clearance at any other port in the Colony. Sentiment was the

stronger because it had been found that Shackmaple and Quarry had abused their authority. Furthermore—if it came to that—in what court would a case be tried?

Roger Mompesson, vice-admiralty judge for New England, New York and New Jersey, held a session in April, 1710, to hear libels against two captains for violating the navigation laws. No competent court had been authorized by the Colony; under the unquestioned charter, function of that sort could be exercised by any court of common pleas charter. The Assembly addressed the British officers to that effect and boldly expressed its defiance in the following resolution:

“This Assembly, considering that the liberty and privilege of our several ports is of the greatest consequence to promote the trade and public weal of this colony, do therefore desire the Honorable the Governor and Council to use their utmost endeavors to defend the rights, powers and privileges of this government, in and concerning our said several ports against all and every person and persons that shall impose upon this colony therein.”

Under the charter this was a peremptory command, however mildly expressed, and was welcomed as such by the Governor and council in that October of 1710. The following month a sloop belonging to Francis Whitmore, sailing from Saybrook to Newport under the sanction of the duly appointed Saybrook official but without papers from Shackmaple of New London, was seized. Immediately the Governor and council ordered that everything requisite should be done to vindicate the vessel and justify the Saybrook official, the Colony to bear the expense.

The matter being brought before the Royal vice-admiralty judge for Massachusetts and Rhode Island was forthwith dismissed. The collector, Nathaniel Kay, at once appealed to the Queen and Council and the Colony stood to its promise to assume the burden of expense inasmuch as the seizure of the sloop was “utterly to subvert most of the ports in this government established by law, to the ruin of the small coasting trade of this colony.”

Such assurance that the appeal would be strongly contested in England, whatever the expense, resulted not in trial but in a notice three years later that the matter had been referred to Surveyor-General Nicholson and others who “would improve their utmost interest to get some of the ports established by this government laid aside,” and then no action taken. There followed a series of petty incidents, including unwarrantable delay by Shackmaple in bringing cases into court and involving the rights of the Colonial courts till, with patience exhausted, the Assembly decreed that anyone pretending power without producing to the Governor and Council a commission from Royal authorities should not be allowed to “execute the said office of collector” under a penalty of £100.

Everyone knew that Shackmaple's only commission was from Surveyor-General Quarry. From the available records it would seem that both of these men sought to avoid letting the subject be taken across the water for settlement, meaning, in effect, that the home government itself might disavow or modify a course in which its distant officials might gain aggrandizement at the least. The actions of the Colony clearly indicate that it had full confidence in English justice as dispensed by that

supreme body known as the sovereign and his or her council. Leastwise, the Colony was not hesitating a moment to bring the matter to an issue.

Shackmaple ignored the Assembly's threat of a fine, alleging the incompetency of courts, whereupon he was summoned before the Governor and Council. He appeared but without the necessary papers which, had he cared to obtain them, could have brought to issue the whole subject of rights, whereupon Governor Saltonstall quoted the English law of 1696 and declared Shackmaple not qualified to continue. An outside official unamenable to the Connecticut charter and laws was not to be tolerated. Of course a Connecticut vessel in any port outside of Connecticut, bearing Connecticut clearance, could be asked to show papers signed by a Royally-appointed collector, and that did happen twice or three times, in New York and in Barbados, but assurance from the Governor resulted in immediate release. England herself made no seizures.

Not till 1718 did England settle the matter by giving Shackmaple the actual form of commission the Colony had asked to see, thereby making Shackmaple the only collector and New London the only port of entrance and clearance. When in 1728 the offices of surveyor and collector were separated, Shackmaple's son and namesake was named surveyor. On the death of the father, the son was appointed collector and a Newport man surveyor.

Shipbuilding furnished employment for many hands, after the building of the first vessel by Samuel Smith and the Wethersfield settlers in 1649. Captain John Jeffrey who came from Portsmouth, England, in 1725 and established a yard at Groton was the first builder of larger vessels, his first one being of 700 tons burthen. The New London Society of Trade and Commerce was founded in 1730 when thirty-nine Connecticut ships were on the seas, of which New London and New Haven had five each, Hartford, Guilford and Norwich four each and Saybrook and Stratford three each. Most of them were in the trade with Great Britain. Two heavy losses so discouraged the society that it was dissolved after the Assembly, in the course of years, had become alarmed over the instability of the paper the society issued in hope of retrieving its fortunes.

By device of putting a duty on English goods imported through Boston and allowing a similar amount (five pounds) bounty on goods brought to Connecticut direct, the Colony hoped to eliminate the middle men but there were not enough Connecticut ships to make the plan work. In 1749 the Colony's formal report to England showed that the trade was small, mostly in horses and lumber to West Indies. Surplus produce was disposed of in neighboring Colonies in exchange for clothing.

There was improvement in 1756 when imports amounted to £50,000 and exports to £130,000. Six years later imports had increased by £20,000 and exports by £50,000, with population 141,000 whites and 4,590 blacks. In 1774 imports and exports had increased more rapidly than population partly because of credit by England for French war service. It was written plainly that Connecticut's tendency was toward agriculture and land trade rather than toward sea trade.

By aid of a lottery the first lighthouse was erected at New London in 1760, where John Coit had been the first ship-builder of the town and where the famous whaling port was to develop, with a revenue of \$2,000,000 a year. Stonington and Mystic on the coast and Essex and Gildersleeve on the Connecticut were entering upon profitable careers. Hartford, where wealthy William Whiting in 1647 had been given a monopoly of the "whaling in the Sound," was building more docks but not for whales, and Ezekiel Williams of Wethersfield was devising the marine insurance which was to be the foundation for the general insurance which now gives Hartford preëminence. Saybrook was having a holiday whenever a new boat was launched there, with balls in the evening and Santa Cruz rum dispensed. Middletown was developed by shipping till in 1776 the town led New England in population with 6,000 to Boston's 5,000; brownstone from the Portland quarries on the east side of the Connecticut at that point, opened in 1664, furnished cargo for many vessels and incoming ships brought slaves from the Indies. New Haven was progressing but Eaton's dream was not yet realized.

CHAPTER XLII.

Capitols, Highways, Homes

Faith in Permanency if not in Mobility—Counterfeiting—Building on New Haven's Green and in Hartford—Andros and Postal Service—Travel not Encouraged—Boston Woman's Experiences—Protecting Free Institutions.

All this time of wars, burden of expenses and anxieties unparalleled for a people who remained true to the principles on which the Colony was founded, the story cannot be human or complete without a knowledge of civic and domestic affairs and, especially, of what the people themselves were doing in the matter of appropriate buildings and communications.

Of the larger towns New Haven was to continue preëminent to the present day as the one whose founders had laid out a large commons or green and their successors had maintained it, a boon to future generations. On it, the first meeting-house, costing £500, fifty feet square, of truncated pattern, with tower and turret, three small cannon around it and a special guard near the door, was duplicated in 1670 when a bell was put in the tower in place of the drum to call the people to worship. It was the center of government as court and sanctuary both till exigencies of space and hours of meeting, in both Hartford and New Haven, necessitated separate buildings.

The first mention of this had been made by Governor Saltonstall at the May session of the Assembly in 1712. "Bills of credit" were then being used as currency and in the population of about 100,000 not all were living up to the principles of the church, for these bills were being raised by their holders, especially after the law of 1710 requiring that all taxes should be paid in bullion or these bills, and despite laws against counterfeiting. A new issue of £20,000 was made, partly to replace the counterfeits and partly to meet the new demands, with taxes increasing. The stringency of the times strained the consciences of not a few, but public credit must be maintained by the legislation of brave and honorable men.

By 1717 the Assembly had voted to appropriate, apparently through sale of ungranted lands, £650 for a State house in Hartford, £300 toward a courthouse in New Haven and the same for the courthouses in Fairfield County and New London County each; and it was ordered that October sessions of the Assembly should be held regularly in New Haven. In that year New Haven's Courthouse was built near the corner of Elm and College streets.

In 1762, "some of the principal inhabitants," by direction of the county court, already had laid the foundations "for an elegant and convenient building with a view to the better accommodation of the General Assembly to meet in," as well as the local courts, at an expense of £1,200 but without sufficient funds to finish. The Assembly voted to give one-third of the total cost, appropriated £1,000, and the building of 1717 was torn down. The new building was near the present Trinity Church Street, south of the Center Church. To anticipate: This structure not proving adequate, with the progress of time, the impressive marble structure, of Ionic design, was erected southwest of the Center Church in 1827, serving till 1875 when, Hartford having contributed a large sum of money and wonderful site, that city was made sole capital. The New Haven building was used for various purposes for a number of years before it was demolished.



OLD SOUTHEASTERN VIEW OF PUTNAM'S HILL, GREENWICH
(The "Steps" were in the foreground where the bridge later was built.)

The meetinghouse in 1756 had been superseded by one of brick, fifty by seventy-two feet in dimension. This served till 1813 when it was replaced by the present structure of purest Colonial type in the very center of the elm-shaded green, a setting, be it said, unsurpassed by that of any church in the world. To the south and to the north of it, fronting likewise on Temple Street which passes under the elm archway, are respectively Trinity Episcopal Church and the United Congregational Church.

Hartford had not been so methodical relative to a green. The proximity of the river bank and the hilly lay of the land running back from it did not encourage what would have been a fair allowance for the "meeting-house yard"; it was to

remain for that city to buy land and buildings for its present centrally located and beloved Bushnell Park in 1853. Its first and its second church buildings were in the "yard" but the third, as said, was built in 1739, on the southeast corner of the second burying ground, a little southeast of its present site on Main and Gold streets. It long had sought a new site and latterly had tried to have the Second Church, also in need of a better house, to reunite with it. Its bell had rung for both churches till it cracked in 1725, after which it used a red flag for signal. After eleven years of discussion the burying ground site was chosen, for a building sixty-six feet long, lengthwise with Main Street, and forty-six feet wide, the main entrance and steeple at the north end, the pulpit on the west side. The Rev. Daniel Wadsworth preached the last sermon in the old church July 31, 1727.

The Second (best known as the "South") Church chose a site in the highway of what is now Buckingham Street for a church of the same proportions but on account of condition of the land and a discussion with the General Court changed this to a site thirty feet east where the soil was better and only two-thirds of the building would be in the broad main street. The structure closely resembled that of the mother church. In 1762 the church was given four acres of land south of the church, by the son of a former pastor, the Rev. Thomas Buckingham, to whom the church had conveyed it in 1696. Eventually the two societies were to rebuild on their present sites, together an important factor in the town's development.

The somewhat anomalous expression "state" house so long before anything like a State was thought of appears in the early Colonial records (the official reports of the doings of the General Assembly) only when referring to the Assembly's meeting place in Hartford. In the vote in October, 1717, for example, the Assembly made an express distinction, raising funds for the "state" house in Hartford and for the courthouses in the other counties, though the Assembly had met in both New Haven and Hartford since the approval of the charter of 1662. There were "court" houses in each county seat, originally in the church. Also in that vote it was stated which of the semi-annual sessions, May and October, should be held in New Haven. Again, in 1762, it was the New Haven Colony citizens who had built the foundations for the "court" house and the Assembly's appropriation for the balance was for the "court" house. The building preceding it, the court having outgrown the church building, was a "court" house.

Be all this as it may, the treasurer's report shows that Jeremy Adams was paid his accounts in Hartford after the Colony took his inn on a mortgage. The mortgage was foreclosed in 1681 and the property sold to Sergeant Zachary Sanford, Adams' grandson, at whose death in 1713 it passed by will into the possession of Sanford's daughter and her husband, Jonathan Bunce, who died in 1717. During Sanford's time, the place was not well kept up and the bills for court use were paid to Captain Caleb Williamson. The boundaries of the Adams property were about the present Atheneum South (or "Mr. Goodwin's and Mr. Stone's land on the south"), Prospect Street (or Meeting House lane) on the east, the original Chaplain lot or about the present northern line of the Travelers Insurance Com-

pany's buildings on the north and present Main Street on the west. Williamson's new tavern was just across Meeting House Lane, about on the present site of the Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company on Prospect Street. Incidentally, in addition to paying Williamson what was due him from the Assembly, that body paid him a total of £9, 6s, 10d for "service done about the Indian murderers that were executed at Hartford in May last past." Sanford's inn had a "court chamber" in it and certain appropriate furniture.

To whatever purposes these taverns may have been put by the Assembly or the county court we may not be sure, but we previously have assumed that the inns were more comfortable if the church continued unheated, or latterly more conveniently arranged for the increasing number of assistants and deputies. A material change came over the legislative body in 1698, in the way of precision and formality. It was divided into the Upper House of Governor and assistants and the Lower House of the representatives with a speaker. Captain John Chester was the first speaker and Captain William Whiting the clerk. A general supposition is that, after the heated discussion about the charter, there was an understanding by which the General Court would hold part of its sessions in New Haven; for in May, 1701, a resolution was adopted beginning "Whereas the General Courts and Courts of Assistants have formerly, in a constant way, been holden at Hartford in the months of May and October annually," these courts—the recently adopted name "General Assembly" not being used—should meet in Hartford each May and in New Haven each October; and in New Haven they should meet separately, the assistants on the first Thursday and the General Court on the second Thursday. Further, as the Court of Assistants (the Senate), "by reason of the extremities of the season," could not be held this "instant month of may," the matters to come before it would go over till the New Haven session.

The same day a law of 1699 regulating retailers of drink was repealed. That law fixed prices on liquor: Pint of Madeira, 8 pence "money" or 12 pence "pay"—meaning "country pay" or barter; pint of "Fiall" wine, 6 or 9 pence; gill of rum, 2 pence or 3 pence; cider or strong "bear," 2 pence or 8 pence—under penalty of 10 shillings "money," one half to go to "complainer" who prosecuted "to effect," and one-half to the county treasurer. Cases could be heard before a justice of the peace, an office established in 1698 replacing the office of "commissioner," and county and Colony "marshals" became sheriffs. Another act of that session was for the repeal of customs and impost on imported liquors while another exempted ministers from taxation.

Antiquarians and markers of events and ancient places of note, in their zeal, too often fail to keep in mind general or, in other words, the almost inconceivably distracting situations in the Colonial era, as they are being set forth in this story of the Commonwealth. Other Colonies were in similar confusion but none so absorbed in maintaining the principles upon which Connecticut was founded and, as Toryism began again to assume supremacy in England, with George III as climax, no Colony so unpopular with existing home government. As early as the days following the end of the Andros usurpation in 1689, fixed dates in May and

October for the meeting of the General Court had to be set forward because of absence of members.

The division of the court into two bodies and a little later giving the Governor and the assistants the power to handle important non-legislative matters between sessions might well have proved a step toward autocracy but, as the records evince—not only in and by themselves but with the manner in which they were preserved—such step was farthest from the minds of the Colonists. As for distressful financial situations, they kept their heads cool and their eyes fixed on the future of the Colony.

There were wise heads and willing hands but not enough to be devoted to recording. Secretary John Allyn was one of the tireless ones and frequently had helpers. What they achieved in copying general and special legislation, for distribution to towns, is marvelous but they could achieve only the main purpose of the hours upon hours and years upon years of confusion and conflicts. The records of the General Court as a whole have been surprisingly well preserved. They had to be written out and furnished to the towns between sessions in addition to the other duties common to all, and copies preserved so far as possible, covering minute as well as general legislation and regulations. If a distant court officer wanted a copy of a law in a given case and the town clerk had not yet received his, the Colonial secretary must hasten to send one. Nearly everything, including official correspondence, was collected in the 1860's by Librarian Charles J. Hoadley of the State Library, who made careful notations and guides. Exact places of meetings could not always be given and frequently, in the most confusing times when even assemblymen and assistants were off to the wars, General Court meetings were held irregularly, though usually near the May and October dates.

When the General Court was reorganized in 1698, with its increased membership, it is probable that regular sessions in the Hartford church were resumed if they had been held, at least in part, elsewhere. It is in the records in 1708 that when Captain Joseph Wadsworth, concealer of the charter what time Andros came and now chief of the military body, was before the court for contumacious language, he was tried "in the gallery of the meeting house in Hartford, under the court chamber where the governor and council were sitting." That is the only explicit mention of the place of assembly in the records. The court membership in 1712, when Governor Saltonstall made his proposal for better courthouses numbered sixty-five. Further evidence that the church was utilized by the Assembly is found in 1715 when it was voted "to repair the court chamber in the first meeting house at Hartford so as it may be safe for the courts to be held in the same, at the colony's charge."

Despite hindrances since the appropriation voted at the time New Haven was chosen by the court as the home for Yale College, the building of the State House in Hartford was begun, on the west side of meetinghouse yard, in 1719, with William Pitkin, Joseph Talcott and Captain Aaron Cook as the building committee. The county was taxed £250 for the finishing of it in 1720. It was seventy feet long and thirty feet broad with twenty-four feet between "joints, with a range of pillars

oftener. Near tide water it was even worse. At the mouth of the Shetucket a £4,000 "geometry" bridge had to be built—two hundred and fifty feet long and twenty feet above high water. Bridges between Colonies had to be paid for by the towns at each end. Westerly would not pay Connecticut's share for the Pawtucket bridge to that town for fourteen years and then only when threatened with a fine of £300.

Toll bridges built by associations, reimbursed by the tolls, were first heard of in 1735. When lotteries became the vogue to help depleted treasuries in the continuing depression of the 1750's, they were resorted to but were not in favor with the courts. A freshet, like the one in 1711, swept away many bridges in different towns with appalling financial disaster, long in being overcome. On a smaller scale, precisely the same questions as to flood-control were raised then as were to be raised for the Nation in 1936. As time went on, the "covered bridge" was an "edition de luxe," the one at Hartford remaining till near the middle of the city's third century and then passing out in a most spectacular manner, having been ignited by a fire engine.

The primitive ferry like that the Hooker party utilized in getting across the Connecticut River, propelled by paddles and poles against a strong current, was superseded by crafts built according to specifications—a much needed source of income. By 1700 there were nine of them and in 1750, twenty-six, subject to governmental rates and regulations, including limits on number of passengers at a time, human or animal, and correspondingly long delays in travel.

Farmington and Simsbury people in 1752 joined in the petition to the Legislature for a turnpike toward the Hudson at Albany, through the great woods of Litchfield County, not to curve more than two miles north or south, the old "north road" of fame in the days when armies marched over it, when iron was brought from Salisbury and when Ethan Allen's men took the route for Ticonderoga. But it was a one-track road. Turnpikes were not to be heard of till 1800—and State highways not till 1900.

"Now I've returned to Sarah Knight's,
Through many toils and many frights,
Over great rocks and many stones,
God has preserved from fractured bones."

So wrote humoristically immortal Madame Knight after a trip to New York and back to Boston so late as 1704, by way of Providence and Saybrook, during which journey she jotted down in her diary her experiences with roads, currency and people. The people, though uncultured, she enjoyed very much. The "ordinaries" in general were good though the meats were so odorous in their dressings that she could not eat them. Of "mother wit" she found as "large a portion and sometimes larger" than she could have expected. "Pay money" (cash) "country pay" (barter) and Spanish dollars confused her greatly, her preference finally being for the Spanish. Of her experiences with "ordinaries" she writes of the one in Rye:

"I was taken to my apartment, a little lento chamber furnished among other rubbish with a high bed and a low one—Little Miss went to scratch up

my kennell, which russelled as if she'd been in the barn among the husks, and suppose such was the contents of the tickin—neverthe less being exceedingly weary, down I lay my poor carkess, and found my covering as scanty as my bed was hard. Annon I heard another russelling noise in the room—called to know the matter—Little Miss said she was making a bed for the men; who, when they were in bed, complained their leggs lay out by reason of its shortness. My poor bones complained bitterly, not being used to such lodgings; and so did the man who was with us; and poor I made but one grone, which was from the time I went to bed to the time I riss, which was about three in the morning. Setting up by the fire till light."

The Hartford route was left deficient till well on in the century. When paths were fair, fence bars continued to be a tiresome hindrance. Kind-hearted farmers so late as the middle of the century kept oxen in yoke to pull travelers out of the sloughs. In Hartford itself, and on Main Street itself, where in later years the first horseless vehicle was to run, wheels sank to the hub near Pearl Street and at the end of the century, Mrs. Daniel Wadsworth could not get from her home to the present Atheneum lot except on horseback, while in 1774 prisoners in the county jail on Pearl Street, near the center, pled for extension of limits so that charitable people might get to them with their kindly contributions to physical comfort.

Vehicles like coaches or anything other than farm carts were not favored by the Puritans who had come to be suspicious of Tories and Aristocrats. Governor Winthrop—to aid him in his wide medical practice, no doubt—did have a coach in 1685 and lordly Andros rode in one at about the same time. The folding-top fixed-up chaise, calash, gig, four-wheeled "chariot" and in Boston the "sley" came near the end of the century. When Samuel Brown drove a chaise on Sunday in Norwich he was fined because the noise made a disturbance on the Sabbath. General Jabez Huntington was the first in Norwich to have a chaise with a top that could be thrown back and it was studded with brass nails. In Windham they were making carriages in 1808 and when Roger Huntington drove to Leicester for a load of machine cards, people gaped and at Woodstock the humane observers declared that such things would be the death of horses.

Stages were in operation as early as 1717 when the General Assembly granted Captain John Munson of New Haven the right to carry persons and goods between Hartford and New Haven on the condition that he should, when the weather was good, during the summer months, make the round trip within one week. There was no public conveyance between these capitals in the winter. Captain Levi Pease of Enfield started a stage route from Hartford to Boston in 1783. The passengers put up over night—that is, from 10 p. m. to 3 a. m.—at a tavern. They were expected to walk where the hills were steep or the road obstructed or too heavy with mud. Pease was the man whose cry for "good roads" resulted in the first Massachusetts turnpike in 1808. It was not a great while to the advertisement of the "New Post Line Dispatch, in six hours from Hartford to New Haven, leaving Hartford every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at eleven in the forenoon, pass-

ing through Farmington, Southington and Cheshire, and reaching New Haven in time for the steamboat. . . . The above line of post coaches are new and modern in style, horses selected with great care and are first rate, drivers that are experienced, careful and steady." By that time the ever-welcome "Yankee peddler" had begun to make his appearance on every road.

Because of the amount of commercial traffic with the port at New London, the road thither was especially improved, with a New London Turnpike Company chartered in 1800. It was free to people going to church, funerals, society, schools, town meetings, gristmills, on military duty or on errands concerning agriculture. There were four toll gates in the forty-two miles of hilly country, which were in the nature of news bulletin boards for the people for miles around. It was not till 1857 that the prosperous pike was fully turned over to the towns.

Hartford's first regular ferryman was Thomas Cadwell, in 1681, connecting East Hartford, which was to be taken from Hartford and incorporated in 1783. Ten years later Richard Keeney was running a ferry across from near the line between Hartford and Wethersfield and ten years after that there was a second one for East Hartford. The wooden bridge at Hartford was built in 1810 by the Hartford Bridge Company, John Morgan president, at a cost of \$96,000 furnished by stockholders, tolls running from two cents for foot passengers up to twenty-five cents for a stage. Bissell's ferry above Windsor was a household word from the earliest times.

Since days of the founding a stranger in town had had to account for himself. In New Haven there were specially harsh restrictions. Newcomers were welcome but they must measure up to the standards. When exigencies caused a falling away from physical standards, aid was effective, or at least sympathetic, but by the 1700's increase in population had brought many of the camp-follower type or mere malcontents from the Continent as well as from England. Institutions for the poor were established and morally corrective methods adopted after the manner of all civilized nations but with extraordinary precautions against those with ulterior motives. Intercommunication was made to assist in this; ferrymen were required to help pass along undesirables.

In 1702 the various early precautionary laws were formulated. Only those could be inhabitants who were of "honest conversation," accepted by the major part of the town—no transients except with the selectmen's approval. Fines for violations went to the aid of the worthy indigent. Vagrants and suspects were returned to their home towns by constables. Unmarried persons must secure approval from selectmen before being entertained. All sojourners must attend church services. The poor and idle were set to work; if sick, the town must provide for them and exempt them from taxation. War veterans were especially favored and were allowed half-pay pensions.

Severe measures were adopted to prevent vagabondage, including whipping, but later the workhouse and after that jails. In 1770 the new law again insisted upon vote of inhabitants for admitting an outsider to citizenship, consent of selectmen or

possession of real estate above £100 in value. Anyone removing to a different town must obtain a certificate. After the Revolution and up to 1848, no non-citizen of the United States could buy or hold lands without legislative permission.

Among the various enactments are some which have invited severe commentaries in later days from those who have not informed themselves on contemporary situations and on the continuing desire of the founders to avoid the perils of earlier would-be democracies and preserve a home for free institutions. In many instances, where possible, the Mother Country, with which there was almost constant intercommunication, furnished the models. But taking the world at large, and including the other Colonies as a whole, there was little by way of precedent for the Independent Colony.

CHAPTER XLIII.

In Governors' Terms

Wolcott First to be Retired—"Spanish Ship" Case—Franklin's Albany Convention—Assembly and the Wars—Fitch and Stamp Act—Clash with Pennsylvania—Westmoreland and Its Tragedies.

An important factor in the development of free government must be the quality of the men chosen by the people to be their leaders. In Connecticut's second century as in its first, the Governors and members of the General Assembly were endowed with patience, courage and endurance as well as with wisdom. Partisan strife with its bitterness and vituperation was not to enter in till after the Federal Union was formed. Whether this was due to inheritance from the founders, to the necessity of defensive attitude or to the Divine Will is not a part of chronicle, but the story of Connecticut and the progress of free government principles cannot be complete without the recording.

Saltonstall was true to the line of Haynes, Hopkins, Wyllys, Wells, Webster, Winthrop, Leete, Treat and Fitz-John Winthrop. He had been the minister of the Congregational church in New London, by nature a leader, well versed in the law, and, as an intimate of the Winthrop family, was familiar with public affairs and traditions. Palfrey in his history of New England said of him: "A born leader and gifted with marked business ability, he was recognized as perhaps the most learned lawyer in the colony. . . . The wisdom and vigor of his administration molded the sentiment of a transition period; and no man memorable on the bright roll of Connecticut did more to establish for her that character which was indicated by the name, appropriated to her through many generations, of the 'Land of Steady Habits.'"

Great-grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, he was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1666 and was graduated at Harvard. On the death of Fitz-John Winthrop and the probability that Saltonstall was to succeed him, prominent members of his congregation put up the objection that the position of Governor was not compatible with that of minister but he was the choice of the Assembly to fill the vacancy caused by Winthrop's death and was elected by the people in May, 1708. A sum was allowed to aid the church in securing a new pastor. Reëlection followed till his sudden death sixteen years later, making his the longest term of any Governor except that of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., who held the office eighteen years

and Joseph Talcott who held it seventeen years. By the lake that bears his name, near New Haven, he built an imposing mansion, on the estate of his second wife, of the Rosewell family. His study of the church situation led him to approve heartily of the Saybrook platform and it was largely through his influence that Yale College was located in New Haven. The first printing press in the Colony was set up in his New London home in 1708 when Thomas Short of Boston was brought to Connecticut as the first authorized printer.

The excellent record of the Colony in the wars, including the raising of funds, was due in large measure to Saltonstall. When the Superior Court was created



FORMER KEELER TAVERN RIDGEFIELD
Now known as the Cannon Ball House

(Photo by Hartmann Studio, Ridgefield)

in 1711 he was appointed the first judge of it, meaning that he was the first Chief Justice. His ability in handling the removal of Yale property to New Haven from Saybrook and likewise in the matter of trade relations had increased his popularity what though malcontents in the college matter worked to defeat his reelection in 1719. On the subject of the episcopacy and the Yale instructors, he was outspokenly opposed to the retention of Rector Cutler.

Joseph Talcott, of Hartford, Governor from 1725 to 1742, was one of the distinguished descendants of "Worshipful" John Talcott, an original proprietor in

Hartford. In King Philip's War he was lieutenant-colonel commanding the Connecticut force, and later was chief judge of the county court and judge of probate for the county. When the Colony was directed to proclaim King George II, he called a special session of the Assembly, before which he made an address attesting loyalty, to be forwarded to his majesty. There were two grand celebrations in honor of the King, in Hartford and in New Haven. For that in New Haven the five militia companies were called out, with two from Milford to attend the services, and the resolution included "that a treat of thirty pounds be made for their refreshment; that a quarter of a pound of powder be delivered to each sentinel; that a sufficient quantity of powder be provided for discharging three of the great guns; . . . that the sheriff provide ten pounds of candles for illuminating the court house; . . . and also that he procure a barrel of good wine, at the charge of the colony, for refreshment of the Assembly." It was during his administration, or in 1739, that the foundations were laid for the present militia law.

Deputy Governor Jonathan Law, of Milford, who had held his office throughout Talcott's administration, succeeded to the governorship, serving till 1751. When the almost impossible task of capturing Louisburg was proposed, Connecticut's Legislature at first considered it unwise to participate in the bold plan of Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, but at the behest of the business men and other prominent citizens, who adopted the Governor's hopeful view of it, the proposition was reconsidered and accepted by a majority of one. Almost overnight public sentiment changed, and that, too, despite the fact that no Colonies outside New England had approved.

Roger Wolcott, of Windsor, then Lieutenant-Governor, was appointed to command as major-general, supplies were obtained by house-to-house canvass, and Connecticut was represented, as previously mentioned, by 1,100 men at the great victory by the force of 4,000 under the direction of Colonel Pepperell, of Massachusetts, supported by Commodore Warren's three ships from England. Governor Law, the next year, was called upon for another regiment for the proposed invasion of Canada. The Rev. Elisha Williams, who was on the military committee, was appointed colonel, the regiment to assemble at New London to sail on the Colony's own boat, the "Defense," and, under command of Deputy and Captain John Ledyard, the New London fort and approaches were anew put in condition of preparedness. When the British government countermanded the orders for the expedition, Rector-Colonel Williams was sent to England to obtain the soldiers' furlough pay supposedly guaranteed by the government, which, after a considerable period as agent of the Colony, he was unable to obtain in full. The war sloop "Defense," the Colony's one vessel, was always kept in readiness for action in defense or for transport.

The colonial tradition that a Deputy-Governor should succeed to the chief magistracy worked well, but it was not tradition alone which secured the election of General Wolcott. His example in his military effort, in conjunction with Governor Law and Rev. Elisha Williams, had added to his prestige in the Colony till there could be no question about his promotion, however unfortunate was the termination of his office to be. And he was of a family that bore the stamp of the founders, descend-

ants of that Henry Wolcott who had come from England with the Rev. John Warham and then to Windsor with the Ludlow party. His father was Simon Wolcott, who served many years in the General Assembly, and his mother the sister of William Pitkin, of East Hartford, Attorney-General and treasurer of the Colony in this period.

The family held especially valuable land in Windsor, including the "island," where their residence was near the present Loomis Institute. They removed to Simsbury with the group that saw great opportunities there and they had increased their wealth when the Indians, at the time of King Philip's War, burned a large part of the property in the town, theirs completely. At Roger's birth in 1679 they lived on a rented farm, whence they removed to two hundred acres which they had reserved in South Windsor when making their sale. Following his father's death and his mother's marriage to Daniel Clark, they removed to Wilson near the site of the present Roger Wolcott school. The only education Roger obtained was that which he could get at home; notwithstanding, he became a writer, was chosen selectman and was sent to the Legislature; was appointed judge; was commissary in the Canadian expedition in Queen Anne's War; member of the Upper House of the Legislature; judge of the county court in 1721, and of the superior court eleven years later—Deputy Governor and Chief Justice in 1742—along with his major-general's commission as commander of Connecticut's Louisburg forces.

Meanwhile he had devoted time to literature and had published a volume of poems together with a separate one on King Philip's War. A man of fine physique he dressed his part—"a flowing wig, a three-cornered hat, a suit of scarlet broadcloth adorned with gilt buttons and long gilt vellum button-holes." The years preceding his death in 1767 were spent on his farm, where he made a study of church history. His daughter Elizabeth was the wife of Captain Roger Newberry, one of Windsor's heroes.

That his career as Governor was for only three years, ending with 1754, was due to an affair that assumed a warlike aspect and furnished the first instance of politics in gubernatorial elections. It started with a leaky Spanish ship, out of her course, which managed to get to New London port through the goodness of Captain John Simson, of the "Susannah," out of that port, bound homeward. The ship was wrecked on the rocks near the entrance of the harbor, late in November, 1752. The Spaniard, who had been sent from Spain to make the trip to Central America as owner's agent, blamed the American pilots, including one taken aboard near the harbor; Spaniards and New Englanders disagreed as to how best to salvage the valuable cargo and some chests of gold and silver money. Magistrate Gurdon Saltonstall, of New London, son of the former Governor, sent word to Governor Wolcott, who directed him to take charge till he could arrive. Wolcott hastened as fast as he could over snow-drifted roads, accompanied by Deputy-Governor Fitch, Hezekiah Huntington and John Bulkley, all prominent men, for it might prove to be a serious international affair, as it did. It looked as though the efforts of Andrew Mckinley and Captain Durfey to get the money ashore might have been with improper motive.

The ship being beyond repair, another was chartered, Collector Joseph Hull being appointed guardian of the cargo till she could sail. Inasmuch as there was

no vice-admiralty court, Judge Morris of the New York district court was importuned to act. When he and his sixty men were refused admission to Saltonstall's warehouse, where the cargo was stored, on the ground that Saltonstall would have to be responsible for any loss, the judge and Saltonstall both appealed to Wolcott, who decided Saltonstall was right in not admitting such a number of men into his place. The judge awarded a not excessive salvage to Captain Simson. The wrathful Spaniard, taking an appeal, went to Boston for a bondsman and Judge Morris returned to New York. Following him there the Spaniard engaged a Spanish Jew for interpreter and two men, Henry Cuyler, Jr., and Henry Lane, to assist him as agents in place of Wolcott's appointee, Salt.

Two years of trouble ensued, due to the machinations of these agents. Naturally Wolcott would not remove so capable an agent as Salt for two strangers whose attitude at best was suspicious. Captain Durfey who had landed the cargo refused to share salvage with Simson, demanding the whole amount for himself, and thus causing further complication; but three justices named by the collector took Durfey's view of it, only to find, however, that the Spaniard would pay nothing. Collector Hull quoted the law to the Governor, to the effect that no goods could be released till judgment was paid together with charges for the guards. In still further complications, the Spaniard's agents would not allow him to charter the vessel Saltonstall had selected for him and on which he could have sailed at once; instead they bought one themselves, with the Spaniard's own money, and chartered it to him; the Spaniard had to pay the upkeep of both boats for several months while all attempts to have him understand English were thwarted. Wolcott wrote the details to Connecticut's agent in England, Richard Partridge.

And McKenzie, owner of the "Susannah," who had helped land the goods, dipped in with a letter to the owners in Spain, in reply to which he was told to ship the cargo on a certain boat soon to sail from Boston. This might have worked out well had not the Spaniard objected, by direction of his advisers, the "agents."

Their next scheme was to charge that Governor Wolcott was arbitrary, a step calculated to make the Colony liable in a damage suit, Governor Clinton of New York to bring the complaint on sundry grounds, especially on the one that the collector was holding the goods despite the offer to put up a bond, and further that the Governor would not order a writ of replevin to the collector to return the property to the Spaniard. But since the collector held the office by English and not colonial appointment, the Governor felt that he had no such power; however, if the Spaniard appealed to England and maintained that the Governor was party to holding the property illegally, there might be action for damages against him and the whole Colony become involved, with quite probable threat from Spain. Under such circumstances Wolcott and the Council decided it best to take chances on granting the writ if demanded.

Much to their surprise no writ was asked for; they had not suspected the plot, which was to discredit the Governor and thus get damages which they could not get if the property were retained. They had only to swear that they had no writ because the Governor would not grant one and use this fact against him politically, in addition to possibility of winning heavy damages. Their formal protest was in

accord therewith and was widely published to Wolcott's great harm. Wolcott promptly replied, revealing the falsity. After a time, in August, 1753, the Spaniard wrote Wolcott that he had settled everything with the collector and requested delivery of his property to himself only, which would satisfy him wholly—Cuyler and Lane, his agents, being eliminated, along with their heavy expenses.

Not perceiving the personal feature in the Spaniard's request, the Governor replied that he would by this letter appoint Lane agent to receive the cargo for shipment to the owners—what apparently looked to him like a happy conclusion; the letter to the Spaniard would have to be presented by the Spaniard in person. But Lane demanded a heavy commission if he were to put the cargo aboard their self-chartered boat. The Spaniard hastened to the Governor for personal permit and the dropping of Lane. Unhappily for him, at the same moment Lane was presenting a copy of the Governor's letter, was paying the bills and was beginning to put the cargo aboard still another ship which he had in readiness.

It was then discovered that the chest of gold coins had been rifled and filled with rocks and sand, for which Lane blamed a Spanish seaman, and then sailed away with four of the chests of silver, leaving the chartered boat and his own belongings in the hands of the sheriff, and the Spaniard petitioning the Legislature. It was now October, 1753. The Legislature, after giving much time to the subject, found that the cargo should not be unshipped without consent of the parties concerned, nor was it reasonable to appoint and oblige any person to take custody at his own risk; but, as protection and help were due the foreigner, the Governor was advised to grant all due protection, comfort and relief "conformable with the laws of nature and nations," and to grant the Spaniard all possible aid in recovering, at reasonable cost of the petitioner. Meanwhile the Spaniard was making it public that he would sue for a million pounds if he did not get satisfaction from the Governor. And this was what put the reelection of the Governor in jeopardy, popular as he had been. But before the formalities could be continued Lane had slipped away.

The portentous sequel briefly was this: The English authorities in June, 1754, blamed Connecticut for having been delinquent in protecting the property, and sent a man-o'-war to see that what remained to be shipped was given over immediately. Jonathan Trumbull and the younger Wolcott for the second time officiated in having the property assembled, the Governor and Council forwarded to England a statement exculpating the Colony, and by January, 1755, the ship which Lane had chartered before making off with the money was ready to sail.

The loss was much less than had been reported during the excitement. The 4,100 Spanish gold dollars had been kept in a cellar, into which one of the guards confessed to have tunneled, afterwards dividing with his companions; all but 480 of the dollars was recovered. The silver had been left unprotected aboard ship; it was from this supply that Lane had been drawing to pay the Spaniard's bills; when he took what he did, the balance was left without guard; the total loss was about 20,000 dollars. There could have been no loss had Governor Wolcott's early suggestions prevailed with the Spaniard rather than the tricks of his New York advisers. The ship with its cargo of indigo sailed for Spain in January, 1755.

Connecticut's London agent wrote Wolcott in May that word had been received showing that the Spaniards were well pleased, especially since the price of indigo had been going up meanwhile. "I believe," he added, "you will scarce hear of any more complaints."

He was in error. By November the Spanish were complaining that only "small part of the property" had been returned and the King of England had dispatched another warship to Connecticut. It arrived in May, whereupon Trumbull and the junior Wolcott aided its captain in search. Governor Fitch, telling the captain that he believed the silver chests were in New York, wrote a detailed statement of the affair, including depositions, with which the warship returned home.

Then matters rested till official notification came in January, 1758, that Spain's ambassador had made formal complaint and there must be "full satisfaction for such part of the cargo as shall not be forthcoming." Governor Fitch, now in office, replied, inclosing duplicates of all documents, and spoke of a certain paper the Spanish officers had left on sailing, declaring succinctly that they had no cause for complaint about the settlement. Still Connecticut's suspense was not ended till August, 1761, when Connecticut Agent Jared Ingersoll, of New Haven, wrote from London that after the receipt of the Governor's 1758 letter there had been no further complaints, and the new Spanish ambassador apparently would not formulate any.

The Colony manifested no ill will toward Governor Wolcott in his later days, but they rather recalled this verse in his 1725 "Poetical Meditations," depicting Winthrop when asking the King for the Connecticut charter. It concluded with these words from the King's reply:

And let the Sacred Order of the Gown
With zeal apply the Business that's their own.
So Peace may spring from the Earth, and Righteousness
Look down from Heaven, Truth and Judgment kiss.

It was while this tempest was brewing that Benjamin Franklin's Albany convention was held—in June, 1754, the last year of Wolcott's governorship—with view to forming a union of the colonies for better prosecution of the wars, in their behalf and England's, as has been referred to. The first of the committee of three was Chief Justice William Pitkin, of East Hartford; the second, the Governor's son and namesake, now court judge and assistant, and the third Rector-Colonel Elisha Williams, of Wethersfield. Connecticut's chief objection to a plan, so good on the general principles which Franklin set forth, was that it would nullify her cherished right to the control of her own soldiery. She was willing to aid neighboring Colonies, as she had in all the wars, even to the extent, as in this last war, of permitting the enlistment of reinforcements for New York's line; but since the evidence, so fresh in memory, of the ineptness and unadaptability of officers unfamiliar with this terrain and complex circumstances, she would insist upon the independence conferred upon her by her charter, as she had when Fletcher, for one, tried to ignore it. No aid in men or money had been received from the Royal Colonies south of New Jersey when French and Indians were trying to annihilate

the northern settlements. The encroachments now were to be along the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers, which were reaping great advantage from the Indian trade, and those Colonies, not having had to suffer, were abundantly more able to bear the expense than were the long suffering northern Colonies.

On the committee's report back to the Assembly, it was resolved that the union would be too large to handle to advantage by one president-general and council and would tend to subvert liberties and lessen industry; any such plan should be opposed in Parliament. The plan had the support of a majority of the representatives at the convention, but was rejected by all the Colonies. By Parliament it was rejected as being too liberal, as also was Lord Halifax's later plan in Parliament for a general Colonial Assembly to direct the military force and draw money from England to be paid back afterwards in taxes. Colonial resentment was beginning to solidify.

In this Albany Convention the right of Connecticut and Massachusetts, under their charters, to extend their settlements westward where the land was not already occupied was voted upon favorably. Pennsylvania made no objection at that time and the Wyoming surveys by Connecticut men went on—with results as will appear.

Deputy-Governor Thomas Fitch, of Norwalk, who was nominated and elected over Wolcott in 1755, came into office when the Colony was most dispirited over the raising of troops and the increase in taxes, not only for its own forces, but £3,000 more for a common fund for the Colonies as a whole, the vote against the Franklin plan of federation not yet having become general. The tension was severe. Men like Jonathan Trumbull in each county had been appointed to collect debts due the county—now more seriously a problem than it had been heretofore. Jared Ingersoll, of New Haven, was reporting £800 in bills of credit of neighboring Colonies, which he was ordered to pay out for military service to those who would accept at rate of exchange to be agreed upon; the soldiers who had received pay for which provision had been made could sue their captains—a somewhat illumining vote, though in fact instances of withholding were exceptional. The vote was in the nature of a warning.

A surprisingly large per cent. of the Legislature's transactions had to do with efforts to raise money; withal Jonathan Trumbull was being sent to London to act with Agent Partridge "to solicit for a reimbursement of the expenses incurred in carrying on the late expedition on Crown Point and also for such further sums of money or other assistance as may enable this colony to proceed and exert themselves (according to their zeals for the king's service) for the defense and security of his majesty's just rights and dominions in North America. . . . The expenses . . . have necessitated to emit and make use of large quantities of bills of credit, through the great scarcity of money amongst us and that the seasonable redemption and sinking of them will greatly distress us without some assistance therein, and that further emissions thereof may sink their credit, to the great detriment of the colony."* It was earnestly besought that "Parliament reimburse of the whole

* The vote graphically presents conditions, howbeit Trumbull himself did not go.

residue." As to a major source of income for the Colonists, heavy embargo on provisions was still in force.

These brief extracts from the crowded pages of the Colonial Records of the period present conditions that faced Governor Fitch. In this home analysis as distinct from the review already made, and measuring the problem Fitch had to face, we mark the further dismay as the war went on, due to the inefficiency of British officers like Abercrombie and when, after the Colony had raised twice the contingent called for, news came that the attack was to be on Louisburg (1757) and finally the abandonment of that plan after the enemy had been enabled by delays to reinforce that strong position. General Webb was to receive fresh condemnation for his incompetency at Fort William Henry despite the brave assistance Israel Putnam had rendered. The incredible massacre on the shore of Lake George was the more dispiriting when it was known that Webb had done nothing when reinforced.

"Enervate state" of England William Pitt called it as he entered upon office as prime minister. His letter to Governor Fitch calling for 20,000 from New England, New York and New Jersey was welcomed because of its spirited phrasing and, on Governor Fitch's call, more than the total quota was enrolled in this one Colony alone. Not only in the church but in every home, in the Legislature, and in the camp there was feeling that there must be aid from above. In his address and "declaration" to his troops June 7, 1758, the Governor urged officers and men in forceful words to refrain from those evils which might bring down God's vengeance, to abstain from swearing, evil-speaking, intemperance, and other immoral and dissolute practices too frequent in camp, he lamented; and officers were to enforce the articles of war relative to divine service and to punish "profanity, execrations and other immoralities." It was in the atmosphere that, to save the democratic principles they had inherited, the men of the Colony should go forth like the host of Gideon.

But there was to follow the loss of the brave Lord Howe through Abercrombie's neglect and blundering, the sacrifice of General William Johnson, along with the valor and generalship of Connecticut's Phineas Lyman of Suffield, Nathan Whiting of New Haven, Wooster, of New Haven, Eleazer Fitch, of Windham, and many others—their deeds to inspire Connecticut men again and again to drag themselves and their heavy guns over the steep hills in their country's cause. When Major Putnam, through inefficiency of officers from across the seas, fell into the hands of Indians who tortured and would have killed him, finally to be made prisoner by the French, the Legislature, inspired by Governor Fitch, put on its records a worthy memorial with a gift—all this as it has been indicated in the pages on the wars, but here to be recalled for its bearing on government and people in the midst of home perplexities.

But Governor Fitch was not to stand the crucial test that came to the General Assembly in April, 1764. That must be reserved for the next chapter and the important step in democracy's progress in America, due to England's tax demands. He lost the nomination for reelection in May, 1767, but was nominated for assistant from his district and failed in that likewise. The man who had done so much

in preparing the famous 1750 revision of the statutes and had won the name of being the Colony's foremost lawyer died in comparative oblivion in 1774.

William Pitkin who succeeded Fitch in 1766 came of a distinguished family, by descent one of the four eminent lawyers of the same name in colonial history. The first one settled in what is now East Hartford, owned much land, married into Elder Goodwin's family, was treasurer in 1676 and one of the Governor's Council at his death in 1694. The second, of that name, married into the Stanley family and was equally prominent, as a public official and as a woolen manufacturer. The third, born in 1715, was hardly less a leader as a lawyer and member of the Council



CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, KILLINGWORTH, 1807
(*Courtesy of The American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain*)

and also as a colonel in the service. In 1754 he was Chief Justice and Deputy-Governor. At the Albany convention he worked with Franklin on the committee to plan a constitution for a colonial union. He was wholly opposed to the Stamp Act—as also was Fitch.

It was while Pitkin was Chief Justice and Deputy-Governor that effort was made to take up part of the western land belonging to Connecticut by charter right, thereby precipitating serious trouble. At the dissolution of the Plymouth Council in 1635, the Council's report to the King showed that the Colony's grant was for territory "through all the mainland, from sea to sea, being near about 3,000 miles in length," and the royal geographers also were aware that the "South Sea" was about that distance away as, of course, did the framers of the charter of 1662.

That did not interfere with Charles II's giving his brother, the Duke of York, and, in 1681, William Penn the northern part of what is Pennsylvania—the Indians later being equally free to sell the region first to Connecticut men and then to Penn, including all the then unknown iron, coal and oil fields belonging to Connecticut, later to yield great wealth.

To Connecticut, the overlapping territory was early known as Wyoming, and in 1754 the Susquehanna Company was organized, chiefly by Windham County people who believed good land was becoming scarce in Connecticut. Of the seven hundred stockholders, six hundred and thirty-eight were to Connecticut and nearly all living in Windham County. The company surveyed and bought from the Indians for £2,000 from Connecticut charter's south line of Pennsylvania's present north line and one hundred and twenty miles west from the Susquehanna River, all with the approval of the General Assembly and no objection from Pennsylvania. The subject had been gone over at the Albany Convention in 1754.

Settlement on the Delaware began in 1757, and on the Susquehanna purchase in 1762, settlers wintering at home, Governor Fitch and his associates having no thought but that the settlement was fully within the Colony's rights. The Delaware Company, also a Connecticut corporation, bought the lands from the Delaware to Susquehanna Company's east line, a small entity. Without having shown intent to purchase, Pennsylvanians stirred up a discussion among the lordly Iroquois and the feebler Delawares as to who had the right to sell, till the matter was decided overseas and Connecticut went on with its plans as soon as the wars would allow, or in 1757. Pennsylvania continued restless and Colonel Eliphalet Dyer,* a Windham County lawyer who was to be a delegate to the first Congress, was drawn into the controversy.

In 1768 five large townships and later three more were laid out, each to have forty settlers with rights to depend on their remaining there. Captain Zebulon Butler, of Lyme, already of distinguished service, was a prominent promoter, and many of the settlers were war veterans. A lease of 700 acres in the Wyoming Valley was made. Pennsylvanians were coming into the territory, but with no proprietary rights. Butler established Forty Fort, named after the degree of latitude as a reminder. When the settlers waded through deep snow on their return in the spring, their number was nearly 300, and Fort Durkee was built to defend a settlement near present Wilkes-Barre. Governor John Penn sent a force against this, under Captain Jennings, who captured the fort, put Captain Durkee in irons and held seventeen for hostage, the others to be allowed to harvest their crops and then to depart. Ogden, who was Jennings's associate, broke the agreement, and found Pennsylvania a ready purchaser of all the property.

Meantime forty people from Hanover, Pennsylvania, under Captain Stewart, had bought a township from the ready Indians and, enrolling a few Connecticut men who were not making the winter journey home, drove out the Ogden party, themselves soon to be ousted by Durkee, who had escaped from prison and rallied some settlers. Fortune in skirmishing shifted from one side to the other till Con-

* Dyer, an eminently capable man, was to be immortalized by the "Frogs of Windham," of ballad and story. A dark night, in 1758, people of Windham were brought out of bed by the frightful noises of a body of frogs emigrating from a pool, where hundreds of them were found dead the next morning. The natives said they were howling: "Colonel Dyer—Colonel Dyer,—and Elderkin, too, and Elderkin, too!" The story had basis in fact, but never could be explained.

necticut participants won and destroyed the whole settlement. But Butler appeared in person and reestablished occupation, making Forty Fort effective. Penn's court issued warrants; one man was captured but released by friendly Pennsylvanians. Ogden appeared with a new force which he had had to take several weeks to assemble, captured several settlers in the fields, and took the fort, only to lose it again when lingering Connecticut men surprised it. Butler had been wounded when the fort was taken by the Penn men and a few killed.

On Butler's return in the spring, after he had gotten out of jail, he found the enemy in a quarrel among themselves, manipulated the disaffected Pennsylvanians, conquered the fort and this time compelled observance of the articles of capitulation. The settlements, encouraged by many prominent Connecticut men, forthwith prospered, and in 1774 formally established the town of Westmoreland as a part of Litchfield County. The two corporations divided up the districts; town meeting was held, all officers chosen and representatives were sent to the General Assembly. The Governor issued a proclamation prohibiting other settlements without Connecticut warrant. Two more towns were started to the westward. The Penn people began buying titles and then declaring them worthless because not backed by Pennsylvania rights, to which Connecticut responded by expelling purchasers under Pennsylvania title. The war coming on, Connecticut proposed "accommodations" in the interests of the "cause of liberty in the defense of America." In September, 1775, Colonel Plunket with a regiment of men invaded, killed one man, wounded several, burned buildings, seized movable property, sent the women and children to Wyoming and threw the men into jail.

The western settlement thus blocked, Connecticut appealed to the new Congress to have these interferences stopped and received no satisfactory answer, apparently Congress believing there could be no actual hostilities. The now independent State of Pennsylvania then sent a large body under Plunket for conquest. Butler rallied the few available settlers, almost without arms, to hold his own behind a barricade of logs while Congress was asking for peace till the matter could be adjudicated. Westmoreland, with most of her men in the Continental army, was not allowed to recall any for her own protection. Connecticut, amazed, suspended further settlement without special license, and Congress recommended no settlement at all till the matter could come before the courts.

Connecticut bowed to the fact that the Revolution was the great issue. In more than one instance along frontiers, charter rights had been and were being entangled; if independence were won, there could be adjustments among the Americans themselves, as was to prove to be the case, complicated by an Indian massacre of exceptional horror, to be related in a subsequent chapter, along with the tragic experiences of Connecticut families. It was to remain, then, that while Connecticut government was to be confined within early boundaries, Connecticut settlers were to play a worthy part in the upbuilding of territory, between its charter parallels of latitude in particular.

Note—In this history the words "whig" and "tory" are used in their original sense and as of the times of the founding of Connecticut and in the War of the Revolution, and not with

the confusion in England brought about by William III's attempts to break down traditions. The word "whig" was derived from a Scotch word used in driving horses, or, according to others, from the initial letters of "We Hope In God"; "tory" is supposed to have been derived from an expression among Irish tribes, coming into use when applied to the followers of the Duke of York, later James II. Throughout the American colonial era, the words "royalist" and "tory" were synonymous, despite the variations in English expression.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Hour of Test

The Great Desire for Independence Forced by King George—English Essentials to Story of Connecticut—Her Protest Reviews Loyalty and Sufferings—Rousing of the Colonies.

In these steps leading to the war for independence, the story of Connecticut does not imply that the people of the Colony, the "Land of Steady Habits," were specifically and individually mindful of the principles of the germ of free government planted in their Fundamental Orders. They had not been, in any period, conscious of an ark of a covenant; they had, as it were, been imbued with the spirit—in their laws, in their charter, in their relationship with Andros as the King's authority and in their own magistracy.

Their system early had been envied by other settlers, had given strength to other Colonies, as in the case of New York in particular, had received strength from them and was well prepared to become an integral part with them in the struggle now to come. The people's conceptions, carried through to the last, were to be recognized by men of like blood, intent and ability. In the progress of humanity—today as of old—their germ was to be recognized the world around as indicating a goal, a goal which others were to do their worthy part in establishing.

Herein, as being traced, lies the exceptional interest in the course pursued by the Colony, without inferring that each and every man of it was conscious of his unprecedented free constitution. There was sharp conflict of individual opinion as to the best courses for freedom, but when read in the clear light of all incidents and testimony, it is as though the lump as a whole were leavened by the Fundamental Orders. To this end it is vital that the incidents and testimony date from the beginnings in England; the story of Connecticut and democracy cannot be complete without it, familiar as the American incidents may be in every school.

After Pitt had pushed the French war in America to success; after he had pierced the French-Spanish intrigue and had insisted upon supplementary war with Spain before his retirement in 1761; after the boyish and obstreperous George III had succeeded his grandfather on the throne, resolved to follow his own ideas of government; after England had reduced Havana in 1762 at such cost of life for Connecticut, and southern holdings in America had been rearranged; after Chief Pontiac at Detroit had rallied the Indians to try to break through the British border,

and after the Treaty of Paris in 1763 between England, France, Spain and Portugal; after Rousseau had written that "the sovereignty of the people is older than the institutions which restrain it, and these institutions are not obligatory but by consent," and Lord Chesterfield that "you put trust in the existing order of society without reflecting that this order is subject to inevitable changes; we are approaching the state of crisis and the age of revolutions"—after all this and with such import, England was staggering under a burden of debt of £140,000,000, London merchants £4,000,000, and taxes had been increased by £3,000,000, with America's debt £800,000 and taxes £75,000.

Something must be done; the King thought to look toward the Colonies for immediate and material aid. Inimical as this situation seemingly was to the cause of democracy, in reality it was to promote it. Connecticut's history thus far, more than that of sister Colonies, had been marked by almost miraculous victories like those over James, Duke of York, over Governor Fletcher, over criticisms brought to court, and over the mission of Andros. The character of the present King, as in James II's reign, was to make the present peril greater and was to have much to do in bringing about the Colonial triumph he could not conceive possible.

Like no predecessor, George III had determined to have an active part in politics; playing to aristocratic Whigs, he was to jumble his ministries. "In ten years," says the English historian, Green, "he had reduced the government to a shadow and turned the loyalty of his subjects into disaffection. In twenty he had forced the Colonies into revolt and independence, and brought England to the brink of ruin. . . . He had a smaller mind than any English king before him." When Pitt had withdrawn from the ministry in 1761, a French philosopher had written: "That is worth two victories to us"—the more joyous to disconsolate France since Pitt's course in the war already had assured England's possession of Canada and Nova Scotia in the Treaty of Paris two years afterward. Seats in Parliament were being sold openly—some at £4,000. "By sheer dint of corruption, the King turned the House of Commons, which was the guardian of public rights, into a means of governing at his will." His favorite Bute as Pitt's successor was driven from office by popular detestation in 1763. The King in alarm turned again to Pitt, but in vain, and then chose Grenville.

That was the starting point of the Revolution which was to result in a democratic nation.

Almost simultaneously, public spirit had found voice. Silenced now in Parliament, it had spoken out for the first time through type, even though from an unworthy source, and Grenville's two hundred injunction suits so stirred the masses that the way was cleared for freedom of the press soon after.

Grenville's lack of foresight or grasp was illustrated in the internal tax measure for the Colonies; he chose the easiest way and was to carry a large majority with him, blindly along till its restrictions on British commerce brought stinging rebuke at home as well as in America.

George III, on his coronation, in order to secure the personal control he had in mind, had planned to improve opportunities to break possible solidarity of both the

Whig and Tory parties. Unlike his ancestral predecessors in power, he could speak fairly good English as well as German, and while he had no gift for reading, he did seek personal supremacy. He had felt no pang when Pitt resigned in 1761 and had not been dissatisfied when the jumbling of parties ensued. It ought to mean no head but himself. The unpopular Bute had been impossible; Grenville was weak enough in some ways and strong enough in others for the King to hope to strengthen his personal grasp, or leastwise to leave party ascendancy out of the question. At the moment of its great victories, it was a dark hour for the country with its unperceptive and mentally affected monarch.

The able but high-tempered premier Grenville, loving power, compromised with his own ideas to achieve what his Parliamentary friends believed would be a great victory. In the existing political furor, idea of the British constitution had been shelved by some; for self-confidence had been strengthened by achievement in war, with not much thought of the Colonists who had participated, Englishmen though the Colonists were.

Such summary is parenthetical in the story of Connecticut but it is vital to the story of democracy's final achievement and to Connecticut of today; for the story of both must include inner conception of Connecticut's attitude in this crisis.

It is to be noted at this juncture that Richard Jackson was the Colony's joint agent, a position of inside personal representative of the Colony—a position which he also held for Pennsylvania when Chief Justice Thomas Penn of that Colony was agent, associated with Franklin, and also for Massachusetts till the Bay Legislature appointed another man on taking the subject more jealously into its own hands. Jackson was of the original Whig type and influential with Grenville if anybody could be, holding the office of secretary of the exchequer for the premier. As a member of the House he was on the Liberal side, where his standing as a lawyer was well recognized, not seeking self-aggrandizement, clear-spoken, despising circumlocution, now a student of Colonial problems, which is more than Grenville could say.

Historian Bancroft wrote this of Jackson: "One man in Grenville's office and one man only did indeed give Grenville some advice." The first advice was to lay aside the taxation problem which his predecessors had tried to ponder; but Parliament was too eager; as for Jackson himself, he would take no part in preparing the measure. He was emphatically opposed to direct taxation of the Colonies whose sacrifices and abundant assistance he reviewed. If the constitutional right of Parliament to tax all subjects of Great Britain was involved, it should not be overlooked that Ireland never had been taxed. Again, if the Colonies were approached on the matter, in a way appreciative of the sacrifices they had made and in sympathy with the general financial distress, a working proposition might be attained. Jackson's thought that some kind of representation might be worked out was met by the statement that if their advice were asked, they would not get together enough to agree on anything, which in fact was in accord with reasonable observations, but he little foresaw the time when they would be agreeing vociferously.

In September, during the preparation of the bill, Grenville gave approval to the plan for military and civil forces, supplemented by paragraphs delegating to

Courts of Admiralty more authority. This point was especially amazing to the Colonials for whom all such regulations long since had become obsolete. American belongings were to be seized almost as zealously as they would have been had they been wartime booty.

The formal protests sent by the General Courts separately and by America's first Congress, assembled in New York, were not to be admitted. Grenville had told their bearers: "You can get no good by a controversy with the mother country but the House will listen to remonstrances becomingly expressed." The attitude of his associates was still more stern. The tax measure was to include the making of all offenses against it cognizable in the Courts of Admiralty without jury—as previously indicated—and was to reëmphasize that a standing army must be supported in the Colonies to the extent of at least one-half the cost, and Parliament, as a "common council" for the whole Empire, without regard to representation, was "to impose internal taxes as impost duties, or taxes on intercolonial trade or laws of navigation." Despite Jackson's prophesies, Grenville insisted that the best form for the main tax was the stamp, it being generally the most applicable, agreeing, however, to hold up for one year, awaiting developments. Jackson felt that, if the evil must come, this delay would strengthen it, and that date was thus changed for a date in November, the Colonists being assured that no one doubted the right to impose this or any other tax.

In March, 1765, it took Parliament only five days to pass the measure, while Grenville was hurrying to find palliatives in the shape of bounties on material used in manufacturing which would not compete with England's, and, especially for New England, some aid to the whale fisheries. The preamble of the measure frankly states that it was the first time that it was considered just and necessary that a revenue be raised in America.

In the debate, Jackson, replying to criticism of certain doings in the Colonies, said: "It is hard that all should suffer for the faults of two or three." Parliament undoubtedly was the unlimited Legislature "but it should voluntarily set bounds to the exercise of its power." Danger to American liberty meant danger to Great Britain's. The favorable vote called for by the government was a foregone conclusion. Of the fiery speeches made by the opponents none was more vehement than that of Colonel Isaac Barré of Irish birth, then in his thirty-ninth year. His brilliant service with the army in Canada had been cut short by a wound at Quebec and he had stood by the side of the beloved General Wolfe at his death. He was one of the supposed authors of the famous *Junius* letters and was ever to be strongly attached to the American cause.

He was speaking in reply to the great orator, Charles Townshend, who had been Secretary of War under Bute and had been made first Lord of the Admiralty under Grenville, thereafter to be called "weather cock." He had spoken of the planting of the Colonies and the favor that had been shown when Barré rose to reply with choler: "They planted with your care! No! They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable. . . . They nourished by your

indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them." Proceeding he rehearsed the character of some of the men sent to administer affairs, characterizing them scornfully as "deputies of deputies to some members of this House—sent to spy out their liberties . . . men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom, to my intimate knowledge, were glad by going to a foreign country to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own!" Americans nobly had taken up arms "for the defense of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument." The colonel knew these Colonists, in their homes; they were sons of liberty; he was sure they would vindicate their cause—"But the subject is too delicate; I will say no more."

Connecticut's co-agent, Ingersoll, sitting in the gallery, made a report of the speech and sent it by next packet to New London, where it arrived three months later, and whence copies were dispatched throughout the Colony and Canada, to be welcomed eagerly everywhere.

Franklin said of the vote: "We might as well have hindered the sun's setting." The House of Lords on March 8, *pro forma*, concurred without a dissenting voice. The measure had to receive the King's approval by commission because of his mental aberration. The people themselves on both sides of the ocean were for advancing the cause of liberal government.

In the regulations ensuing, clauses were introduced by recommendation of General Gage, without distinct approval of Grenville, and so put through by the secretary of war, billeting troops on private houses, inns, ale houses and barns, soldiers' articles to be provided at public expense—a Parliamentary requisition wholly without precedent. Certain products in hope to promote trade were excepted from duty at the instigation of the mercantile class, and bounties were allowed on importations of lumber.

Americans were to elect their stamp officers after the first appointments, among which were those of Franklin and Ingersoll. The general sentiment was that the Colonies would submit despite the reports of indignation in America. Otis of Massachusetts himself had said that a duty had been imposed and the Massachusetts Assembly early had yielded obedience; Franklin had expressed hope for relief as population increased.

Foreign ships were barred from American ports. Horses and servants could be brought from southern islands on payment of duty to England, and salt from any place, but for most commodities England was the only market or the one storehouse for products. Materials for cloth could not be shipped to England. Printing of the Bible in English was prohibited with the rest; seven years' apprenticeship was required of him who wanted to make hats in the land of the beaver; no hats could be carried in conveyances of any sort; all native metals were prohibited "nuisances"; free labor handicapped, the slave trade was encouraged with pronounced effect. Duties were to be collected on wines, molasses, sugar, indigo and finer apparel even when coming through England; coffee must not pass between Colonies and stamps must be used on all paper for legal, business or public use in

general, suspected offenders to be seized by military or naval officers of the Crown and to be tried without benefit of jury by judges whose income depended on their cases.

Eliphalet Dyer of Connecticut wrote from England: "If all the colonies do not unite, they may bid farewell to liberty, burn their charters and make the most of their thralldom."

In the meantime further trouble had been created for people who had migrated into the territory of present Vermont. Royal Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, who, on assuming prerogative over this territory, had made Royal grants of lands where Connecticut men were settling, was to find his Colony dismembered, at the instigation of Crown officers in New York. This was to result in annexation to New York on the readjustment of boundaries; Royal lands bought by settlers who were cultivating them had to be granted anew in the King's name and had to be redeemed or the owners be subject to eviction. Vexatious conditions were ere long to result in the uprising of the "Green Mountain Boys" of the Hampshire Grants.

CHAPTER XLV.

Despair, Hope, Wrath

Assembly Reasons in Vain—Stamp Act Revolt—Colonies Convene—Putnam and Sons of Liberty—Ingersoll Yields—Hartford Tragedy—Colony Trait—Finances.

Resentment was as deep in Connecticut but outbursts not so violent as in sister Colonies when it was foreseen that Parliament, made up as it then was, would pass the Stamp Act. Unlike the other Colonies, Rhode Island excepted, it had no source of frequent irritation in the person of a Royal Governor; its laws, made by its own representative Assembly, were treated somewhat perfunctorily or with fair criticism by their reviewers in England, as has been shown; it even had handled custom-house administration—the one thing forbidden it—in a calmly independent manner; it had won through in the international “Spanish Ship” case—it had grown up to think and act for itself since its adoption of the Fundamental Orders.

Its free charter had just passed the century mark; its population was around 141,000 whites, mostly Anglo-Saxons, wonted to outdoor hardships and with confidence in their chosen leaders, neither of ecclesiastical bent as in Massachusetts nor yet so indifferent to creed as Rhode Island. The town meeting was a forum.

Here are characteristics not to be lost sight of in the on-coming strife and its immediate sequel. Writing generally, in his history in 1901, Woodrow Wilson said that the Colonies had not come to realize, since the English Revolution of 1689, that it was Parliament and not the King that was to be dealt with, and the future President added: “They objected only that they themselves had not imposed the tax. It was that principle and not the tax itself which moved them so deeply.”

But in Connecticut's case it was a matter of reasoning on a basis of obvious facts, of suffering, of endurance, of crushingly heavy expense of men and money, of attested willingness to do the Colony's part in loyalty to the common country and to neighboring Colonies. There was consciousness, withal, that a large majority of the English people were not represented in Parliament, that seats in that body had been selling as high as £4,000, and the loud protests were being made by the merchant class who foresaw loss of trade and to whom there was then an indebtedness of about a million pounds. They had faith that the voices of men like Richard Jackson would yet prevail.

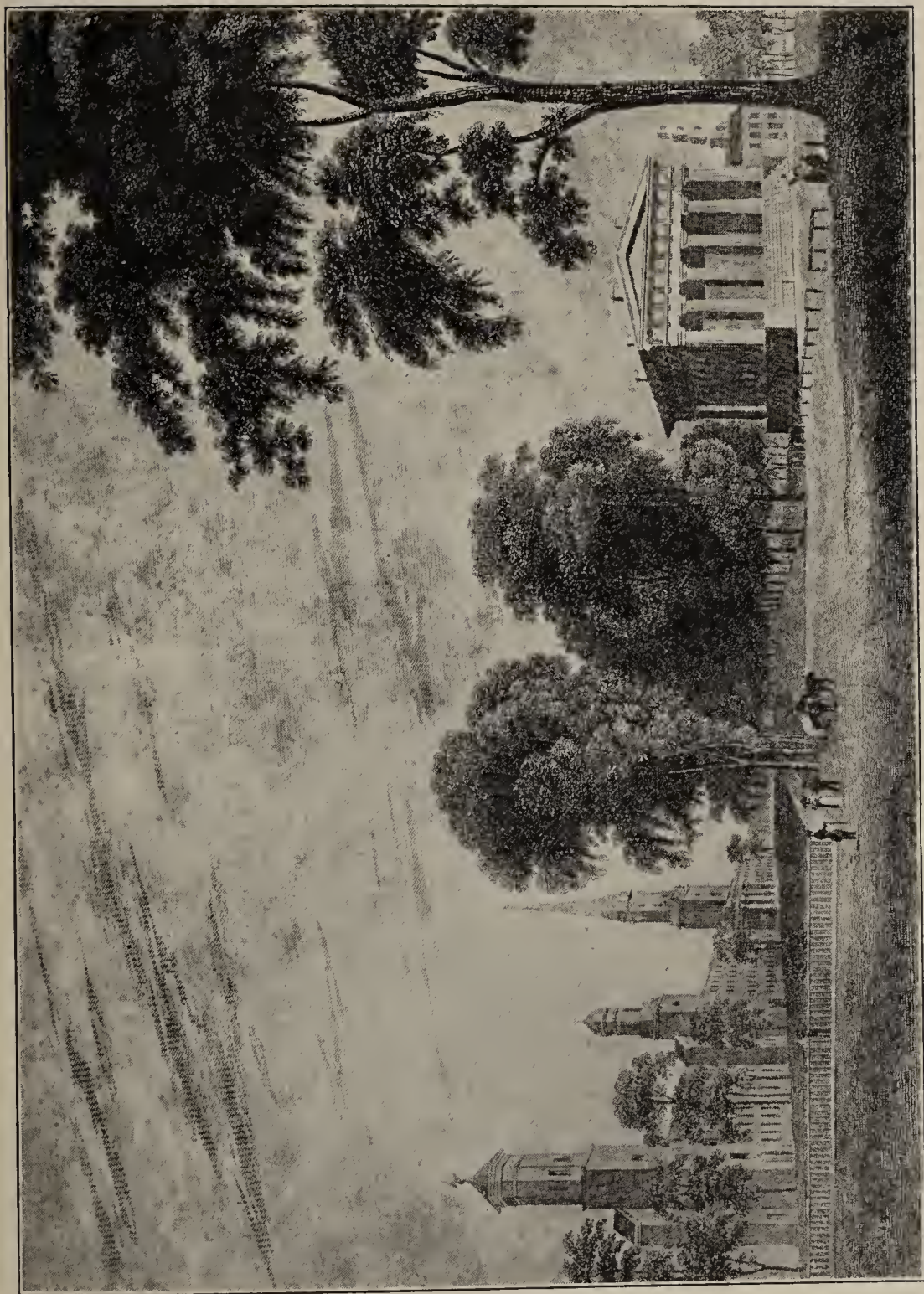
It is a tradition, within reason, that on hearing of the passage of the act in March, 1765, the Assembly immediately held a secret and unrecorded session, at which three selected men on each side, though no one of them personally favoring the act, formally debated the subject. Then a committee was appointed to assist Governor Fitch in drawing up what they called, "The Reasons Why the British Colonies in America should not be charged with internal taxes by authority of Parliament; humbly offered for consideration in behalf of the colony of Connecticut." The committee were Ebenezer Silliman of Fairfield, Colonel George Wyllys of Hartford and Jared Ingersoll of New Haven, all assistants (senators). It is noteworthy that they were instructed "to collect and set in the most advantageous light all such arguments and suggestions as may justly and reasonably be advanced against creating and collecting a revenue in America, *more particularly in this colony*, especially against effecting the same by stamp duties, &c." This, which was delivered to Agent Jackson by Ingersoll who chanced to be sailing at that time, is said to have been declared by Grenville himself the most orderly of all the protests subsequently forwarded from the Colonies.

The document lucidly and in detail set forth the Colony's financial burden as the first point, submitting the figures. At this same session the Assembly was doing its best for its people by offering to exchange for specie bills emitted in 1760—"as far forth" as the stock of specie would hold out. Stamp duty at this juncture, said the "Reasons," must mean misery; "it would be great grievance and much dishearten the people." Continuing:

For the Point of Justice—By England's common law no commoner could be subjected to laws made without his consent and as consent could not be given by every individual person "the powers of rendering or opposing it rested with the representative body"; "from ancient times" it had been "claimed, struggled-for and recovered, as being essential for the preservation of the Liberty, Property and Freedom of the Subject"; the chartered Colonists had not lost their birthright. The principle had been maintained in Ireland and all the American Colonies. If internal taxation can be decreed, "the colonies will have no more than a show of legislation left, any more than a shadow here of English liberty" and there could be no limit to what could be imposed.

Expenses—In law or in equity their descendants could not be deprived of their heritage or any part of it. Aid to other Colonies had been at expense in money alone of £5,000 for the Albany defense; for the Hampshire frontier, £2,000; for 1,000 men and 900 horse for Massachusetts alarms (1703-06), £11,000; voluntarily, for fellow-colonists, though in one instance for a crown colony—and all without reimbursement in money or aid from any source. The expeditions from 1710 to 1745 in aid of the Crown's possessions should not be forgotten, nor yet this basis for restoring peace.

More recently, Connecticut had doubled or trebled her quotas—knowing that the South could not furnish its full share, and in 1758-59, in hope to end the war, strove still more zealously. But that act of the Colonies "seemed constantly to be



YALE COLLEGE AND STATE HOUSE, NEW HAVEN
(From the Collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society)

made the Rule of Demand upon them afterwards. The crown's annual requisition proved exceedingly heavy upon Connecticut, for it indeed had exerted itself vastly beyond its ability and any just proportion in that year." And yet through the succeeding years it met all demands, "to yield the strictest obedience" to the Crown. At this moment (1765), troops were out on service against Indians [in the West], under the King's commander.

The total expenses from 1755 to 1762 had been over £4,000,000—the larger arrears on the same to be "a heavy and increasing burden upon the people for many years to come." Moreover, several thousand able youths, "the hope and strength of the farmers, have been destroyed, lost and enervated in the many distant arduous campaigns." Husbandry, the Colony's only resource, would be long in recovering. And although extension and valuable additions had been made to the British dominions, Connecticut had gained nothing further than in general interest. (The details were here given.) Rather, there would be loss through emigration to new territory.

Of National Interest—If it were argued that America should bear a just proportion of all American expense and an additional tax, therefore, be necessary, the answer should be that benefit of new Colonies ought not to be charged upon the Colonies in general, since it was truly a British national interest. New England had to pay its own way and should not be asked to contribute for expenses of other Colonies, much more favorably circumstanced and belonging to the Crown to the advantage of the Crown and the nation in general.

Constitutional Rights—And again, if charges on America were to be increased in the final decision, "it is humbly conceived" that it be not in a way to infringe on the constitutions of the Colonies or deprive subjects of the rights of freemen, for the Colonists were fellow-subjects with those in England, who were not discriminated against. There might be a duty on importation of negroes and on the fur trade "and so forth"; if on negroes, it would fall only on those who engaged in the traffic; a decrease on such importation would be of salutary effect for both Great Britain and her Colonies; as for furs, if the trade should not be able to bear the charge, why should it be continued at such heavy expense?*

The orders that came with the printed Stamp Act were that all Governors should be sworn to administer the oath to new stamp officers—"to cause all and every of the clauses to be punctually and *bona fide* observed." That was to cause the downfall of the hitherto popular chief executive, Governor Fitch. As soon as Ingersoll's report of Colonel Barré's speech in Parliament had gained circulation throughout all the Colonies, groups were formed of "Sons of Liberty" and "Daughters of Liberty," after the fashion of enthusiasts still in vogue. Action was taking the place of useless arguments the country 'round. The Governor took no action till the time limit had nearly expired. The council being assembled, there was unanimity

* There have been American writers in eminent position who have written that the cause of the American Revolution is to be found in the fact that the revolutionists were like uncontrolled "frontiersmen." *The Story of Connecticut* is not written on a controversial basis, but this "Reasons Why" is Connecticut's contemporary expression on the subject at the very outset.

of protest but the act having been passed, the Governor felt it incumbent upon him to comply with the specific order to him.

Assistants Jonathan Trumbull of Lebanon, Eliphalet Dyer of Windham, Hezekiah Huntington of New London, Elisha Sheldon of Salisbury, Matthew Griswold of Windsor, Shubal Conant of Windham and Jabez Huntington of Norwich immediately withdrew, leaving Benjamin Hall of Wallingford, Ebenezer Silliman of Fairfield, John Chester of Wethersfield and Jabez Hamlin of Middletown to administer the oath. The contention of those who bolted was that the Governor's action was contrary to the oath of the Governor "to maintain the rights and liberties of the people." Fitch wrote a pamphlet setting forth his opinion that failing to comply might endanger the charter. But nothing could check the wave of condemnation, as told in a previous chapter.

Ingersoll, on his return, was to be shocked at his reception. Out of the atmosphere of England he had felt as did Franklin that the Colonies would have to make the best of it for the present, the American stamp officers to be lenient and matters adjust themselves. He had not heard of the Sons of Liberty and of the disaffection among all classes. The people in town meeting in his home town requested him to resign immediately, eminent man though he was, but he felt it his duty to ride his white horse to Hartford and be sworn in for service. Governor Fitch rode part of the way with him. Deputy John Durkee of Norwich, who fought in the wars and behaved valiantly at Wyoming, was a friend of Israel Putnam and was to do good service in the Revolution; he was the leader of a band of Sons of Liberty in New London County.

Having parted with Fitch, Ingersoll was drawing near Wethersfield when he found himself joined by horsemen coming in from side roads here and there and bearing rods stripped of bark, looking like lances. They rode silently, casually, led by Major Durkee in the absence of Colonel Israel Putnam who had been detained by an accident, till they reached the old Broad Street Green, where he was quietly surrounded and requested to sign his resignation with these Sons of Liberty as witnesses. He explained and parleyed till the increasing number became impatient, demonstrative—he brave enough to win their respect without diverting their intent. He already had been burned in effigy in New London. Evening was coming on before he yielded and consented to ride with the party to Hartford. There he read his resignation in the presence of a cheering throng assembled in front of the State House. General David Humphreys, in his biography, says Putnam called upon Governor Fitch and requested that when the stamps arrived they be locked in a room and the key be left in charge of the Sons; if the Governor would not accede to the request his house would be leveled.

In New York people were voting to wear furs and homespun rather than imported goods; stamps, when they came, October 23, were numerous but circulation *nil*. On legal documents the seal was embossed and no paper was legal without it. Governor Colden requested General Gates to send a force to the fort to protect the paper and stamps when they arrived. The vessel bringing them did not venture to come in, leaving it to small boats to take the chances. The town was full of

ominous handbills. Livingston wrote that a mob of the Sons assembled in manner "most formidable." Effigies of the King and his favorites were carried in parades. The fort was the Governor's residence and also the stamp-master's, after he had resigned. A newspaper appeared with the caption in bold type in place of its name: "No Stamped Paper To Be Had." Advised by leading men, Colden announced that he would suffer no stamps to be taken out of the fort. By request he turned them over to the city officials who locked them up in the City Hall, and when Governor Moore arrived to succeed him, the new official wrote home that he had been "obliged to suspend the power he was unable to support." British caricatures were as keen as the American, some representing the ridicule from the French and Dutch.

In Boston the stamp-master was Andrew Oliver, brother-in-law of Governor Hutchinson. With an effigy of him to be hanged on Liberty Tree, the mob went to a house he was having built for an office, demolished it and Oliver's residence, smashed windows and threatened his life. Hutchinson's own house was pillaged and many of his books and precious manuscripts destroyed. The *New Hampshire Gazette* of October 31 was published with heaviest mourning borders and column lines, on the eve of the day the act went into effect—"a day as fatal to almost all as the ides of March were to the life of Caesar or as the 5th of November had been like to have proved to the lives, liberty and property of the honest people of England." Patrick Henry in Virginia was making his famous speech, replying to Loyalist members of the Assembly and closing with the words that spread everywhere—"If this be treason make the most of it." James Otis, eminent lawyer of Boston, urged by the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, was supplementing his speeches with a system of correspondence for a convention of the Colonies.

As a result a "congress" was held in New York, the first in American history, the month before the Stamp Act was to go into effect, which was November. All that had preceded was like individual skirmishes; the Congress was to show unanimity—confederation if possible. Again was the inborn principle of Connecticut conservatism to be recorded in the vote of the Assembly, instructing its delegates to form "no such junction with the other commissioners as will subject you to the major vote of the commissioners present"—a principle which, without doggedness, persists today. Nine Colonies were represented. It was voted to send a protest by the whole body and that each Colony also send its own, as Connecticut had done. Obviously it was a forlorn hope but it did show what Royalty most dreaded—confederation. The Connecticut commissioners were Eliphalet Dyer (substituting for Trumbull), William Samuel Johnson of Stratford and David Rowland of Fairfield. After the formal session there was a private meeting to encourage the boycott. Under the instructions, Connecticut's name did not appear on the Congressional protest; its own protest already had gone forward; it remained simply to send record of approval of the action of the Congress. Johnson's name was on the Congressional protest as a member of the committee that drew it up.

In all particulars the action of the Assembly was a reflection of expressions in town meetings and from the pulpit. The columns of the *New London Gazette* were practically given up to expressions of opinion which were circulated throughout the

other Colonies. Prominent among the advocates were the Rev. Stephen Johnson of Lyme, assisted by John McCurdy, and the Rev. Noah Welles of Stamford.

The town of Wallingford fixed a fine of twenty shillings for anyone using the stamped paper. New London County formally approved the work of Israel Putnam, Major Durkee and the Sons in general, Putnam averring that he could rally 10,000 men. A new supply of stamps arriving at New York was seized and burned. In Massachusetts John Adams was declaring the law of no effect because a Parliament in which the Colonies were not represented had no power to enact it. American ships were carrying their cargoes in the south seas without fear of being captured and in defiance of the despotic power of the judges. In England the King was raging over the "rebellion" and especially over the protests of committees appointed by English merchants. The criticisms by English lovers of liberty were fearless and could not be overcome. Parliament scorned proposed amendments; Grenville demanded the iron hand. But in the House he was losing strength; his retirement was compulsory.

The moderate Whigs turned to Pitt though now supposedly too feeble to play "The Great Commoner" again. Carried to the House he voiced his constant objection to what Parliament had been doing and said: "America, being neither virtually nor really represented in Westminster, cannot be held legally or constitutionally or reasonably subject to obedience to any money bill of this kingdom. . . . The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. . . . If this House suffers the stamp act to continue in force, France will gain more by your colonies than she ever could have done if her arms in the last war had been victorious."

Grenville, who, after an outside quarrel with the King, had been replaced by Rockingham as Chief Minister, responded with contempt. The House called loudly for Pitt. Replying to the charges against him, he exclaimed: "I rejoice that America has resisted," and pled for the honor of England in words Englishmen of today rejoice to read. March 14, 1766, the House voted 200 to 122 for repeal; the Lords followed with 105 to 71 the next week. In their opposition the minority were establishing a new "toryism" with its full meaning as thereafter to be employed through the war, in contrast with "whigs" or patriots.

When Benjamin Franklin had been called before the House to testify, he had spoken of the impossibility to enforce the act in such terrain as America's; of the enormous increase in trade with Britain since 1723; of the fact that the recent French war was in behalf of British interests; of the Colonists' heavy burden of debt; if Maryland had not contributed her fair share, she was only one of the Colonies; that before 1763 there had been the best of feeling toward England; the Colonies had questioned only the laws for internal revenue; if the act were not repealed, affection and respect would be forfeited, and likewise commerce. To Grenville's questions he had replied in detail showing what the last war had cost in men and money and that reimbursements were very small in comparison; if armed men were sent over, they would find no rebellion but one thereby would be created. As deputy-postmaster for America, he ridiculed Grenville's point that postage was a tax; it simply was remuneration for service; external (or customs)

tax could not be opposed, he believed, because one was not compelled to incur it: internal tax had to be paid by everybody. This last item, relative to customs, was to be repudiated as the contest wore on.

While the King was declaring Parliament's vote to repeal "fatal," and Pitt was being accepted by him as Premier—soon forced by illness to leave matters to Chancellor of the Exchequer Townshend, a man of infinite conceit—London streets were thronged with people celebrating the repeal. The *London Gazette* of March 18 brought the news to America by first packet, which arrived in Boston Harbor May 15, describing the illuminations and concluding: "In short, the rejoicings of 'Friends to America' were as great as was ever known on any occasion." In every American port and then in every town there were days of thanksgiving and jubilee. In Connecticut the date set apart was May 23.

In Hartford this was turned into a day of gloom by the "blowing-up of the school house," a brick structure at the east side of the green. Bells were ringing, trumpets blowing, while preparations were being made for the evening's illuminations. Several had gathered in the upper chamber of the school house to make rockets. At the same time powder was being distributed to militiamen from the supply stored below. The two companies had received a pound for each man when boys set fire to a small sprinkling dropped on the floor. In the explosion and total destruction of the building, twenty-eight were buried in the ruins, of whom six died and the others were seriously injured. All of the dead were among the most prominent young men: Dr. Nathaniel Ledyard, brother of Colonel William Ledyard of Fort Groton; Levi Jones; William Gardiner, a merchant; John Knowles, and Richard Burnham, son of Elisha Burnham. The State House nearby was somewhat damaged.

Had Pitt retained his physical vigor and if his acceptance of the Earldom of Chatham did not permanently affect his prestige with the extreme Whigs, there might have been no war, many believe. But Townshend was an ideal instrument of the vengeful George III. Seizing upon the representation that objection had been made chiefly in relation to the internal taxes, he turned to rigid enforcement of the acts of trade and, further, imposed duties on various imports, including tea, and made "Writs of Assistance" permits to ignore private rights—to raise revenue for juryless courts and maintenance of the soldiery. In 1766, therefore, once again two companies were quartered in New York by order of the Royal Governor and at the Colony's expense. The celebrations were not over when the effect of the "declaration act" which had followed so closely on the heels of the repeal was arousing the indignation of the Colonists.

Again the country was seething, with Boston the center of resistance. Connecticut, quietly retaining its composure, decreed at once an import duty on "goods or merchandise brought in for sale by persons not inhabitants of this colony," and followed this the next year with an "addition" allowing the importer a drawback on imported rum when exported. In 1770 Dr. Johnson, then agent in England, wrote that the government took umbrage thereat and the enemies of the Colony meant to

make use of the legislation at the next session of Parliament. Accordingly the Connecticut acts were repealed. In general throughout the Colonies the English impositions were evaded; in Boston, names of those who "audaciously continued" to import from England were published together with the names of justices in each county, thereby specifically enforcing the boycott. When Samuel Adams of Massachusetts took steps to unite the Colonies in opposition, Westminster commanded silence and Massachusetts ignored it; the ministry then threatened to bring to England any case of trial for treason, by a statute enacted even before there were Colonies in America.

Connecticut, whose case relative to the Mohegan Indians was still in court in England, with serious possibility that plotters might yet employ it to cause the present angry King and government to cancel the charter, remained thoughtfully silent but very determined.*

Virginia's House of Burgesses, however, unanimously was declaring that it alone could assess taxes there and possessed the inalienable right of petition to Westminster, jointly with other Colonies or by itself; the Crown had no lawful power to try a Virginian in England. The Royal Governor forthwith prorogued the House, but the members met privately and Colonel George Washington prepared a welcome agreement to boycott all goods upon which an English tax was laid. The aroused commercial element in England had rallied to the defeat of the Stamp Act; they would be likely to rally again. As other Colonies followed Virginia's suit, distress and panic in England, while trade almost stood still, raised a cry that terminated the obnoxious act, except for tea, the least of all the taxes but demanded by the King with view to preserve the principle of Royal power.

Meanwhile Massachusetts Sons of Liberty had posted warnings on doors of any who menaced their regular committees, marking the individuals for chastisement. Soon came the famous event of the shooting into a group of men who had pelted a detachment of Gage's soldiers marching through Boston streets, with casualties of five dead and six wounded, in March, 1770, and prior to the news of the repeal of the obnoxious act. In Faneuil Hall next day Governor Hutchinson heeded the advice of Samuel Adams and had the quarters of the troops removed from the city to the island. There had been the case of the sloop *Liberty* in Boston Harbor, seized for smuggling, when Townshend's commissioners had been driven to shelter in the fort and request sent to England for more troops, and, in 1772, the seizing and burning of the armed, stranded schooner *Gaspee* where she had run aground off Rhode Island. When the East India Company was allowed to bring tea into England without paying the customary twelpence a pound duty but to collect threepence in the Colony ports, and the company sent its ships to all American ports, and no tea for sale could be landed, and at Boston a silent mob disguised as Indians threw the tea into the harbor, the test was reasonably complete. America undoubtedly showed herself defiant and united.

Connecticut was sympathetic in all this and was to be the first to reach Massachusetts in aid when the time came. Every town of that day had its true stories

* At this very time the plotters were keeping the Indians in a jealous state of mind to prevent "the good effect of any tenders of favor or assistance that can be offered them from the government of the colony."

of how the import taxes were avoided—of how spinning wheels were kept running, how women in homespun met gaily for afternoon teas to drink substitutes, how quickly ostracism was employed as penalty for departure from home-made regulations, how efficient though undemonstrative the defiance.

As along the path the reader has been following, Professor Johnston of Princeton, the historian, was to be free to say that, as in 1689 and again in 1728 when Massachusetts was having her charter and Governor troubles, there was "not one iota of change in the traditional policy of Connecticut." The "General Assembly had a great trust confided to it." . . . "Nothing in the history of this commonwealth is so noteworthy as the prevailing characteristic of its people—their judicial power of estimating the chances of success, their selfrestraint under every provocation until the chances seem to be reasonably good, and their unreserved abandonment to action when the time for action seems to have fully come."

In studying the "traditional policy," it cannot be passed by that a professor in a western college published in one of the State's tercentenary pamphlets of 1933 a quite different interpretation. In writing that Governor Pitkin, Deputy-Governor Trumbull and the Assembly's "Reasons Why" did not state the facts in reporting on conditions in the 1760's, he quotes from the State statistics of the time, and without, the rather, emphasizing the financial acumen demonstrated throughout the long period of straitened circumstances.

It is to be remembered that it was the period of meeting the paper-currency evil, of emitting bills of credit and of sundry ways for trying to lighten the burden under which the Colonies had been laboring. In itself evidence of the depression, a considerable amount of uncollected taxes had at one time accumulated. To save expense of holding, the Colonial government had allowed funds due from England to accumulate on call in the English treasury, drawing only as necessary and handling the bills of credit and kinds of currency in a way that was profitable without being disturbing to any notable degree, after increased taxation had incurred burdens. Then later when the back taxes began coming in, it had been possible to suspend the State tax for a while, with successful purpose to relieve the farmers' burden, meantime adjusting the currency, silver and bills of credit to help on, till by 1768 improvement in general conditions was attested in new building and improved land, a sort of comparative "boom" period which at any time might collapse should England maintain her attitude.

It had been well learned that there was no knowing even the immediate future, with Parliaments and changing ministries. What with the European wars England had been involved in, and the manner in which finances had been handled, the English people unquestionably were over-burdened, but that was not the Colonies' concern beyond commiseration. The Colony's "Reasons Why" and the reports to the Board of Trade were not falsified. When in 1768 Trumbull wrote Agent William Samuel Johnson supplementing Pitkin's letter to Hillsborough, secretary for Colonies in that newly created department, he said that if the list of polls of estates had been asked for, they might have appeared in such a light to the Lords as "might have proved disadvantageous to the colony"—in the contest then on. This clearly

had reference to the non-collection of the back taxes, due to financial generalship in the past—which, in the present wrathful attitude of the Lords, might be construed as unjustifiable, however well conceived.

Hillsborough was a friend of Bedford, malignant against the Colonies and one of the signs to Franklin that the bonds of union with the Colonies were being destroyed. Hillsborough had said to Agent Johnson: "Connecticut is very deficient in correspondence, so that we have too little connection with you"; also that requests for the Colony's laws had not been complied with, proceedings of the Assembly not forwarded, and that King Charles had had no right to grant the absolute legislation. Johnson replied that the Colony now had a Parliamentary as well as the Royal sanction which it had held more than a century; that it had submitted its laws, validity of which must be decided by a court having jurisdiction; that it had been hoped that the repeal of the Stamp Act implied consideration, but such implication was now being reversed.

Successive ministers tried to abrogate the charter but could find no excuse that was plausible. As for Hillsborough, his first act was to give to Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts his annual grant together with a search warrant on the commissioners of the customs in Boston, which was intrusion on the power of the court.

Misconstruction by men like Hillsborough was to be avoided as Trumbull knew when he wrote his son, Joseph Trumbull, that he wished Parliament to know "as little as possible about our internal circumstances and policy, especially in point of taxation, which they never will clearly understand, and which may be liable to much misconception." By their nature and by their lack of similar exigencies themselves, they could not understand it.

But it was past the hour for reasoning. King George III again gave way to his rage when told of the "Boston Tea Party" and wrote Lord North, now minister: "The die is cast. The colonies must triumph or submit." The Massachusetts charter was emasculated so that the council was appointed by the King. Town meetings were being held everywhere; moderation had fled from Connecticut's. Windham sent Boston two hundred and fifty of its choicest sheep—Norwich three hundred and ninety, and wagon loads of food went from various towns; the postmen's saddlebags were packed with letters of encouragement. The day the new law went into effect Hartford was draped in mourning. A rumor that Boston had been attacked called forth hundreds of volunteers.

Every Colony except Georgia sent representatives to a Congress called for September 4 in Philadelphia. The men from Connecticut were Eliphalet Dyer of Windham, Roger Sherman of New Haven and Silas Deane of Wethersfield. But words there were conservative—words that could be used by their friends in Parliament where Franklin's bill for repeal of the provocative laws was introduced by the enweakened Chatham, the William Pitt of old. "It is not canceling a piece of parchment," he said, "that can win back America; you must respect her fears and her resentments." Both this bill and the one introduced by Burke in the House were rejected. The Connecticut town meetings, with their original sense of democracy, were adopting their own resolutions and orders as seriously as any convention or Assembly.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Connecticut's Proclamation

Governor's Foot Guard—Origin of Federal Marine Corps—Allen and Arnold at Ticonderoga on First Day of Congress—Canadian Expedition—Governor Traces Development of Free Government.

It is easy to say that the day of the world's first republic, with its democratic principles, would have been postponed indefinitely had England's ruler and Parliament listened to the voice of the Colonists and of English Commoners as well; it also is a reasonable presumption that Americans might have lost through contempt for British military commanders had it not been for the character of those in the French war, who had carried on to victory during Pitt's administration.

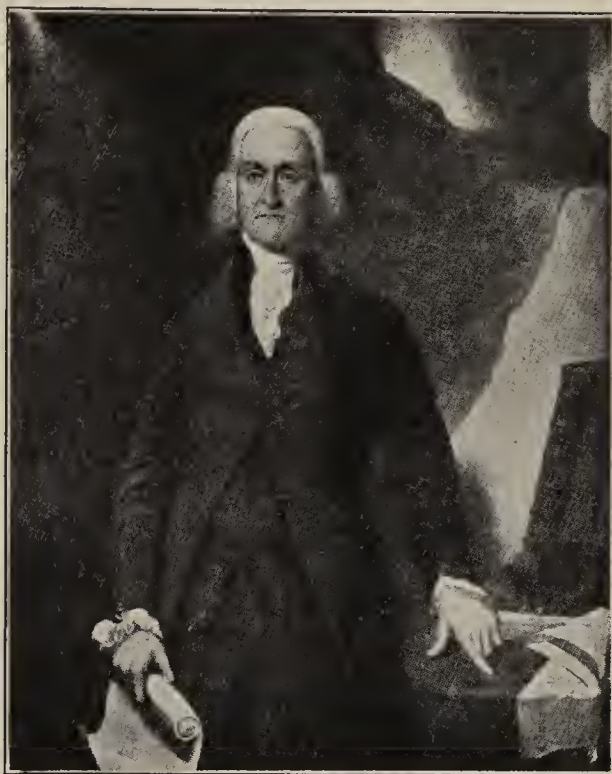
After the strain of the intercolonial wars there had been a typical moral let-down, by no means confined to the militia. Degeneration through use of intoxicants had excited grave alarm for those who felt the obligation of the discharge of both State and churchly duties in accord with the Colony's inheritance. The 23,000 enrolled Connecticut militiamen between sixteen and forty-five—which was the new limit in place of age sixty—in twenty-two regiments, counting the six recently added, only partly uniformed and subject merely to intermittent drill, increased the hilarity of field day and "'Lecture Day." Those events meant a week of festivities in either capital, elaborate preparations for which good housewives were making for days in advance. The clergy from all over the Colony were supposed to be present for the parades, the picnicking and, particularly, for the very special "election sermon" by one who was distinguished by the choice.

The Assembly having been moved to call upon a committee to act, there were prosecutions, with the result that in Hartford escort duty for two years had to be by an East Hartford company. The more serious-minded, led by Samuel Wyllys, recently from Yale, thereupon took action and October 2, 1771, forty-three of them petitioned the Assembly for the right to form a company for particular purpose of Governor's escort regularly, at their own expense. The uniform adopted on approval by the grateful legislators was that of the British Grenadiers, conscientiously maintained to this day, though never under the British flag till October 10, 1917, during the World War; then that flag was displayed on the capitol at Hartford on the occasion of a visit by a British-uniformed Canadian battalion as guests of the First Infantry, Connecticut State Guard, in service of recruiting for the

British forces. A like company of Foot Guard, the Second, also of proud record, was formed in New Haven in 1775, with Benedict Arnold as commander. These were to be supplemented in 1788 by a troop of horse in each capital.

The shedding of blood at Concord and Lexington April 19, 1775, when General Gage sent his men from Boston to locate a powder supply, caused Governor Trumbull to summon the Assembly a week ahead of the time for the regular May session. Putnam, leaving his plow in the furrow, already had covered the distance to Lexington in marvelously short time and had given Trumbull material for a calm but caustic letter to Gage. Gage's reply five days later was a denial that he had done more than act in defense after all the disturbances he had noted, "with no desire to injure or molest quiet and peaceable subjects"—the letter arriving the day after William Samuel Johnson and Erastus Wolcott had been sent to get some sort of answer. That the Massachusetts Provincial Congress was led by this interchange to believe that Connecticut was trying to act independently is itself evidence of the sensitiveness of the authorities.

A fourth of the Connecticut militia was ordered assembled immediately, fully accoutered, uniformed and provisioned, allowance to be made for extra clothing and knapsacks and a month's pay in advance for officers and "enlisted inhabitants." (The pay of the major-general



JONATHAN TRUMBULL—GOVERNOR 1769-84

was £20 a month and that of the enlisted man £2.) Arms and equipment should be bought for those who did not have them and an extra supply of 3,000 stands be obtained for reserve, together with entrenching tools and axes. David Wooster of Derby was appointed major-general; Joseph Spencer of East Haddam and Israel Putnam brigadier-generals. These three also were commanders of the first three regiments, whose lieutenant-colonels acting as commanders were: Andrew Ward of Guilford, Samuel Wyllys of Hartford, Experience Storrs of Mansfield; and the colonels of the other regiments, Benjamin Hinman of the Southbury, part of the Woodbury of that time; David Waterbury of Stamford, and Samuel H. Parsons of Lyme. There had been a quiet importation of powder to add to the supply which was placed in the care of the authorities in various counties. All forces were to be in readiness to meet a hurry call.

But now was to come one of the greatest surprises of the times. Silas Deane of Wethersfield had his eye on Ticonderoga, which the British should have remembered as one of the strongholds of the north. Secretly, with Samuel Wyllys of Hartford, Samuel H. Parsons of Lyme, Samuel Bishop, Jr. of New Haven, Joshua Porter

of Salisbury, Jesse Root of Hartford, Ezekiel Williams of Hartford, William Williams of Lebanon, Thomas Mumford of Groton, Adam Babcock of New Haven, Charles Webb of Stamford, and Christopher Leffingwell of Norwich, he procured £800 from the Colony Treasury, the group giving their notes. Captain Noah Phelps of Simsbury, in the guise of a prospector, having familiarized himself with the exact conditions at the fort, was appointed with Captain Edward Mott of Preston and Bernard Romans of Hartford to arrange matters secretly. What with men still starting out for Lexington, it would be no difficult matter to enroll enough for the expedition, but as absolute secrecy was necessary there must be careful discrimination.

It so happened that at the Hartford dock lay a small war vessel called the *Mariner*, for general observation duty in behalf of the Colonies since their convention. Through its commander, Deane was able to secure the services of some half-dozen, they thereby earning a right to be credited as the first American marines, the authorization of Congress to be established during this tour of duty.

Hartford men assisting Phelps were Epaphras Bull, William Nichols, Elijah Babcock, Captain John Bigelow and Ashbell Wells. Phelps assembled his party at Salisbury April 29 and 30. In that locality there was no question about leadership. Ethan Allen and Seth Warner were the men. Allen had been born in present Southbury whence he had come to Salisbury and had had an interest in the mines there till he went up into Vermont. There he had been the leader of the "Green Mountain Boys" in their contests over the grants through the Royal Governor of New Hampshire and over the claims of New York Colonists, through the courts and by attempted force. With him was Seth Warner, born in Roxbury, near Allen's birthplace, a boyhood friend of Allen's and connected with him by marriage, a leader to win distinction in the Revolution. By ways calculated to avoid detection of their destination, they reached Pittsfield where they were joined by Colonel John Easton, former Hartford man whom Phelps had taken into his confidence and whose recruits were in readiness. Thus, on reaching Bennington, Vermont, they had a force of eighty-three—the enemy still unaware—to add to the Green Mountain Boys whom Allen had selected.

At this juncture Benedict Arnold appeared. Arnold was in the midst of the first chapter of his sensational career, a chapter which gives high color to a romance stranger than fiction. When the Lexington alarm had sounded he was commander of the Second "Governor's Guard," in New Haven. He was born in Norwich, of prominent Rhode Island lineage, in 1741, had run away from home to see Indian fighting and altogether was of a restless, adventuresome nature—not over-popular in New Haven where he was engaged in dealing in produce and in bookselling at the outbreak of the Revolution. His store on Water Street was well conducted. In 1766 he was haled before Colonel David Wooster by a customs informer whom he had whipped for having told of smuggling. The colonel, as justice, fined him only fifty shillings and added, according to Arnold's own story of it in the newspaper, that he whipped the informer none too much. On the Lexington news he ordered his newly organized command to be ready to march, at the same time requesting

the keys to the powder house, which was refused. On the assembling of the company the next day he marched it to the meeting-place of the selectmen where his request for the keys was considered dubiously, the government having given orders that the county authorities have strict charge. By a tradition which now is recognized each year in the celebration by today's Second Company, Governor's Foot Guard, Arnold's threat to use force caused delivery of the keys so that he and forty men were soon on the Boston pike. On the return of the men, he remained in camp and was commissioned by Massachusetts as a staff colonel at headquarters. There he divulged the secret of Ticonderoga's condition which had been imparted to him by Colonel Parsons, with result that he was directed to go thither and command such force as he could assemble.

On his arrival the volunteers were just about to vote for a commander. He stood before them, in his uniform and with his commission from the only Colonial headquarters. Ethan Allen moved aside to allow a free choice. The towering hero of the Green Mountain Boys was the only commander to be considered. Allen quietly took his place but courteously asked Arnold to accompany them. Allen and his men rushed into the fort at an early morning hour and demanded surrender from the sleepy commander in the name of "Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" That was May 10, a few hours before the Continental Congress had come into actual existence in Philadelphia.

Warner pushed on to take Crown Point and Arnold, in a vessel, captured an armed schooner at St. John's. For a full century French and British strategists had contended for that line from Quebec, down the lakes and the Hudson to New York, only to see it ignored and then lost by England before the great war—to be desperately fought for by Burgoyne later and again lost in a critical hour. The Massachusetts Provincial Congress requested Connecticut to hold the fort for action by the Continental Congress, for which purpose Colonel Benjamin Hinman's regiment was sent there.

Among the prisoners brought to Hartford by Barnabas Bull was Lieutenant-Governor Philip Skene of Skenesborough, who later was to be one of the British officers at the battle of Bennington, and his son, Major Skene. They were lodged in the house of Mrs. Sarah Whitman Hooker on present New Britain Avenue—a house bought in 1928 by Mrs. Ralph E. Gerth and dedicated to the use of patriotic organizations, rich in the associations of the Hooker and Whitman families. When the Skenes obtained permission to attend Episcopal services in Middletown, with tensely aristocratic mien, the neighbors were so scandalized that the permit was withdrawn and the Assembly put limitations on the prisoners till their parole. At that time the Colony was just beginning to use the abandoned copper mines in Simsbury for a prison, sixty feet below ground but in good enough condition to make the best available place.

What cannon and powder could be transported from Ticonderoga to Cambridge were to be of special aid at the battle of Bunker Hill. The steep, rutted roads were soon to be clogged with men and carts pushing on toward Cambridge. It was a

spectacle stranger than any before in American history, more significant than in any history, for it was the march for free government. Hence, in a study of free government, a picture of it is more valuable than pictures of battles with their points of similarity, however brilliant or however doleful, in any age. The charge of Prince Rupert at Marston Moor made the most spectacular of all battles up to that period, as did the stolidity of Cromwell's Ironsides; but both were to have their counterparts, in many lands. It could seem that there never was a counterpart to this rallying of the Colonial sons of England bent upon maintaining for themselves the spirit that had made the Mother Country and for more permanent freedom than ever had been obtained by a people, however eager.

Fortunately there is such a picture, by a Simsbury soldier, later a minister,* published in his *History of My Own Times* in 1827. Nowhere is there a more human account of what was being done at that critical hour in history in every little hill town, no better sidelights on the men who were doing it. The captain of his company was a well-bred man of friendly disposition, he wrote; the lieutenant a sprightly college graduate (Andrew Hillyer, whose descendants were to be prominent through future years), unassuming, persuasive—to become a colonel in militia; second lieutenant (E. Fitch Bissell of Windsor), was “not of the most easy, but efficient”; sergeant, “fierce and fiery” of countenance; other sergeants, from whom “no one expected much flattery”; one of them could sing camp songs; another —“no one ever admired him for his pleasant airs, but a good soldier.”

Seventy-five assembled at the captain's house and marched to the church where the Rev. Mr. Pitkin of Farmington, by request, preached the farewell sermon. A “mixed multitude” of relatives and strangers followed them. In the midst of this scene of sorrow, the drums beat to arms and with one lingering look, the long march was begun in silence. The most of the men had not been twenty miles from home before.

That night they put up at Marsh's Inn. The writer spent the night on the floor with a cartridge box for a pillow. An ox team carried the provisions and a barrel of rum (which, it is known from other sources, few men abused.) Salt pork and dried peas were the rations. “While passing through Connecticut, the females were very polite, in lending us knives and forks; but after entering Massachusetts, we were not allowed the like favor without pledging money or some kind of security—the people saying they had lost many spoons by the soldiers who had gone before us. Our bread was hard biscuit, in which there was a small quantity of lime, just enough to make the mouth sore.”

The marching and the martial music on Sundays and while passing churches caused reflection on whether the Lord would be as well pleased if the men had stayed home to read their Bibles; but military discipline soon effected a degree of relaxation and in time “we came to consider all days alike.” Soldiers are not inclined to the same degree of civility as others. It was not uncommon if a soldier were not well treated by the inn-keeper to show resentment by firing a ball through his sign. In Connecticut the men were treated with great respect, but as they came

* Daniel Barber.

near Boston they were treated as though they were "a banditti of rogues and thieves," and the soldiers expressed themselves resentfully. It required about ten days to reach Roxbury. Six men were there quartered in each six by seven tent. The household utensils were an iron pot, a canteen or wooden bottle holding two quarts, a pail and a wooden bowl.

At the outset Connecticut had begun to win its reputation as the "Provision State." The Assembly had acted wisely in selecting Governor Trumbull's oldest son, Joseph, for commissary-general. Not only the abundance but the efficiency in the distribution of food supplies had attracted the attention of Washington when he took command of the army in Cambridge, and he felicitously expressed it in his letter to the president of Congress, saying he considered it a duty to represent the inconvenience of dependence on many for supplies and the consequent necessity of appointing a commissary-general. "We have a striking instance of the preference of such a mode in the establishment of Connecticut, as their troops are extremely well provided for under the direction of Mr. Trumbull, and he has at different times assisted others with various articles. Should my sentiments happily coincide with those of your honors on this subject, I beg leave to recommend Mr. Trumbull as a very proper person for this department." Trumbull was at once appointed, with rank of colonel, and was to continue in office with credit till in 1777 Congress reorganized this with other departments and placed the control in Congress, the evil of which was to be exemplified at Valley Forge, for one station. Joseph Trumbull died the following year, worn out and heavy-hearted. Congress, having perceived its error, reestablished the old system, Jeremiah Wadsworth was made the commissary-general, and high commendations were won from Washington.

In September, 1775, Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Enos of Windsor had command of the Connecticut contingent for Arnold's eleven hundred men for Quebec, Arnold depending upon the sympathy of the Canadians and good faith of the Indians. Return Jonathan Meigs of Middletown, who was to attain distinction later, was a major on that expedition. The hardships experienced were perhaps the most severe undergone during the war. A number of officers in meeting expressed their belief that the suffering was unjustifiable and Enos led most of the Connecticut men back to Cambridge. There in due time he was brought before a court martial which exonerated him, adding to the disgust of Arnold who had thought that he and not Hinman should have been placed in charge of Ticonderoga on the strength of his Massachusetts commission, which he had promptly resigned. On the Canada exploit he held a commission as colonel from Congress. The soldiers who struggled on to Quebec fared ill. Captain Oliver Hanchett of Suffield and thirty-five of his men were among the captured, as also were Major Meigs and three staff officers, Catlin, Oswald and Lockwood. Samuel Cooper of Hanchett's company was killed.

Marine demonstrations were few but the man-of-war *Rose* was keeping the towns along the Sound shore in a state of anxiety, to culminate in the "battle of Stonington" the last day of August. While she was lying off Watch Hill, she sent two tenders to capture two merchantmen that had taken refuge in Stonington Harbor, and shelled the town. About eight hundred men from along the shore hastened

to prevent any landing. A hornets' nest having been stirred up, the warship sailed away the next day. Governor Trumbull immediately directed that some of the new levies be diverted to shore duty. Washington called his attention to the fact that orders were that all levies be sent to Cambridge, which Trumbull acknowledged obediently but with a suspicion of a grimace, never to be cherished by "Brother Jonathan" or resented by Washington. Enlistments were expiring in December. While most men were reënlisting, a few were for going home too soon, a fact which aroused the ire of their comrades and the authorities. Out-and-out deserters were brought to trial, but public condemnation was so stern that little more was necessary.

A real enemy was developing in the conduct of the Rivington press of New York, where "loyalists" were numerous; James Rivington's *New York Gazetteer* had a large circulation, with its criticisms of Whigs in America, inspired in large measure, it was thought, by Episcopalians in association with the Rev. Samuel Seabury and his Church of England associates. One Isaac Sears who had done much service in preparing boats and forts for service along the shore, later a lieutenant, resolved on forcible suppression late in November (beginning with the capture of Mr. Seabury, Judge Jonathan Fowler and "Lord" Nathaniel Underhill at Mamaroneck) accompanied by a few Connecticut volunteers on horseback. It ended with the sequestration of Rivington's press and type. New York's Provincial Congress, while sympathetic, seems to have coveted the honor, judging by the nature of its complaint to Connecticut, asking that the outfit be sent down to that body. The wise Trumbull replied in dignified fashion to the effect that this is not official matter and, as the ringleader was supposed to be a New York man, the civil courts would be the proper resort. It appeared that the New York authorities already had taken such steps; while no record appears, neither did any more papers appear till the British got possession of the city for a time.

Of the three prisoners taken by Sears, there were recantations from all except the future Bishop Seabury who had protested against the Continental Congress and now addressed a long memorial to Connecticut's Assembly. For a month he was kept under guard at the house of Mrs. Lyman in New Haven, whence, belligerency not developing but, rather, respect being won, he was released.

At its April session, 1775, on first alarm, the Assembly had voted £50,000, bills of credit, for two years, and had laid a tax of seven pence. Before June, 1776, this had been increased to £260,000, so heavy had been the expenses—£65,000 in excess of the Colony's share—and the tax had been increased to eight pence. Part of this was due to what was known as Schuyler's expedition. As a matter of actual fact the strategy of making an advance toward Canada when Ticonderoga was captured, had appealed to some, to the extent that Congress did appoint General Philip Schuyler, and in his sickness General Richard Montgomery, to proceed to the capture of Montreal by way of Lakes George and Champlain, Waterbury's and Wooster's regiments to come up to unite with Hinman's at Ticonderoga for that purpose, to be joined by Captain Edward Mott's company from Putnam's regiment. The campaign was not pushed after disease had thinned the ranks, and thus again the vitally important highway was neglected; it belongs on the list of strategical blunders

which mark every year and probably will continue to do so till wars are no more. But the treasury must pay.

In due time, after Connecticut had made application for the £160,000 of these expenses, she received £210,000 in the brand new Continental currency, so gratifying to the sense of vision and so carefully protected by what appears today like humorous legislation, namely, prohibiting the taking of more than face value of the currency in exchange for coin or the charging of a higher price for goods paid for in such attractive paper. It was a patriotic ebullition by intensely patriotic men, always on alert. The session of December, 1775, was the last to make use of the King's arms, and George's name gave place to the Governor's in all legal documents.

The delegates to the first Continental Congress were Eliphalet Dyer, Silas Deane and Roger Sherman, thus instructed:

"Resolved unanimously by this Assembly: That the delegates of this colony in general Congress be and they hereby are instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United American colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to the king of Great Britain, and to give the assent of this colony to such declaration when they shall judge expedient and best, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, or any plan of operation necessary and mutual defence."

After authorizing the two battalions for the army in Canada—by the Great Lakes—seven battalions were authorized for the army in New York. On June 18, 1776, the day after Bunker Hill, came, then, a proclamation, in regular order—not with undue prescience, not with anything more than the consciousness of the mission of the Fundamental Orders and the charter of 1662, a consciousness now shared by twelve other Colonies, certainly in full consistency therewith. And that consistency is a vital feature in the world history of free government which so far, today, has thwarted attempts to nullify it or break it down. Printed as a broadside, it goes back to the beginnings of man's struggle for equality, brings out and, in solemn but unerring language, emphasizes the features which have been emphasized in this history of Connecticut. The last feature in the last volume of *Colonial Records*, it reads:

BY THE HONORABLE
JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Esq.:

Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the English Colony of Connecticut
in New England.

A PROCLAMATION.

The race of mankind was made in a state of innocence and freedom, subjected only to the laws of God the CREATOR, and through his rich goodness, designed for virtuous liberty and happiness here and forever; and when moral evil was introduced into the world, and man had corrupted his ways before GOD, vice and iniquity came in like a flood, and mankind became exposed, and a prey to the violence, injustice and oppression of one another.

GOD, in great mercy, inclined his people to form themselves into society, and to set up and establish civil government for the protection and security of their lives and properties from the invasion of wicked men: But through pride and ambition, the kings and princes of the world, appointed by the people the guardians of their lives and liberties, early and almost universally, degenerated into tyrants, and by fraud or force betrayed and wrested out of their hands the very rights and properties they were appointed to protect and defend. But a small part of the human race maintained and enjoyed any tolerable degree of freedom.

Among these happy few the nation of Great Britain was distinguished, by a constitution of government wisely framed and modelled, to support the dignity and power of the prince, for the protection of the rights of the people; and under which that country, in long succession, enjoyed great tranquility and peace, though not unattended with repeated and powerful efforts, by many of its haughty kings, to destroy the constitutional rights of the people, and establish arbitrary power and dominion. In one of those convulsive struggles, our forefathers having suffered in that, their native country, great and variety of injustice and oppression, left their dear connections and enjoyments, and fled to this then inhospitable land, to secure a lasting retreat from civil and religious tyranny.

The God of Heaven favored and prospered their undertaking—made room for their settlement—increased and multiplied them to a very numerous people, and inclined succeeding kings to indulge them and their children for many years, the unmolested enjoyment of the freedom and liberty they fled to inherit:

But an unnatural king has risen up—violated his sacred obligations, and by the advice of evil councillors, attempted to wrest from us, their children, the sacred rights we justly claim, and which have been ratified and established by solemn compact with, and recognized by, his predecessors and fathers, kings of Great Britain—laid upon us burdens too heavy and grievous to be borne, and issued many cruel and oppressive edicts, depriving us of our natural, lawful and most important rights, and subjecting us to the absolute power and control of himself and the British legislature; against which we have sought relief by earnest, dutiful and humble complaints, and petitions: But, instead of obtaining redress, our petitions have been treated with scorn and contempt, and fresh injuries heaped upon us, while hostile armies and ships are sent to destroy *and* lay waste our country.

The remainder of the document is an appeal to “the virtue and public spirit of the good people of this colony” at a time when “affairs are hastening to a crisis, and the approaching campaign will, in all probability, determine forever the fate of America.” “Our fathers trusted in God and were delivered.”

A Connecticut Council of Safety had been established to act with the Governor when the Assembly was not sitting to assist those enlisted “with every matter and thing that may be needful to render the defense of the colony effectual.”

CHAPTER XLVII.

Bunker Hill

Heroism of Both Sides, Victory of Irregulars—Connecticut's Stone Wall—
Putnam's Ubiquity—Remarkable Family of Jonathan Trumbull.

Freedom from oppression rapidly came to imply political independence. Neither the arguments of men like Chatham in Parliament nor the very stirring satires and startling cartoons of his party in England were availing aught against the King's force and blind following which also was dealing in cartoons; American outbreaks were interpreted to be merely mobism—so thought Royal judges of cartoons; mobism was readily crushable among Anglo-Saxons. The "mob" assembling around Boston was an illustration. It was merely a picnic party, "Yankee Doodle" the amusing index to the character of the picnickers, the rabble from all Colonies, men and women disporting themselves, as it were, in the green fields of Massachusetts, overrunning sparsely armed farmers and their half-grown boys.

But the real England that persists through the centuries had known the rabble under Hampden that became the army of Cromwell; it had known also the splendidly aristocratic army of Charles II and its fate against that rabble, and of late the kind of rabble that had fought the American forest campaigns against the French. If these were "rabble," the real England believed, they might prove true to form in maintaining the constitution instincts of the English as a people against the whims of a monarch of foreign extraction and of the sycophants who accepted his pottage. Such has been the emphatic sentiment of Connecticut since the rabble at Lexington.

Solemnity of an up-start Congress—and now the proclamation of the Governor "of the English colony of Connecticut!" Such things need not affect the nerves. While one set of London cartoons continued to belittle them, troops about to sail from England with Hessian comrades counted on nothing worse than a jaunt among blood relatives who had lost their temper.

But it was different with General (and Governor) Gage of Boston. Inflexible soldier, he no more than followed the spirit of the times when he accepted the adulations of the Tory social set still lingering in Boston and was kindly to the school-boys. He adjusted conditions somewhat to the suggestions of men like Adams but was blind to everything except military exigency when he sent out a force to locate hidden powder—and incidentally Adams and his associates, if it could. The picnic rabble over in the pastures across the Charles, poorly armed, worse drilled, with a

pudgy Connecticut farmer, once some sort of a scout, dodging around here and there, would wilt before the choice troops of his camp, men who had won glory on foreign fields. He had no intimate knowledge of who the leaders were in the American campaign; he had little thirst for knowledge or gift of strategy. In general, with reverence for men of the stamp of Amherst and Wolfe in English military annals, it is surprising that blunders were made in the selection of commanders, with certain exceptions, for service against the Colonies; the days of the Great Commoner and his Whigs were past and an aristocracy not of Anglo-Saxon tradition was supreme. The trekking of well-to-do Loyalists to Canada, including not a few friends of Trumbull, of President Ezra Stiles of Yale, and of Franklin, was commiserated; the significance of the long marchings, the deprivations, the determination of men coming from far places was not estimated.



SOLOMON ROCKWELL HOUSE, WINSTED. NOW HOME OF THE WINCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Though the Colonial authorities still had been hoping for success in their correspondence with Westminster, the sturdy Massachusetts Provincial Congress was taking supervision of the mongrel forces assembling from the other Colonies, with Artemas Ward their general in command. The raw soldiery, numbering about 8,000, looked for a speedy retirement of British troops despite the arrival of reinforcements, making a total of 4,500 seasoned men, and the presence of Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne along with Gage in Boston. Putnam's saucy dash by water to Noddle's Island and his capture of British supplies there astonished the enemy, strengthened the verve of the Americans and won advancement in rank for Putnam, from Congress. Spencer and his men were at Roxbury, Putnam's brigade at Cam-

bridge and the general himself everywhere on horseback and especially desirous of advancing the lines to Prospect Hill. Boston was water-bound except for Dorchester Neck, a promontory on the south of the low isthmus that connected the city with the mainland. To the north was Charlestown Peninsula, a mile long and half that in breadth, east of the mouth of the Charles River, and at the mouth of the Mystic—the land thence sloping northeasterly up Bunker Hill, a hundred and ten feet high; thence grading downward to the seventy-five feet prominence, Breed's Hill, northerly and easterly of Charlestown.

In May, General Ward and the Council's Committee of Safety, still hoping England would reconsider, were reluctant to adopt the plan of Putnam, Prescott and Palmer to fortify Bunker Hill. On June 16, spies brought word that the British had decided to raise the siege by attacking Dorchester and then advancing on headquarters at Cambridge by way of Charlestown. That night seven hundred Massachusetts men set out under Prescott, after prayer by President Langdon of Harvard, for Bunker Hill. Putnam was waiting for them with one hundred and twenty men under Thomas Knowlton, French-war veteran from Ashford. The three companies were from Putnam's regiment, including men from the companies of John Chester of Wethersfield, James Clark of Lebanon, Ebenezer Moseley of Windham and Experience Storrs of Mansfield, Storrs himself holding the rest of that regiment in reserve. Obviously Bunker Hill post would not be sufficient; Copp's Hill in Boston covered most of that terrain and there readily could be flanking movement at Breed's, east of Bunker. Accordingly Putnam hurried Knowlton to extend a redan toward Breed's, consisting of stones and rails, camouflaged with hay. And that was to save the situation. As matter of military fact, hurried entrenchment of this sort would avail little against such assault as the enemy could make if he followed the supposed route and could reach the Colonial left flank, and the force and skill displayed was to be all that Putnam could have imagined. To the last moment every effort was made to extend that redan.

Ward was holding back his men to cover Cambridge till, in response to Putnam's calls, he allowed Stark and Reed of New Hampshire with a few hundred men to be rushed across the already shot-swept causeway by the impatient Putnam himself. For, before there was a moment for morning ration after all night's digging and with the red sun ushering in an exceptionally hot day, the firing had begun. The meager reinforcements were hurried to Knowlton's left to throw up such stone work and hay as they could. General Prescott of Boston arriving, Putnam in command took his position in the redoubt where Boston's beloved General Warren, appointed but three days before, joined him and died in the hand-to-hand fight near the close of the engagement. He had come from a meeting of the Council of Safety and had declined the proffer of command from Putnam, and again from Prescott after he had made his way to the redoubt. The burden of command was left upon the ubiquitous Putnam. Under the guns of the "Lively," the "Glasgow" and two floating batteries, and then of Burgoyne on Copp's Hill, the British veterans were undaunted by the stand made by the "farmers," though fatalities were heavy.

When Putnam saw the enemy forming on Mystic Beach he rushed his delayed reinforcements to aid Knowlton in extending his stonewall to the left, the one hope of salvation. His words to the men as he hurried them on were like those of a drillmaster in camp, making a slogan of "Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes." Withal he was conscious how scanty was the supply of ammunition. Of powder there was only a total of sixty-three half barrels and one-half of that had recently come from Connecticut on requisition of Spencer and Putnam. The British—Howe on the right, Pigot on the left—had advantage of four howitzers and eight field pieces. Howe's first effort was to accomplish the easy task of driving in the Colonial left but Stark of Bennington had driven a stake forty paces from his front and ordered no firing till the advance reached that spot. The men loaded their guns with four buckshot to one bullet which cut Howe's force to pieces. Pigot's approach to the redoubt had to be over four successive pasture walls. American silence, except from a few houses on the outskirts of Charlestown, was misleading. Knowlton was prepared to enfilade the grenadiers and when at last the command came, the whole British front was swept away, some of the companies losing all but three or four men. Stark said, "I never saw sheep lying thicker in a sheepfold." Burgoyne in his report was to say that it was the worst slaughter he ever had witnessed. Meantime Burgoyne was destroying Charlestown with fire bombs—by the British code the last act of severity.

Boston's hills and roofs were thronged with spectators when Howe rallied for the second onslaught. Again the line seemed to vanish, except for a few who were hurrying back to the boats. Twelve of Howe's staff had fallen and reinforcements from toward Charlestown had no guidance. Clinton, ranking with Howe and Burgoyne among the best of England's generals, sprang into a boat and hastened to the scene, to lead the third advance on Pigot's left. The Americans shrewdly had not undertaken a counter charge. Putnam's words of caution had prevailed. Howe had now concentrated his artillery on the redoubt trench with an enfilade. Accoutrements thrown aside under the hot sun, many men stripped to the buff. Warren, gun in hand, calmly cautioned his men; there was scarcely a round of ammunition left. The grenadiers, with clubbed muskets or with bayonets, charged over the bodies of their predecessors, the survivors around the flanks, till the redoubt was a mass of intermingled British and Americans and Prescott was calling the survivors to form outside the redoubt, while Warren was breathing his last in a tangle of redcoats and homespun. Only thirty of those around him were taken prisoners by the last reserve then arriving. Among the slain were the younger Abercrombie and Pitcairn of Lexington fame. Stark and Knowlton threatening the right and Putnam swinging in Starr's reserve on Bunker Hill close by, further British advance was impracticable. Putnam could be seen digging in with his remaining men just beyond, at Plowed Hill. Prescott was reporting to Cambridge with request for reinforcements who had started too late. Of the 2,500 regulars 1,154 had fallen, according to the British report, while a hundred more wounded had found refuge in farmhouses. The American loss was forty-five killed, three hundred and four wounded. European nations were amazed and the warnings of Chatham that there would be alliances against England seemed possible of realization.

Washington was being appointed commander-in-chief of the national forces when Bunker Hill was being fought. On his arrival, July 3, he was to announce the Congressional appointment of four major-generals, as of date preceding the battle: Artemas Ward of Massachusetts, Charles Lee of Virginia, Israel Putnam of Connecticut and Philip Schuyler of New York. Putnam's appointment was in recognition of his earlier action at Noddle's Island. This was to be resented by Spencer who, in April, 1775, had been appointed by the Connecticut Assembly as first brigadier-general what time Wooster was appointed major-general and Putnam second brigadier. Without leave of absence, he appeared before the Connecticut Council of War to make protest on ground of seniority but was persuaded to return to the army. Of the Congressional appointments all but Putnam's caused severe comment. Lee, son of an army officer, was looked upon as a braggart; Schuyler had been named by New York's Provisional Congress which had limited its choice to those who possessed "the gifts of fortune"; Putnam's nomination had been the only one that was unanimous.

After Bunker Hill, Congress proceeded to the election of eight brigadiers, all but one from New England. They included Wooster (then sixty-five) and Spencer who was sixty years of age. Washington was writing her whose miniature he wore from the date of their marriage to the date of his death: "I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid this appointment, from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, but, as a kind of destiny has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking is designed to answer some good purpose. I shall rely confidently on that Providence which has hitherto preserved and been bountiful to me." Congress was appropriating £2,000,000 and declaring that it had "counted the cost of this contest and we find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." The Declaration of Independence was to come a year later.

After enthusiastic receptions in New Jersey and New York, Washington proceeded on his way through Connecticut without demonstrations. He was accompanied by General Lee and some of his staff. In Wethersfield he stopped at the residence of Silas Deane from whom he bore a letter of introduction to Mrs. Deane. The house was—and is—next to that of Joseph and Colonel S. B. Webb, widely known as "Hospitality Hall" because of the entertainment furnished for her hosts of friends by Mrs. Abigail Chester Webb, the mistress of it. After brief refreshments the party hurried on since matters of grave importance were waiting.

Washington's first thought after reviewing the army in Cambridge was about the food supplies as well as material. He urged the appeal be made to "Brother Jonathan," referring to Governor Trumbull, and that appellation became familiar throughout the land. The Governor's "war office" near his residence in Lebanon was a scene of constant activity. The Council of Safety held frequent meetings there throughout the war. It had been his store and commission office.

Out of the hurly-burly of battle, it is well to place here a picture of the family life of Jonathan Trumbull—for half a century active as member of the Assembly, speaker of the House, assistant for twenty-four years, judge of county and probate

courts, chief justice, Governor from 1769 to 1784 and the only Governor by popular election when the war came. The picture is that of an ideal home on a high New England hill, surrounded by fertile fields and not far from the shipping on the Thames River by which he had profited till the war came. His father, Joseph, was a modest farmer in Suffield where Jonathan was born in 1710, moving thence to Simsbury and later to Lebanon. A considerable per cent. of the farmer boys went to college, most of those from Lebanon way to Harvard, and devoted themselves to the study of ancient languages and religion. Jonathan, having prepared under the local minister, made a specialty of Greek and Hebrew with a result, as has been said, that he and President Stiles of Yale employed them in correspondence. Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts was a classmate of his. Trumbull became a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws at Yale and at Edinburgh.

He kept on with farming while studying theology till the death of an uncle made it necessary for him to look after a mercantile business the uncle was building up, Lebanon being a center for a large cattle-raising section. This resulted in the development of a live stock and commission business with connections in various foreign ports up to the time of the war. At the age of twenty-five, he married Faith Robinson, a descendant of John Alden, who occasionally visited her sister, the wife of Jacob Eliot, minister of the Goshen Church. In addition to his court and legislative duties, he was an officer in the militia and his assistance in public affairs throughout the Colony was sought, as has been seen in the "Spanish Ship" case.

Lebanon itself was well adapted for a settlement as the first-comers had found in 1697—a wide, almost level expanse up a steep hill from the well-to-do Norwich section, easily accessible from all the hilly and well-watered region on the other sides, today still one of New England's most attractive villages. Trumbull's dignified residence, surrounded by orchards and fields of grain, was but a step from the typical village church and his small hip-roofed store was near the house, all much as they are now. From the time the war began that was one of the most important military and conference centers in the land. Men of distinction often were the Governor's guests and the Connecticut War Council held hundreds of sessions in the store building which became known as the "War Office." Part of Rochambeau's forces were to encamp in the fields there later and to learn, among other things, that chicken-stealing was to be considered wholly taboo in America.

The home, presided over by the beautiful Faith, was blessed with worthy children. The first-born, Joseph, member of the Continental Congress and of the army, first commissary-general, wore himself out by his exertions. The second, named after his father, became aide and secretary to Washington, first comptroller of the Federal Treasury, member of the first Congress under the Constitution, continuing for four years, and was Governor from 1797 to 1809. John, for a time a staff officer, was to become one of the foremost artists of his time, as well known in England as in America, memorialized by the Trumbull Art Gallery at Yale. The youngest son, David, remained at home, in the commissary work and with oversight of the farm.

There were two daughters, sharing popularity with their mother. The one bearing her name became the wife of the redoubtable Colonel Jedediah Huntington (later general), who was the son of the eminent Jabez Huntington of Norwich. The other, Mary, was the wife of Colonel William Williams of Lebanon, delegate to the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

The women were leaders in relief work in addition to helping provide clothing and equipment. The mother, in the later strenuous days, contributed a beautiful scarlet cloak that Rochambeau had presented to her. Mrs. Huntington assisted her husband in getting his regiment in readiness for the march to Cambridge, whither she accompanied him, stopping at the residence of a friend in that town. Her nerves were overwrought in trying to alleviate the sufferings of the men brought into the halls of Harvard from the fields of Bunker Hill and she died soon after her return home. The eminence of the descendants of the original family to the present day will be obvious as the story of the State continues.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Under Stars and Stripes

Cause and Spirit of the War—Battles at New York—Trumbull's Call Effective—Militia Overwhelmed at Kip's Bay—Martyrdom of Knowlton and Hale—Washington's Masterly Retirement.

After Bunker Hill Washington could but wait, and that, too, even though enlistments would be expiring by the end of the year. Companies like Morgan's Rangers were coming in from the South but food was scanty and as for powder, lack of it alone was enough to prohibit action; the Bunker Hill supply had come chiefly from Connecticut. Howe was succeeding Gage, with no thought, however, of making a sortie. Washington was one with those who counceled immediate declaration of independence and the Connecticut Assembly strongly urged this, but Congress adjourned August 1 without so voting, chiefly because of the "aristocratic influence" there, it was freely said. Connecticut voted to outfit two war vessels.

Over the Connecticut troops at Cambridge a flag with thirteen red and white stripes and the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue field was floating—sent to General Putnam by the women of Connecticut and unfurled the day he was asking men to reënlist. King George's response to the Colonists' latest petition came in the appointment of the notorious Germain to the department for America and in the report that Hessians were to be hired to come over.

The response in the breasts of the Colonials was immediate. Were any lukewarm, they were to learn that the spirit of the Sons of Liberty was perpetuated; mere mention of the name of the Rev. Samuel Peters was warning enough; the story of that man had been recited in camp time and again and the name stirred wrath in every household. The man was a native of Hebron where he became the Episcopal minister. His peculiar statements about the laws of New England caused outsiders to use the title "Blue Laws" when criticizing Connecticut in particular; there was many a jibe from the Tory aristocrats in Boston, ignored by the Connecticut authorities but resented with bitterness by the man's neighbors who handled him roughly and after finding pistols and ammunition in his house, it was said, made him sign a public recantation and finally seek refuge in Boston. Later he sailed for England where he published a history which in itself confirmed all that had been said against him, and unfortunately handed down to posterity misstatements which are sometimes quoted even to this day. Greatest injury in the time of the

Revolution was done to the cause of the Episcopal Church in the minds of the uninformed. One of Peters' statements was that Hooker distributed among Connecticut Indians Bibles infected with smallpox. There had been a combination of circumstances, not simply official, which had created in Connecticut in particular that sentiment which put a total of some 40,000 men into the field before the war ended.

Acts of turbulence may have been taken by an occasional writer today as indicating the spirit which caused the Revolution and the Declaration of Independence but the consensus is with writers like Professor Muzzy of Columbia in his *History of the American People*, who says the cause was not altogether British tyranny, taxation without representation or agitation of demagogues, or natural rights of men, although all played their parts. He quotes John Adams who said the causes were to be "traced back for two hundred years and to be sought in the history of the country from the first plantation in America." And again, "It was not a sudden spirit of rebellion that animated the colonies but a deep-seated determination to defend age-long liberties which they saw threatened." In other words, it is obvious, it was the development of that spirit of democracy which had found expression in the Fundamental Orders.

Inasmuch as this is a vital point in the study of the development of the germ of democracy it may be well, after Bunker Hill and Washington's appearance, to revert again to the fact that there were contemporary utterances in vein quite contrary to this, in both houses of Parliament, though among the English people themselves and in the public press there were expressions as strong as those of John Adams—and not to quote anything from Pitt, "The Great Commoner," and his supporters. The eminent Channing, however, was to say that "in courage and devotion they (the Tories) equaled, if, indeed, it should not be said they excelled, those in the patriotic party, for during the war more colonials fought in the ranks of the British army than joined the American one"; and also to say, of those banished from Massachusetts in 1778, that the names read like "the bead roll of the oldest and noblest families concerned in the founding of New England civilization."

An eminent Massachusetts writer in his analytical New England history quotes and endorses these statements of Channing. In Connecticut, we know, many of the Tories were under the ban for various misdemeanors like burning and pillaging, or were hiding in the forests; to those of quiet deportment, we also know, every privilege was accorded, even to sharing in the rights to the scanty food supplies when it became necessary to allot them. The *Colonial Records* of the Assembly and other collections of Connecticut letters and official documents attest this. Loyalty of the Colony to the spirit of 1639 had been and ever was to be indubitably recorded, as was the loyalty of all the Colonies to the "Spirit of 1776."

After Congress had decided upon a Continental Army of 23,000 for a few months, there was reorganization of the Connecticut troops, reducing to five regiments in the field. Putnam's old command was assigned to Arnold but as he was still in Canada, his place was taken by John Durkee of Norwich. Samuel Wyllys of Hartford was made colonel of Spencer's former command. The three other

colonels were Huntington, Parsons and Charles Webb of Stamford. Attached to Washington's forces, Andrew Ward's regiment was to continue with them through the New Jersey campaign, participating at Trenton on December 25, 1775, and Princeton, January 3, 1777. Eighteen other regiments were raised as State troops and the militia was increased to twenty regiments and another provisional. Two more regiments of Continentals were formed under Colonels Charles Burrall of Canaan and Samuel Elmore of Sharon. They with the State regiments of Samuel Mott of Preston and Heman Swift of Cornwall were to serve in the Northern Department that summer and the commands of Samuel Whiting of Stratford. Thaddeus Cook of Wallingford, Roger Enos of Windsor and John Ely of Saybrook apparently on the Rhode Island border and in that Colony. General James Wadsworth's brigade, made up of the regiments of Gold Selleck Silliman of Fairfield, Fisher Gay of Farmington, Comfort Sage of Middletown, Samuel Selden of Hadlyme, William Douglass of Plainfield, John Chester of Wethersfield, and Philip Burr Bradley, were to see service at Long Island, New York, Harlem Heights, White Plains and Fort Washington.

The militia alarm list, in addition to keeping the ranks of the field regiments filled and being in constant readiness for local calls, was to see active service also as when twenty-three regiments were put up against Howe's best troops at Kip's Bay in New York. Washington's appreciation of such ready service was shown in this, one of several letters of similar character sent to Governor Trumbull: "The great and constant attention, sir, which you have shown upon all occasions, to promote the public cause, affords me the constant assurance that your every exertion and interest will be employed to comply with these several requisitions."

The fiasco of General Charles Lee at New York early in January of 1776 furnished one of the illustrations. Washington naturally was impressed with the need of occupying that uncertain city, but he could spare no forces from the siege of Boston. General Lee when called upon to take care of the emergency gasconaded, Captain Isaac Sears enthusiastically assisting. Ward's and Waterbury's regiments were sent to help—and good work was done in building fortifications but with no attempt to carry out Lee's crazy threats.

Then just as Washington was moving his little and dwindling army of 8,300 from the environs of Boston to meet Howe at New York, Congress followed an early legislative habit by requesting that 3,000 men with supplies for 10,000 be sent to Canada to aid in the plan to bring that province into the Union as a Colony. As has been noted General Wooster had been left on the Montreal front after the death of Montcalm to master Quebec as well as Montreal, and he had written piteous letters of appeal to Congress for aid in fulfilling its desire. He would win the allegiance of many of the disaffected French natives and was hopeful for crushing Quebec where Arnold had failed, now recovering from his wounds at Montreal. Washington had to ask for a detail of one regiment from each New England Colony while Congress sent forces from the South. Colonels Charles Burrall and Samuel Elmore headed the Connecticut Contingent—Elmore for Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk River. On April 1, Wooster had led a small force of 2,000 men, including

Green Mountain Boys, against Quebec. Schuyler had been succeeded in command by Thomas of Massachusetts, who fell a victim to the smallpox which was ravaging the ranks at the time Congress was insisting upon holding the post and had authorized the employment of Indians. It was a simple matter for Carleton to defeat the remnants of the little band and it remained only for men like Generals Sullivan and Burrall to get the survivors back across the border. Wooster was taken prisoner but was exchanged and later was given command of the militia in Connecticut. Wooster with several companies had been on duty around New York guarding stock before being ordered to Canada, and other companies had been employed on Long Island.

In the busy sessions of the Assembly, laws relating to treason and allegiance to the King had been wiped off the books; suppression of Tories was required; a Sound fleet was provided for; Middletown lead mines were directed to work to their utmost capacity; cannon were ordered for New London, Groton, Stonington, New London and New Milford, and all troops were put under strict regulations, including attendance at church services, with profanity prohibited. Those not enlisted in any of the military or naval branches were to hold themselves in readiness for call at any moment. No able-bodied male above age sixteen and under sixty was exempt, whatever his business or profession. The aged and the children were to do the farm work, or fill in anywhere for necessary labor in store or shop. What this meant in the way of stringency is too often forgotten in reading of the more spectacular features in a war still unparalleled in this country.

The iron works at Salisbury were working night and day under the directions of Colonel Joshua Porter. Cavalry had developed till there were five regiments of light horse under Silliman's direction, doing duty at intervals. One body of them numbering five hundred reported in New York for duty during the Lee affair but by reason of disagreement over Washington's desire that they perform guard duty, their commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Seymour, was obliged to call them home.

A careful military census of the Colony was ordered on request of President John Hancock of Congress. The Hon. Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor was sent to Albany to collect from General Schuyler the pay advanced for the men on the Canadian expedition. Letters of marque were voted for privateers. Four hogsheads of rum and two of molasses were ordered for each regiment that had to travel over the unconscionably severe roads. Fort Saybrook was completely rebuilt. The Assembly voted £110,000 in credit bills.

When on March 4 Washington took possession of Dorchester Heights under cover of darkness, Boston became untenable and on the 17th Howe sailed for Halifax, probably with New York as his objective as soon as Clinton with his ships returned from his prophesied victories in the Carolinas, for it was obvious to the British that New York was the key position for cutting off New England by way of the Hudson and the lakes and also for striking the south and west. Washington's first duty was to put Boston on a defensive basis. Trumbull received word

from him June 28 that Howe was at Staten Island and that a fleet with reinforcements for him had left Halifax June 9. Clinton was soon returning from his defeat by Moultrie's men at Charleston, South Carolina, to join Howe. Their total strength would be about 23,000.

It had been most embarrassing for Washington to obey the request of Congress and send troops for the Canada expedition, but fortunately Connecticut was nearby. Fortunate, too, for inspiration in battle, was it that Congress had secured the approbation of all the Colonies for the Declaration of Independence—subsequently to Trumbull's own declaration. Roger Sherman, the former New Haven shoemaker, was on the committee with Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and Robert R. Livingston to draft the historic document, the Connecticut signers of which were to be, on July 4, Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams and Oliver Wolcott.

More than 2,000 of Washington's little army were without serviceable weapons and those who had them were not much better off. With General Lee in the South to assist in warding off Clinton, and the populace uncertain, Connecticut and its rugged Governor were Washington's only hope, and with New York lost after scarcely a display of force, the signers of the declaration would be the first to be hanged. That was certain. If sufficient stand could be made, Silas Deane of Wethersfield hopefully could accomplish his secret mission to France to secure relief in the way of material. The first result thereof was to be seen in the lifting of the French embargo on powder, followed by the zeal of Connecticut folk in supplying saltpetre.

Washington as well as Howe could see that his position, with his handful of men, was utterly untenable—his center on an island (Manhattan), his left extending across East River around to the Brooklyn shore, where the enemy doubtless would land, and his right across the Hudson with its high western bank in the nature of a Gibraltar for the foe. Fort Washington on the western bank of the Hudson might have merit if well manned and equipped; in the hands of the foe it could scorn Fort Lee on the eastern shore. General Lee's fortifications around Brooklyn, where Connecticut men previously had put in so many hours at digging, were well designed but would be prey to such a fleet as was now assembling. New York and Connecticut wiped out together, the war would be short. And Congress had been awed by the cries of "militarism" in sundry sections till now when the harm had been done. With his paltry 8,000 or 10,000 against nearly three times as many, say nothing of war vessels, Washington must have been thankful that he knew Trumbull and his Provision State. There was to be, in those times, no such actual peril as this to the cause of human liberty which Connecticut had maintained.

Washington himself and his followers in Congress and out of it were made of stern stuff. At this critical juncture, the seemingly impossible situation was known to all men. A letter to "George Washington, Esq.," was sent by Howe, stating that his Majesty's government was ready to settle the questions at issue. The general refused to receive it, making the form of address his excuse, and later it was

revealed that Howe had insufficient authority in sending it. At the moment Washington was busy writing out instructions for Putnam whom he had selected for the post of honor, the defense of the works in Brooklyn where, it was apparent, Howe would land his overwhelming force. (The story was already going around "officers' mess" at headquarters about Moultrie's and Jasper's actually holding the hastily constructed stockade at Charleston, called by Lee a "slaughter pen" because it looked to him, before the attack, to be so insufficient, against Clinton's veterans.) The larger part of the army, including Connecticut's men, was with Putnam. Criticism of his strategy falls flat when it is known that he was following to the letter Washington's directions as written. The Commander-in-Chief, relying on the character of his men in the absence of training and experience, as it had been evinced at Bunker Hill, was risking all on the turn of the first day with the faint hope of a successful retirement. Greene in regular order would have had the command but he had fallen a victim to the prevailing sickness; Sullivan was next in order but it was on the eve of the engagement that Putnam was designated, or August 24, three days before the attack. Howe already was landing from Staten Island with 15,000 of the "king's best," and the next day two brigades of Hessians raised the total to 20,000, with the great fleet in the offing.

Howe approached by the wooded slopes along the road from the shore, as Washington had hoped inasmuch as European troops in the Colonial wars had always been at disadvantage when not in the open. Moreover, the hour chosen was that just before sunrise. Parsons' regiment, holding on stubbornly, was about decimated, so much were all of them outnumbered; Huntington's, surrounded almost, very nearly was captured. Captain Jewett of Lyme was killed by his own sword which he had passed to his captor. By evening Howe still was far from having obtained his objective. The stubbornness of the defense went beyond the expectations of Washington himself, who was on the field throughout the day, and there had been no sign of panic despite the inadequacy of the fortifications in either size or construction.

Rain came on as an extra affliction since the powder spoiled could not well be spared, but Washington saw compensation in that the northerly wind held back the fleet from its advance on Manhattan. He based his faith on an orderly retirement after a day of surprises, howsoever devastating the loss. The astonished and bewildered foe was glad enough to have a night of rest, with the morrow's clean-up a certainty. But the Colonial officers were not sleeping; the dense fog after midnight, preventing the approach of the fleet toward Manhattan Island or the use of the guns, was almost as much of a miracle as the turning back of the Red Sea by Moses. Washington calmly noted the last of his men safely landed. The guns they abandoned were worthless with rust. Cornwallis was to give it as his opinion that it was one of the most masterly retreats in all history.

So much for the statement of the battle of Brooklyn; but what for the history of the spirit of democracy? No page of the story of Connecticut is more luminous than this, more worthy of analysis. Washington had had a total of 13,557 men

on August 8, dwindling rapidly. New York had furnished 3,000, Pennsylvania and the South 2,000, Connecticut most of the rest, and barely 8,000 of this total fit for duty as Howe drew near. The appeal of the revered Trumbull to the authorities of every town in the State on August 12, or the moment he had heard the facts from Washington, is one of the most significant, in connection with the response, among the documents of any nation. It was addressed to "all able-bodied, effective men not obliged to do military duty in any train band, and such as are gentlemen of the horse." All others had gone forth under regular call, recruiting-up the established organizations, State and national. They were to form themselves into regular companies if they could; otherwise, attach themselves to the nearest companies and hasten on. "Stand forth for our defense," the call had read; "play the man for God and the cities of our God. May the Lord of Hosts and the God of armies of Israel be your captain, your leader, your conductor and saviour, give wisdom and conduct to your generals and officers and inspire our soldiers with courage, resolution and fortitude, that God may delight to save us for his name's sake." Briefly outlining the present forbidding situation at New York, the Governor had continued: "In this day of calamity and general expectation, when our enemies are exerting every nerve to pluck up, pull down and destroy, it is of the greatest necessity that everything in our power be done for the defense of our rights, properties, lives and posterity. To trust altogether to the justice of our cause" would not be sufficient. In effect, the spirit of the ever-free Colony must be demonstrated. As captain-general of State forces he had added: "The same provisions and wagons shall be given you as to others that go into the service and it shall be remembered to the General Assembly to do everything for your service that justice requires."

The manuscript had been written—there was no time for printing—in the copper-plate penmanship which characterized him (as see page following), unaffected by perturbation or the labor or weariness for one so much engaged in the vast amount of work that passed over his simple desk in the War Office in Lebanon.

The swiftest messengers had carried the document to every town. In three days men had been assembling on every green, young and old alike, and were starting on foot or by such conveyances as could be obtained from the farms, where crops were left to the women folks to care for, direct for nearest headquarters or for New York if that were nearer. Many had fallen by the way, many would have been rejected by the most careless of recruiting officers and many were without proper apparel even for home use, but they all were in a cause suppressed through the ages but now bound to win. Few could be of service, but all had heard the cry.

Connecticut already had planned her complete organization under Wadsworth, and Philip H. Bradley of Ridgefield, and Jedediah Huntington of Norwich had been added to the list of colonels. Men in the militia regiments were joined with those in the State regiments, General Oliver Wolcott of Litchfield to have charge of those on the alarm list.

The commanders of the fourteen improvised regiments were Major Roger Newberry of Windsor, Lieutenant-Colonel Jabez Thompson of Derby, Lieutenant-Colonel Ichabod Lewis of Stratford, Colonel Elizur Talcott of Glastonbury, Lieu-

State of Connecticut. By the Captain Generalls Command
Chief Lt. all able bodied effective men not oblig'd
to do military duty in any Train Band & such as
are Gentlemen of the house - (freeing) -

Intelligence is just received from General Washington
of the necessity of a large augmentation of our Forces in
New York. That the Number of our Enemies is greatly
increased by the Arrival of General Clinton with the
whole Southern Army from S. Carolina. That the
Fleet which came in a few days since are Florentines
and Scotch Highlanders part of 14000 who were left off
- Newfoundland, in the whole making 30,000 Men
That it is said by Officers both of the Army & Navy
they are to attack New York, Long Island in the
Course of a Week - ~~In this Day of Calamity & great~~
~~Expectation~~ when our enemies are exerting every nerve
to pluck up pull down and destroy us it is of the
greatest necessity that every thing in our power be
(done) for defence of our rights, properties, lives and
posterity - I trust altogether to the Justice of our
Cause without our own utmost exertions would
be tempting providence. Be roused therefore &
alarmed to stand forth in our just and glorious
Cause. Join yourselves to some or other of the
Companies of the militia now ordered to New York
or form yourselves into distinct companies of fifty
men or more each and choose a Captain, Lieut.
and ensign. forthwith march on. This shall be your
warrant, I give notice thereof to me. Commissions
shall be forthwith Issued & sent after you.

you are to join the Regiment in which you belong
and to army under the Command of his Excellency,
General Washington, for this Important emergency
to be held only for the short time the present
necessity calls for your service. Stand forth for our
defence play, the man for god and the cities of our god.
may the lord of hosts and the god of the armies of
Israel be your Captain, your leader, your conductor
and saviour. give wisdom and conduct to your
Generals & Officers, and inspire our soldiery with courage
resolution and fortitude. That god may delight to
spare and save us for his own names sake --

The same provisions and wages shall be given
you, as to others that go into the Service & it shall
be recommended to the Generall Assembly to do every
thing for your service that justice requires --
Given under my hand in Lebanon the 12th Aug^r. A.D. 1776
Jon. Trumbull

TRUMBULL'S "HURRY" CALL

tenant-Colonel John Mead of Greenwich, Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Baldwin of Waterbury, Colonel Benjamin Hinman of Southbury, Lieutenant-Colonel Selah Hart of Farmington, Colonel Joseph P. Cooke of Danbury, Colonel Epaphras Sheldon of Torrington, Colonel Jonathan Pettibone of Simsbury, Lieutenant-Colonel George Pitkin of Hartford, Colonel Samuel Chapman of Tolland, and Colonel Matthew Talcott of Middletown.

Those assembling under General Saltonstall east of the river for duty in Westchester County, New York, and on Long Island, were under Lieutenant-Colonel John Ely of Saybrook, Lieutenant-Colonel Experience Storrs of Mansfield, Major Sylvanus Graves and Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver Smith of Stonington, Colonel Ebenezer Williams of Pomfret, Lieutenant-Colonel Bediah Horsford of Hebron, Major Zabdiel Rogers of New London, Colonel John Douglas of Plainfield and Colonel

Henry Champion of Colchester. Altogether it was the largest aggregation of Connecticut untrained units known in any war before or since.

Franklin as Congressional agent had followed Deane to France but treaty discussions could not well get under way with this nominal victory for the English. His Loyalist stepson was in Connecticut, having been sent to be under the observation of the only patriot Governor, "Brother Jonathan." Timothy Jones of Bermuda had begun buying material from France to be run into America by his boats.

The shock of the battle of Long Island was not accompanied by dismay in Connecticut till after the blow at Kip's Bay, at the foot of present Thirty-fourth Street in New York. The people were proud of the response made to Trumbull's appeal but were discomfited by the first reports that came in of that affair as evidenced by President Ezra Stiles' recording of them in his faithful diary which so accurately had described Bunker Hill with the aid of his marvelous "grape-vine telegraph." Howe's immobility after Brooklyn had encouraged them as much as now the unjust, inaccurate stories of cowardice at Kip's Bay brought them a feeling of shame. The actual facts, from a military standpoint, were fully as encouraging as the manner of retirement from Long Island.

Howe took so long to study the situation and to adjust some differences among his forces that it was not till September 15 that he moved up five of his frigates to cover his entrance into the city. Their unnerving fusilade was quickly followed by the disembarking from eighty-four heavily loaded transports, the battalions in their splendid uniforms and with their glittering weapons making an impressive spectacle, especially for ill-clad and scantily armed farmers. In his uncertainty as to where Howe would make his landing, Washington had assigned Putnam and his veterans to the southern end of the island which had been the center of activity in previous troubles for the city, the Battery being the strong evidence thereof. The other assignments were, thinly, along both sides of the island, converging on Harlem Heights and White Plains with view to another strategic evacuation.

Kip's Bay was guarded by Trumbull's inexperienced minute-men under the command of Colonel William Douglass. They were behind hurriedly constructed, half-completed earthworks, many of the men having become incapacitated by the weather, the novelty of it all and their inability to get rest. The breastworks they had seen fairly well annihilated by extravagant bombardment by the enemy whose ships alone were terrifying. But they stood fast till the mass of regulars began to form on the beach. Their own fire was absurdly unavailing and when they began to retire, there was disorder, yet none of the craven nature in the description by the first messengers for home information. Putnam was racing his horse through New York streets, mere by-paths in that vicinity, and Washington from his headquarters at Harlem was active and not surprised. Here again fortune favored. One of the most luxurious of the residences in that locality was that of Mrs. Robert Murray, a place familiar to the leading British officers. They had accepted an invitation to the mansion and with the prospects such as they saw them, the rabble enemy on the run, they tarried long over their festivities.

Strategy being the one forlorn hope of Washington and his generals, he had established a flying body of a hundred and twenty selected men to explore and to maintain touch in just such an emergency, and for the commander he had chosen Colonel Thomas Knowlton of Bunker Hill stonewall fame. As usual, he had chosen well. Knowlton's Rangers had come to be known everywhere south of Harlem. Clinton's red-coats soon were to learn that every ranger was trained in marksmanship if in nothing else. Knowlton at the same time was knitting the far-spread Continentals together into one body, as Putnam in particular knew he would do. Consequently, on September 16 when Clinton pushed ahead confidently, he found his advance broken up and then rushing back to its support, to the loudly expressed delight of the Continentals. But Knowlton fell mortally wounded, doubtless in the attitude shown by the sculptor who designed the bronze statue on the Capitol grounds in Hartford.

In that engagement of Harlem Heights which enabled Washington to execute another strategic retreat, eventually to the south of New York, was one of Knowlton's intimates and most trusted captains, Nathan Hale, born on a Coventry farm, only twenty-one but a graduate of Yale in the class of 1773, a school teacher in Haddam immediately thereafter and then in New London, his religious and scholarly nature recognized by all his associates, one of Knowlton's bravest men at the Bunker Hill stonewall. To Washington it was imperative to know precisely what plans Howe was formulating on Long Island. Hale had all the qualifications needed for going within the enemy's lines as a spy, easily disguised as a country schoolmaster. The information secured but only in part, he was waiting for the rowboat to take him back to Washington when he was detected and punishment was swift, at the hands of the ruffianly Cunningham near present New York City Hall Park. Denied the comfort of his Bible, his letters to his mother and the picture of his betrothed torn up before him, he was hanged—and immortalized—early on the morning of September 22.

His last words were caught by certain of the spectators and were passed down to posterity—"I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country," together with these words to his friend, Captain William Hull, when that officer with others of his fellow-officers had argued with him against his volunteering for this service: "If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service, its claims to perform that service are imperative"—taken from what Hull wrote down after that interview. The memorials to this hero are many, particularly notable among them being that in front of the dormitory in which he roomed at Yale and the one in front of the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Forces Scattered, State Raided

Danbury Burned and Wooster Killed—Arnold Wins Title—Meigs' Captures—
Valor of State Navy—Articles of Confederation.

If it was Howe's intention to cut off New England by going up the less protected Hudson, he was foiled in it at White Plains and forced to the alternative of crushing Philadelphia, leaving it to Burgoyne later to dream of and plot, after it was too late. By October 28, Washington had been permitted time enough to assemble sufficient force to turn him back. The regiments of Chester, Douglass and Silliman lost one hundred and fifty men in that engagement. His object then must have been to harass Howe and Clinton in the smoother territory as they started south, for which purpose he needed every man and gun he could muster. Advantage was lost by the action of subalterns, who, with the approval of Congress, tried to hold Forts Lee and Washington, drawing heavily on the Connecticut regiments for the purpose. They lost severely in the engagement on November 16, in both men and material. Nearly all of Knowlton's Rangers were captured with the rest and shared the unspeakable misery—with death for many—on the British prison ships. Some of the Connecticut men, including those of Parsons, were left to act with other forces if Howe really did turn northward with his whole force or with a detachment. But with all his advantages Howe was concluding not to divide. From then on, the Connecticut field history was with Washington in the South and with Schuyler and Gates after the Canadian base had been determined upon in England. At home the distress necessitated prohibition of exports and the fixing of prices for the necessities of life—a law that was repealed in October but readopted in the next year, after Congress had called a Colonial convention in New Haven.

In November four regiments—Whiting's, Cook's, Enos', and Ely's were hurried off to aid Washington. Cannon were rushed to Greenwich and Norwalk to help in safeguarding the coast which was likely to be greatly exposed. Indeed, it was believed that Tryon, being left in New York, would have it as one of his duties to wipe out the "Provision State" and its swarm of bees. With that thought in mind, six brigades of militia were being organized, with Wooster and Jabez Huntington of Norwich as major-generals and for brigadier-generals Erastus Wolcott, Saltonstall, Wadsworth, Silliman, Eliphalet Dyer of Windham and Oliver Wolcott. Lieutenant-Colonel Elisha Sheldon led a regiment of cavalry requested by Wash-

ington and was given \$10,000 for equipment. As usual the men between sixteen and sixty were summoned, but were divided into four classes, to take turns by lot so as not to interfere too much with work and business at home. Those going out received a bonus of one blanket in addition to the Congressional bonus. Service was to be till March or longer if needed, and those who disregarded time limit were to receive a bonus of one hundred acres from the State. The sum of \$60,000 in credit bills was voted, with government loan officers to help raise funds.

In further anxiety about Hudson River possibilities, it was desired that two-months men be enrolled speedily for duty with Washington's detachment and commissions to be delivered en route to Peekskill. The colonels were Whiting, Thaddeus Cook, Ely and Enos. In November, fifteen companies under Noadiah Hooker of Farmington were called for similar purpose, and several companies were detailed for Rhode Island seacoast duty, a regiment for New London territory and still another for general use in the State.

The New England danger becoming still more obvious, committees from the states arranged a special force for which Connecticut's quota was 1,092 to serve at Newport, and Ely's regiment was added to that number. At the same session an investigation was ordered of the brutal treatment of prisoners of war.

Washington's anxiety about the northern front increased till 2,000 more short-term men were dispatched secretly for Peekskill under command of Wadsworth, with Wyllys, Belden, M. Cook, Increase Moseley of Woodbury, Burrall, Hooker, P. Cook, Oliver Wolcott, Humphrey and Sage commanding the regiments. Drafting became necessary; one substitute was allowed for each two men; shortage could be filled by drawing from the alarm list. The uncertainties were evidenced by directions for Wolcott in July to have his brigade in readiness to march quickly to Lake George, on memorandum from Schuyler, and Ward to go to the lake or to New Jersey as should be ordered. Some of these recruits went on horseback. By August the anxiety had become so urgent that bonded committeemen were required in each district to fill the regiment to be raised in that district for the Continental Army, paying \$8 for each recruit and calling for \$5 for each deserter. A large part of the militia had already rendezvoused at Peekskill when two more regiments were ordered there under junior commanders, horsemen with them, for two months' duty under Ward. Enos and Ely were placed in command of the State regiments for defense, Huntington succeeding Wooster as State major-general when the latter was killed in the raid on Danbury, Wadsworth succeeding Huntington, while Tyler, Ward and John Douglas were promoted to be brigadier-generals.

Such details may make dry reading except for the thousands of descendants of those officers and men in all parts of the United States of today but they furnish a vivid description of the turmoil at home while Washington was pestering and blocking his Europe-trained enemies. When over-confident British commanders could say that the more men killed or captured, the more sprang up every day, one finds in the cold records the reason why, and history more illuminating than that in the lists of dead on the battlefields and in prison ships, withal leaving it readily imaginable what were the stringency and sufferings and determination at home. And there seemed no end.

Immediately after the New York campaign, some of the Connecticut Continentals, including those of Parsons, were with Washington in his bold undertaking to stop or leastwise outwit Howe in his march southward, while still others were helping Putnam watch the Hudson line, till he was sent to Philadelphia December 9, 1777, to superintend the building of fortifications at that point, at the very time the period of enlistment for many expired and the men were returning home. But there was the fighting at Germantown, at Trenton and at Princeton and the short breathing spell at Morristown while there was reorganization in both armies, necessitated by the efficient strategy of Washington and the people's unyielding will. But the evil of short-term enlistments had been demonstrated.

In all, nine Connecticut militia companies in addition to the Continentals were ordered to the main army, and the so-called "Connecticut line" (of State and militia troops, mostly) was kept firm till after the defeat at Brandywine September 11; then Washington summoned the regiments of Durkee, Bradley, Swift and Chandler, they to reach him in time to be of greatly needed aid at Germantown with its further superb strategy; and Huntington, Varnum and Prentice to arrive soon after. Major Tallmadge led two troops of Sheldon's dragoons in the fall fighting; again at Fort Mifflin, November 16, where they withstood bombardment that cost them dearly. They accompanied Washington when he withdrew to Valley Forge.

All the regiments of the line had been assembled at Peekskill in April, 1777, with Putnam then in command and, for reference purposes, it may be well at this juncture to outline the organization of the Connecticut forces from that time on. Till the reorganization in 1781 there were three major-generals, Spencer, Arnold and Parsons; two brigadiers, Wooster and Jedediah Huntington, and these colonels commanding: Jedediah Huntington, Josiah Starr of New Milford *vice* Huntington promoted May 12, 1777; Charles Webb; Zebulon Butler *vice* Webb discharged for disability in March, 1778; Samuel Wyllys; John Durkee; Philip B. Bradley; William Douglass, Return Jonathan Meigs, *vice* Douglas deceased, May 28, 1777; Heman Swift; John Chandler of Newtown; Giles Russell of Stonington *vice* Chandler discharged for disability in March, 1778; Isaac Sherman, lieutenant-colonel commanding *vice* Russell deceased October 28, 1779, rank of colonel having been discontinued in 1779.

"Additional Infantry" was one-half under Colonel Samuel B. Webb of Wethersfield, lately on Washington's staff, and one-half under Meigs, who also was to command Meigs' Light Infantry under Wayne at the storming of Stony Point, July 15, 1779, with Isaac Sherman as his junior officer there, Henry Champion of Colchester the major and Aaron Benjamin of Stratford the adjutant. The Second Cavalry (or Sheldon's) was credited to Connecticut and also, under Lieutenant-Colonel Eleazer Oswald of New Haven, four companies of Lamb's artillery, and, under Captain Buckland of Hartford, one company of the First or Crane's artillery. In 1778 the line was consolidated into one full division under Parsons and Huntington.

Of these regiments Huntington's, Webb's, Durkee's and Bradley's were at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-78 and in the battles preceding, the "Connecticut Line," wintering at Putnam's camp at Redding, Connecticut, the next winter, and

later having detachments in Meigs' command in Wayne's desperate and successful undertaking at Stony Point, as, in fact, did all the regiments. Swift's regiment was assigned to Lafayette's division in 1780. The regiments not at Valley Forge—whither Connecticut citizens were sending droves of cattle bought by general subscriptions—were for the most part at work on the fortifications opposite West Point to which position Meigs' regiment was ordered as soon as Arnold's treachery



SARAH WHITMAN HOOKER HOUSE, WEST HARTFORD, 1740

had been revealed and near which the massive iron chain, forged at the Salisbury mines, had been flung across the river. The section near the Point long was known as "Connecticut Village." Parsons and Huntington sat on the board that tried André, and Huntington also was on General Lee's courtmartial.

Still other organizations to see active service were Colonel Obadiah Johnson's regiment on Long Island, in December, 1777; Colonel Chapman's and that of Colonel McLellan of Woodstock, under Brigadier John Tyler of Preston, in Sullivan's move against the British at Newport and at the battle of Rhode Island, August 29, 1778; General Douglass' detachment to assist General Spencer in Rhode Island; the militia regiments that were hurried to the Hudson under Moseley and Enos after the battle of Monmouth, in June, 1778; companies of "Additional Infantry" in Colonel Shelburne's regiment under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Meigs; other such infantry from Colonel Seth Warner's regiment under Major Elisha Painter of New Haven; artificers under Captains Gamaliel Painter of Salisbury and Jairus Wilcox of Wethersfield, and a company from the Connecticut line in Washington's Life Guard under command of Captain William Colfax of New London who was promoted to be commandant in 1781. Ebenezer Huntington of Norwich, leaving

his studies at Yale, became brigade-major, deputy adjutant-general and commander of a battalion at Yorktown—later commander of State militia and representative in Congress.

The spring of 1777 had been made notable by the arrival of Lafayette—in his own vessel—representative of the Frenchmen who had been stirred to an appreciation of America's cause by Franklin, Deane and Arthur Lee. The aid from France in various ways was still secret but this was enough to raise America's hopes; enough, also, to convince the over-confident Tories that their troubles were to increase. Washington giving them such trouble in Jersey, it was for General Tryon to distract attention by terrorizing the southern New England coast, a task for which he had shown aptitude in the South. Thus far British shipping had had small cause to fear in passing through the Sound but the prolific genius of Connecticut was being noted. Tryon might make impressive diversion and at the same time bring in the equivalent of enough supplies to make up for the amounts the Connecticut privateers were capturing.

In Danbury, so readily within reach, there was a good supply of munitions, food and rum, all with only a ridiculously small guard because of the heavy drafts for the armies in the field. Warily, however, as was his custom, Tryon, on April 24, took 3,000 men and six war vessels, and put 2,000 of the soldiers into bivouac at the mouth of the small Saugatuck River, not far from Stamford. Connecticut was more alert than he thought. Relays of messengers carried the alarm to Generals Wooster and Arnold then in New Haven. They assembled all available militia details and joined General Silliman, with whose men there was a total of seven hundred in Redding the next afternoon and rain drenching them, for there was no such thing as tentage. At the same time the British were entering Danbury, joyously, scoffing at the little detail of guards and a half-hundred militiamen, half-armed, who could act only as rear guard for the fleeing citizens.

Tryon had not taken into account that King Alcohol might act as an efficient ally against him. No sooner were the hogsheads of rum revealed than most of the Hessians ceased from pursuit and by midnight, when the impressed vehicles should have been loaded and on their way to the shore, most of the officers and men were out of action. Simultaneously came word of the arousing of the human foe. Enough whitewash was found to mark the houses of professed Tories, who thus were made physically safe—and their number was to create scandal later; the rest were to be burned when rain and rum should admit of it. Scarcely had this strategy been perfected when Tryon learned that the Americans were pushing toward him. The houses were burned, public and private, stores and homes, with no great respect for whitewash, while those who could walk and those who could ride on the loads of supplies struck a more westerly trail to slip by the sharp-shooting citizenry. They reached a stream they had been told was bridged only to find the bridge had been torn down overnight; while artificers worked, the Hessians prepared mess. Wooster, who was not far behind, surprised them at this and captured forty. A little

farther on, near Ridgefield, he charged the disorderly column and, at 11 o'clock, himself fell—marking the end of a long and distinguished career.

Arnold with Silliman and five hundred militiamen was speeding for attack on the left flank at Ridgefield. Tryon held them off through an afternoon's fighting and with a heavy loss for himself, not only of time but of men, finally being forced to bivouac where he was. It was here that Colonel Abram Gold fell from his horse mortally wounded while rallying his contingent. Lieutenants Ephraim Middlebrook, Samuel Elmore and William Thompson and Dr. David Atwater of New Haven were also among the killed. Arnold's horse was shot under him and a soldier demanded his surrender to which he replied with a shot that killed the man.

A detachment of Lamb's artillery came up during the night. There were three light pieces under care of Lieutenant Oswald and as many old pieces with sixty men from Fairfield, followed by three companies of volunteers brought from New Haven by Colonel Huntington. Tryon's few light cannon proved ineffective, though a mark they left in Ridgefield is carefully preserved today. A ball part-way penetrated the wooden side of what was known as Keeler's Tavern. The owner boxed it in securely and left it to remain down through the generations, eventually to become the property of Cass Gilbert, of old Connecticut antecedents and one of America's foremost architects, who gathered other precious relics of those times at his Ridgefield summer home, now the country residence of his widow.

With swift onslaught upon the fatigued Hessians, the alarm men drove them beyond a bridge they were to cross and on toward the shore till they could take position on Compo Hill. Arnold lost his second horse. His trifling guns being at a disadvantage, Colonel Lamb led his men up the hill and fell during the action, whereupon his men, supposing he was dead, fell back. The hill was near enough to the shore to make it possible to send aid to Tryon from his 1,000 reserve on the boats and he was enabled to embark with his wounded and part of his booty, putting into his official report all that he had seized, including even the "120 puncheons of rum" together with "1,000 barrels of flour; 30 pipes of wine; 1,020 tents and marquees; a printing press"; tools, provisions, medicines, iron boilers, grain, sugar and 5,000 pairs of shoes and stockings. He gave his casualties as twenty-five dead, one hundred and seventeen wounded and twenty-one missing—whereas considerably more than that number of dead were buried by the patriots. The known fatalities in action were one hundred and twenty and forty captured, while the American killed and wounded numbered sixty—no prisoners. Congress voted Arnold a fully caparisoned horse and also allowed him the withheld rank of major-general but without relative rank. Twenty-two of the American dead lie in one grave on the beach, near where today's memorial stands.

Within a month, or on May 21, Connecticut retaliated. Colonel Meigs with one hundred and sixty men in whale boats, accompanied by two armed sloops and an unarmed one for possible prisoners, soon after midnight, the 23d, surprised a hundred men on guard over a large amount of stores at Sag Harbor, Long Island. Captain Troop took over eleven vessels and the wharf while Meigs rushed the guard. The vessels were burned, the stores destroyed and ninety prisoners

taken despite the activity of a twelve-gun schooner one hundred and fifty yards away. In this instance the ten hogsheads of rum were burned with the rest. Six of the guards were killed; by 2 o'clock in the afternoon Meigs was back in Guilford without loss of a man. He was cited in general orders and commended in a personal letter from Washington on the report from General Parsons, on whose suggestion Sergeant Ginnings was promoted to be ensign and was given a handsome sword by Congress. An expedition by Colonel Samuel B. Webb and Colonel Ely against stores at Shetocket, Long Island, December 19, had a different fate. The vessel was forced ashore by a frigate and sixty Americans captured, including the colonels, who were paroled. For some time there were similar expeditions with varying success but sufficient to keep the Tories in a state of alarm.

As might be expected normally and as encouraged by State liberality, Connecticut was not slow in forming a navy. Prizes taken by the "regulars," the "state" vessels and the privateers in 1777 amounted to about \$1,000,000, or about half of the net value of ships and cargo. British privateers and even ships of the line were boldly encountered or cleverly avoided. There was material in plenty, including the iron supply from Salisbury mines, and men who knew how to utilize it. Two frigates were built for the navy itself in 1777: one of twenty-eight guns, the *Trumbull*, built at Chatham on the Connecticut, the other, the *Confederacy*, built at Brewster's Neck on the Thames, thirty-six guns. The former was commanded by Dudley Saltonstall of New London; the latter by Seth Harding. The *Trumbull* in June, 1780, fought one of the hardest battles, with the British ship, *Watt*, of equal power, was dismasted and finally had to withdraw, with a loss of thirty-nine men to her adversary's ninety-two, she also withdrawing. Later the *Trumbull* struck her colors to two men-of-war when she had been disabled in a storm. The *Confederacy* lost her masts in her first cruise, refitted at Martinique and then encountered a much larger ship and a frigate, compelling surrender.

The name *Defense* of the old original State ship was revived for a ship built in Essex in 1776 for Captain Harding and lengthened in 1777, with Captain Samuel Smedley in command. *Old Defense*, a brig, was the largest of the fleet; Captain William Deshon and Captain William Coit were the respective commanders. Others will be heard from as the story goes on.

One of the most romantic of the "state" vessels was the little twenty-seven-foot schooner *Spy* (bought as the *Britannia* by the State in 1776), Captain Robert Niles, which worried the Tories along the Sound. She captured the eighty-ton *Dolphin*, a sloop which Niles commanded for a year and then made a trip on the *Spy* which gave him special place in history. To anticipate the event of 1779: When Congress wished to send the officially attested copy of the Treaty of Alliance to France, six ships were designated for the mission, but all were captured except the *Spy*, she probably being too diminutive to attract attention. Niles was only twenty-one days in crossing, but was captured on his return voyage.

The *Defense* under Harding won early laurels. On her first cruise, she brought in three transports, carrying three hundred and thirty-two officers and men of General Frazier's Highlanders, an armed ship and a brig having been taken in one

engagement off Nantasket on the first anniversary of Bunker Hill. The second was captured the following day—all without loss of a man while the enemy lost eighteen. The next September the *Defense* brought in the 200-ton ship *John* with heavy cargo and soon after, the ship *Guineaman*. Lieutenant Samuel Smedley took Harding's place during an illness and brought in *Snow*, a schooner, a bark and a West Indianman and was made commander when Harding was transferred to the *Oliver Cromwell*, built at Essex in 1776. The latter had secured four rich prizes the following year when she met the British *Daphne*, a powerful frigate, and after a second Britisher had joined in, surrendered. Captain Timothy Parker and his men were imprisoned in the notorious prison-ship *Jersey*, from which, however, Parker is said to have escaped on the ice the next winter.

Elisha Hinman, born in Stonington in 1734 and at the age of nineteen captain of a ship in the East India trade, was one of the first to be commissioned captain in the navy. On sailing his third vessel he was captured and taken to England whence he escaped to France. On his reaching home, all his property was destroyed at the time of Arnold's raid on New London. Hinman was offered command of the famous *Constitution* in the new navy of 1794 but on account of his age did not accept. Thereupon he was appointed collector of customs at New London, an office which he held till his death in 1807.

International recognition of the right of the states, the confederacy, to conduct warfare on the water was not won by the adoption of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. That right had to be established. There was no union except in common sentiment relative to the main point. Not till November 15, 1777, were the Articles of Confederation adopted and approved by several of the legislatures. Then Congress was authorized to carry on war; to make peace; to apportion quotas of men and money; to manage affairs with foreign nations. Beyond this Congress had no function. The powers to make general laws and to lay taxes were reserved to the states themselves. The spirit of democracy was developing but rocks ahead, like those that worked destruction centuries before, were warning that there should be constitutional liberty, a clear-cut recognition of the underlying pronouncement of Connecticut's Fundamental Orders, unacceptable—or leastwise unwonted—though it still was among certain elements.

CHAPTER L.

Ingenuity Marked

Submarine Invented—Ships Built on Lake Champlain—Connecticut at Saratoga—Articles of Federation and French Treaty—Wyoming Horror.

To say that Nature, by the Hudson and the lakes, had provided the way for the conquest of America is but to cite the obvious. French Canada having been absorbed and New York held, it was necessary only to segregate and crush New England, and then, with this rich base, move to the subjugation of the South and West. To aid England in this at the moment there was English aristocracy, with its sympathies, in the South; in the immediate West the hard-headed Puritan settlers were widely scattered. General Burgoyne, in Parliament and out of it, in his breezy way, had talked of the project and the military councilors must have had it in mind, but there was no great commander to take it in hand, to inspire initiative, to sharpen wits, or to draw the royalty-pampered from the fleshpots.

The half-mad George III and his coterie had played politics till his absolutism and the privileges that went with it to the Lords and Nobles was established, however unsympathetic the old-time Whigs, the common Anglo-Saxon people and their press and cartoonists. The fundamentals of England were to outlive the insensate period of the Georges but were to attain their fruition in England's America, and that, too, with the aid of England's long-time antagonist, France.

An element in the character of the Englishmen who were trained in the stern school of Colonial America was their resourcefulness along with plain ingenuity. Their genius in devising what they needed and could not get, leastwise without exorbitant expense and usually heavy impost, had much to do with the laying of the foundations for the fame which the country—especially Connecticut—was to acquire, and grow rich upon, which was the fame for inventions. As example, David Bushnell of Westbrook invented the submarine the year the Declaration of Independence was signed. In August, 1776, it was approved by the Council of Safety and Captain Ezra Lee of Lyme was assigned to operate it. The clam-shaped affair was foot-propelled by one man. In action, his head was barely at the surface, protected by a shield. The device for seeing was not unlike that of the modern submarine. The steering apparatus enabled him to sink or rise to the surface. He could come up under a vessel, detach from the side of his craft a large torpedo, bore

one end of it into the enemy's hull by a screw arrangement and leave it to explode by a time fuse. Washington allowed an opportunity to try it on one of Lord Howe's vessels in New York Harbor. Unfortunately the ship was copper-sheathed, so Bushnell let the torpedo float away while he dropped out of sight. The torpedo's explosion destroyed a small boat and its men and threw the fleet into such confusion that the astonished Howe had to adopt precautions. An attempt on a frigate off New London blew up a schooner which was astern, killing several men. In an effort to destroy Howe's flagship, it again became necessary to let the torpedo choose its course, with result—the throwing of what was described at the time as “a vast column of water to an amazing height” and the retirement of the fleet for anchorage remote from New York's Battery. The “American turtles” were the talk of the hour on land and water, particularly after the crew of the *Cerberus* saw an innocent-looking line and pulling it in landed a 400-pound “turtle” on the deck which, in its explosion, it was said, killed several of the seamen.

Benedict Arnold, in foiling the first attempt, by Carleton, to cut off New England by the lakes passage, in the fall of 1776, had furnished an astonishing example of other type of American genius and perseverance. After Wooster's return from Canada and the withdrawal of American troops for the New York emergency, Carleton had undertaken to carry through the Burgoyne idea of a passage to New York by way of the lakes. Anticipating it and under orders to be on guard, what though he had been skipped by Congress in its appointment of major-generals, Arnold had set his unwonted troops to building ships of emergency kind. To get the precise material he desired he sent men down into Connecticut to cut and draw it up over the hills and rocks. By October he had a fairly satisfactory fleet, well manned, but, of course, with disparity in numbers against Carleton when he appeared off Plattsburg on October 11. Neither Arnold nor General Waterbury, his associate, was a naval man nor were there any but landsmen for training the crews of the three row-galleys and four sloops, with which Arnold dared attack the well-prepared Carleton, inflicting much damage under cover of night. Two days later, when overtaken by Carleton, his boat held back the English fleet till his other vessels got out of range; then he ran his own ashore and escaped to Crown Point. The prisoners were released by Carleton, with rebuke, his ground being that they were still officially recognized by the King as his subjects.

The victor, amazed at his opponents' ingenuity, had pressed on down the lakes but the change in the situation at New York after the battle of White Plains, if nothing else, had caused him to return to Montreal. Charges later brought against Arnold, for malfeasance in handling accounts, were dismissed by the board of war but in the list of five major-generals appointed by Congress his name was not included though he was in line for the promotion. The promotion, as has been said, came after the Tryon raid, but not with restoration of rank. To secure this and also reimbursement for expenses—his business in New Haven having been wiped out—he went to Philadelphia and on refusal of his claim asked permission to resign, which was not granted. An atmosphere of suspicion was developing in official circles, but it was as against a reputation for remarkable ability, overbearing as his manner could be.

When Burgoyne in person nearly a year later appeared at the head of an elaborately prepared expedition from England by way of Montreal, he came more as a gentleman of the court circles than as a soldier and with no more conception of foe and terrain than had others in such circles. He was neither an Amherst nor a Wolfe nor yet a rash Braddock; there were few such in the army then. Moreover, the enemy of the previous generation in America had been France, and the traditions those of various kingdoms trained in the makings and the jealousies of other kingdoms. Then there were none of the principles of commoners or pamphleteers at home, no occasion for buying European hirelings. If that buying had meant the bringing-down of knight errantry to the point of suppressing independence of nations or individuals, this now was the percussion of Georgism against the spirit that made the British constitution.

The story is brief and familiar, though it was a long time in reaching its lesson, in 1777.

Burgoyne was utterly nonplussed by the reception he received around Bennington, Vermont, at the hands of Stark and Seth Warner with their Green Mountain Boys and the early Connecticut settlers. Withal he had occasion to think he had spread out too much when including a considerable part of New York in his programme, leaving Saint-Leger and his savages under the brutal Colonel John Butler to besiege distant Fort Stanwix—where a Connecticut garrison was to be the first to run up the newly designed Stars and Stripes. On suggestion of Washington, Arnold, who was in Philadelphia setting forth his grievances relative to commission and alleged discrepancies, was sent to the aid of General Schuyler commanding the American army, and the very speed of his approach caused Saint-Leger to desist.*

Gates was superseding Schuyler August 19 and Washington's Fabian tactics had so delayed Howe in getting possession of Philadelphia (September 19) that no British could be sent north to distract the Connecticut and other forces assembling on the Hudson. Hinman's Connecticut regiment and a battalion, and others under General Oliver Wolcott, had recently arrived; and also, from Portsmouth, a consignment of much needed small arms and ordnance recently secured in France by Silas Deane.

Confused as conditions were, Gates with 9,000 men managed to get to Bemis Heights on the Hudson ahead of Burgoyne with his 6,000, part of whose column, including Hessians, had not made up for the time lost in Vermont. Unfortunately

* Fort Stanwix, on the upper waters of the Mohawk, had been taken over on August 3, 1777, with its small garrison commanded by Colonel Peter Gansevoort—in a territory where Sir William Johnson's name once had been a watchword for the Indians as now had been that of his son Sir John. The Mohawk chief chanced to be one Joseph Brandt who, a half-breed, had studied in Mr. Wheelock's school in Jonathan Trumbull's Lebanon and was, in that hour, loyal to those Connecticut memories, as were his allies, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, however much they revealed savage instincts in Wyoming Valley, after their free-booting experiences. The Indians could not comprehend why English came now from overseas to fight English in America. Under Brandt their sentiments were in favor of the Americans as were those of the Dutch, Germans and Scotch-Irish settlers, some from Connecticut, and Nicholas Herkimer with 1,800 men had tried to come to the aid of Gansevoort, held up temporarily by Brandt and Johnson on the way, near Oriskany. Meantime Gansevoort rallied his own men, the Indians including those who had sided with Saint-Leger, revolted (August 6)—news came of Burgoyne's misfortunes at Ticonderoga and Bennington, Arnold's contingent of 1,200 Massachusetts men was sighted, advancing fast, and Saint-Leger's men fled to Oswego, his own Indians turning against him.

Gates, a politician soldier, did not improve the advantage which was his, nor the opportunity which developed. The position itself was strong. Burgoyne's supporting columns did not get up till September 18, to attack the next day. Again unfortunately, no American general officer appeared on the field. Regiments of State troops were thrown into the line haphazard, to fight independently.

At last Burgoyne opened with his artillery. The hastily summoned regiments of Thaddeus Cook of Wallingford and Jonathan Latimer of New London were ordered into the line at this juncture, when a brigade in Burgoyne's rear would have effected his annihilation. Such attempt was made when it was too late. As it was, these Connecticut regiments suffered the heaviest losses of any that day, and were among those cited for excellent work. Having suffered a loss of 600, Burgoyne bivouacked on the field, disillusioned, mortified, but desperate.

Action was not resumed till October 7. Burgoyne believed time was on his side. Clinton in New York had been carefully apprised of the plan of invasion and must be working his way up from New York. He was not. Why not was to be a matter for discussion for long thereafter in British Army circles; many believed Sir Henry Clinton never had approved the plan and some that, as he claimed, he never received a detailed statement of what was expected of him in coöperation. But a definite reason was that Israel Putnam was in the way. He had been forwarding to Washington every man he could spare, saving enough to check Clinton should he approach and relying upon contingents of the militia. Clinton did approach, though in a dilatory manner. At the moment Putnam had weakened his position by reason of false information brought in by a Tory messenger, but was able to assume a reasonably strong one back of Peekskill. After Clinton had cleared his way to Albany, he calmly retired, leaving only Vaughn to scout along the river. This was when the militia regiments of Silliman and Ward under Major-General Wadsworth—the regiments of Whiting, Moseley, Hooker, Cooke, Humphrey and Newberry and the battalions of Woodruff and John Strong, which had responded to the alarm-call in Connecticut—had enabled Putnam to reestablish himself.

While Burgoyne delayed action, the regulars and militiamen were engaged in capturing outposts and cutting off supplies, and the Indians were deserting him. His leading officers advised retirement but, on October 7, he resolved to turn the American left, toward Saratoga, making use of his artillery. The situation of the Americans would have been good had there not been failure to improve opportunity. Arnold, who had been sitting in his tent since reporting to Gates by Washington's orders, on noting the critical moment rushed forth and placing himself at the head of a considerable detachment, which was cheering him, charged the vital spot in Burgoyne's line. He pushed the enemy before him in disorder till his horse was shot under him, as at Ridgefield, and he himself wounded—in the leg, as at Quebec. Massachusetts troops having cut off the key to the position, Burgoyne turned toward Fort Edward in retreat but only to find the Americans around him—Saint-Leger's men cut to pieces by Indians in decoy and Arnold's men depriving him of his last opportunity at Freeman's Farm. He tried valiantly to retrieve the situation but had to succumb. His total loss since leaving Lake Champlain had been at least 10,000 together with a large supply of munitions.

Among the American dead in the first day's battle were Captain Wadsworth and Captain Zebulon Bidwell of East Hartford, commanding companies from Hartford vicinity. The Hartford company of Governor's Foot Guard was on its way to Gates' army under its first and only orders to leave the State in time of war, but was turned back on receiving the news of the victory. Captain Thomas Y. Seymour of Hartford, commanding Sheldon's Dragoons, who was serving on Arnold's staff, was detailed to escort Burgoyne to Boston. So agreeable were his services that the general presented to him his leopard-skin saddle-cloth which frequently was seen in later years when Seymour was in command of the Governor's Horse Guard, which he established. The sword of Colonel Brayman of Burgoyne's army came into the possession of John Gillette of East Windsor and is now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford, as also the small sword and cane of Lieutenant Fyfe who was quartered in South Windsor.

While most of the prisoners were held in Harvard College buildings and elsewhere in the vicinity of Boston, with some at Newgate Prison, awaiting exchange—long delayed by Burgoyne's complaint that agreement had not been lived up to—some of the officers were quartered in the Windsors, which may account for the traditions that Lafayette visited them there—yes, Washington himself—and that the Hessians were set at planting trees along the highway. More will be said about the actual prisoners in a later chapter on the general subject.

Putnam's immediate duty was to strengthen the Hudson River line of defense for which, at West Point, Kosciusko was employed to draw the plan and supervise the work, done largely by the men of Parsons' brigade. When a spy was captured, Tryon wrote Putnam a surly threat to which Putnam replied in four lines:

He was tried as a spy,
he was condemned as a spy, and you may rest assured, sir,
he will be hanged as a spy.

[Signature]

P. S.—Afternoon. He is hanged.

The results of the victory at Saratoga by an inexperienced soldiery, including the militiamen from Connecticut, were far-reaching. Development of the germ of democracy was manifested November 15, 1777, when Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation with two obvious items in mind. One of these was a better consolidation of the wide-spread territory, wider than that of any first-class power in Europe; and the other, on the following February 6, French acknowledgment of America's independence and the signing of the Treaty of Alliance and commerce. Whereas the tie that had bound the Colonies together in their declared independence had been one of sentiment, it now, on ratification by the states, was one of power.

It could not be after the model of Connecticut, in bringing recalcitrant southern settlements into line of free Royal-charter provisions, but it did bring unionism in the matters of war and of handling affairs with foreign nations; it was one of those features implied in Connecticut's first form of government, the lack of which had been disastrous to earlier attempts to establish man's freedom. Congress could decree how many men and how much money each State should furnish for war, the

then essential items, but was not yet to be given the right to make general laws or lay direct taxes. Sufficient unto the day was the demonstrated necessity thereof; further needs were to demonstrate themselves. The "demos," or "people" of the word "democracy,"—crushed down through the centuries till, modestly but with firmest determination, expressed in the Fundamental Orders at Hartford—could hardly attain its true place over night when many a cunning enemy, for his own aggrandizement, and with an ignorant dolt as his tool, was hiding under the smoke of cannon. The American Articles of Federation were weakened by having to grant sundry powers of legislation and taxation to the individual states, but this much stands out in the history of free government that the articles were approved; the corrective sequel in 1781, so greatly needed by Connecticut, will be noted in proper course.

And forthwith, February 5, 1778, on the strength of this initiative and of this prerogative, the encouraging treaty with France was signed. Never had a treaty signed by France in all its long history had such a peculiar effect as that evidenced in this court of Louis XVI. Treaties in Europe were solemn affairs affecting the gold foundations of thrones. They hurled the common people into wars on maps the people never might have heard of and drowned unsuspecting seamen in most distant seas, all without a question why. But now the court was gay. Franklin, the one-time printer's "devil," had a court of his own, where the wealth, wit and wisdom of the ancient régime delighted to assemble, and where gold lace or sinews of war could be had without dicker. *A bas, l'Angleterre!* Of such were the Georgian changes.

Six of the Connecticut regiments were ordered to New Jersey and were in the battle of Germantown in October, 1777, Mud Island, Pennsylvania, in November and White Marsh in December; then the enduring through the terrible winter at Valley Forge and Von Steuben's drilling—on till a further sequence of the Treaty of Paris, together with the thwarting of the Burgoyne plan, was marked in the evacuation of Philadelphia in order to concentrate at New York in the spring of 1778. Lord Howe had gone home, his luxuriant court disintegrating; by June 18, Sir Henry Clinton was withdrawing across the Delaware into New Jersey, heat and thirst to take the places of cold and hunger as torturers, and Lee to be disciplined by Washington. After Monmouth's memorable day, Huntington's brigade participating, and the sailing of the British from Sandy Hook to New York, Washington moved around to White Plains, there to remain till he went into winter quarters at Middlebrook in New Jersey.

That summer's black page had been made by the butchery on what was primarily Connecticut soil—in the Wyoming Valley—too sad to enlarge upon after the preliminaries which have been described on a previous page.* When undaunted by the

* In this remoteness from the seat of government of Connecticut Colony, with its rights extending westward to the Pacific, was lingering evidence of Connecticut faith in the Connecticut charter, however much had been the encroachments already. King Charles's original lines of latitude included this Pennsylvania section as well as much else, extending on to the Pacific—in fact, the very girdle of modern Federal empire. Connecticut's faith in it, necessarily slow in demonstration and already amenable in the instance of New York, had to be long in fraternal demonstrations, as will be seen. "Fort Forty" gets its name from the southern parallel of 40 degrees.

incursions of Pennsylvania men, bent on seizing and selling land—one of the strangest real estate programs ever consummated on the Continent,—Westmoreland town under Litchfield County jurisdiction had been made Westmoreland County and had its members in the General Court; when courts were being conducted in approved order and laws and taxes were regularly enforced after all the early tribulations, and when the district's levies had made up a battalion of the 24th Connecticut Regiment of Continentals, nothing was seeming to withstand the progress of Connecticut democracy with its privileges of individual ownership of land, liberal government by and for the people, good schools and everything else which was drawing to it the better class of Colonials throughout a wide section; nothing was in the way to prevent the perfecting of a large and creditable adjunct to the Mother Colony under her fully established charter rights. Popular neighboring government in place of that of the Penns would have added amity and strengthened neighborly ties already being formed.

But feuds had been continued by Tories who received their inspiration, in connection with those near the Great Lakes, from the promoters of the plan to cut off New England and devastate the adjacent western region. The notorious John Butler by this time had become a raider under the title of "colonel." In league with the half-breed Brandt and his lower type of Indians, together with a number of Britishers who had fled from New York, he was ravaging from the Susquehanna to the lakes. The Connecticut settlers who had gone into the army had left Wyoming defenseless. Zebulon Butler, lieutenant-colonel of the Third Connecticut, whom we have seen as the foremost man in the settlement, now on brief furlough from Washington's lines, sensed the peril and request was made for bringing back the county's contingent for a time. Not receiving ready compliance with the request, by reason of some "red tape" or other, but rather the direction from Congress to form a home guard, the colonel returned to Wyoming and organized such small force as he could, including aged men and boys.

Women and children from far and wide were taking refuge in the rude barricades against the foe gathering at the head of the valley where Fort Wintermoot had been handed over to them by its Tory commander, and also Fort Jenkins with its garrison of ten old men, where already several had been slaughtered. Old "Forty Fort" of settlement days was at once occupied by Zebulon Butler, and the terrified people hastened thither. John Butler demanded surrender but, contrary to the advice of Zebulon Butler, and of Colonels Nathan Denison and George Dorrance who voted for delay in hope of reinforcement, a small column of desperate men attacked the enemy near little Fort Wintermoot. Lured on they were attacked on both flanks by well-armed Seneca Indians and completely surrounded. Every unit commander was killed and also Colonel George Dorrance and Major John Garrett—together one hundred and eighty-two Americans whose names now are on the memorial monument.

The butchery by the Indians down through the valley, squaws taking part and at \$10 a scalp according to generally accepted report, was said by the Tories to have been due to the failure of the redmen to understand orders of white men, thus

to mitigate Brandt's fiendishness; but the records of other Brandt-John Butler affairs admit of no extenuations for any of them. The women and little ones, their houses burned, rushed forth into the wilderness, wearily and painfully to make their way back by themselves to their homes in distant places. One notable instance will be found in the story of Bristol, on another page.

Captain John Franklin, arriving with thirty-five men the night of July 3, found that the only chance was in flight though passage through a surrounding swamp which was crowded with refugees, including one party of a hundred women and children with but one man, Jonathan Fitch, of Connecticut origin. Germans along the way gave every aid possible. Colonel Zebulon Butler, Colonel John Jenkins and Captain Spalding's company, with others, undertook to clean up the county but the sacrifice of life proved too great. The horror of the slaughter and rapine not only had a pronounced effect throughout the Colonies; it called forth bitter denunciation among the sympathetic Whig element in England to such degree that both houses of Parliament denounced the affair. But the King's own Lord Germain continued to be a powerful exception. And for Connecticut interests there was to be a sequel.

CHAPTER LI.

At Low Ebb

Trumbull on Causes of War—Camps at Redding and West Hartford—Brutal
Invasions of New Haven and Other Towns—Death of General Putnam.

Details of the 1778 Wyoming horror did not reach the Connecticut people till after they had heard joyously of the approach of the French fleet under d'Estaing, in evidence of the completion of the French treaty. Washington's purpose was to have the fleet clear Rhode Island of the enemy who sought to establish a base there to command the northern coast and supplies from the Provision State. Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island were to furnish two brigades at the least, under command of General Sullivan, with Greene and Lafayette associated with him. Connecticut's hopes were raised but the affair was a fiasco. The British for some inscrutable reason, it would seem, decreased their force; Sullivan threw up fortifications but failing to coincide with d'Estaing's ideas was rebuked and a severe storm scattered both fleets, Howe to rendezvous at Sandy Hook and d'Estaing at Boston. Howe surrendered his naval command to Lord Byron. Clinton had lost a good opportunity.

Washington, at White Plains again, but now on the offensive, was writing: "In the series of marvelous occurrences during the present war, he must be blind who does not see the divine working thereof." Britain delivered a special threat to Congress what time tales were spreading of arson and cruelties, and Burke and Buckingham, for their part, were boldly expressing the increasing Whig sentiment in England thus: "Since the coming of Christ, war has not been conducted on such inhuman ideas." But that was largely rhetorical, for there had been such crimes against heaven back in the days in Germany—and earlier—when cruelty had utterly crushed out the hope of free government.

By winter, expectations had not been fulfilled and camp and home were on short rations. Congress issued an appeal for eighty battalions, but no State filled its quota and Washington said: "Never yet have I seen the time in which our affairs were at such low ebb." Britain was resting her hopes on ridicule of the alliance and on attrition.

Putnam's troops in winter camp of 1778-79 at Redding, the present Putnam Memorial Park, were ready to rush to the Hudson if Clinton made a move and to ward off dashes from New York for Connecticut supplies, of which the amount was

limited. There being no tentage, rude huts had to be constructed and ovens built from the abundant supply of rocks. Few officers could afford to remain in the service; a bounty of \$200 besides land and clothing was offered to rank and file but soft slips of worn paper, which soon were unreadable, were poor substitutes for currency even if there were a place where they could be spent. Trumbull and his General Assembly saw to it that everything possible was done, with that same implicit faith of the years past. Huntington's regiment went so far as to form



ENTRANCE TO PUTNAM PARK, REDDING

This is a State Reservation, the First State Park in Connecticut.

ranks, fully armed, for a march to the Assembly to demand both food and pay, when the sudden appearance of "Old Put," as big-hearted as he was big-fisted, and the few words he uttered caused them to disperse to quarters.

With Putnam at Redding was a part of Gates' army which had not been detailed there originally. After the battle of Saratoga, October 24, 1778, they had been sent to Hartford, for what strategic reason is not apparent other than that it was well to have as many of the widely distributed troops as near bases of supplies as possible, with the winter coming on, and Hartford was a good base—in the very heart of the Provision State. Their camp was in the North Meadows. On November 3, there was a grand reception and a review of infantry and artillery by the Governor and other dignitaries in front of the State House, as told in the *Hartford Courant*, with a "banquet" for the officers at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern. Two weeks later they were moved by Putnam to a camp in the northern section of West Hartford

on the famous old road to Albany—a choice location near the beginning of the Hartford District's present great reservoir system, on property now owned by C. Frederick Mowray and Brainard Farm. In the dense woods and on the rough ground, with a sizable spring nearby, Mr. Mowray in very recent years has found among the dead leaves and dense undergrowth remains of stone ovens enough to meet the requirements of two or three hundred soldiers.

A fortnight after being brought from Hartford North Meadows these troops were removed to Putnam's camp at Redding, what time Washington was desirous of strengthening the environs of New York. Subsequently, when the French forces for the Yorktown campaign were encamped at Lebanon, eighteen miles to the eastward, the West Hartford grounds were utilized as a hospital camp, according to inference from the diary of one of Rochambeau's officers, the nearest well adapted place available and remote enough for those afflicted with smallpox, while within easy reaching distance for Hartford physicians. In memory of the soldiers who died there and were buried in the old West Hartford Cemetery, a memorial has been



PUTNAM'S HILL

erected in the cemetery through the initiative of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In February, 1779, Captain Titus Hosmer of Hartford, commanding a Redding outpost, detected the approach of Tryon's raiders on way to the large salt works at Greenwich and notified Putnam, who happened to be at Horseneck not far away, just in time to enable him to assemble a small detail which was soon swept away by the raiders. In the absence of staff officers, Putnam himself sped his horse toward Stamford for reinforcements and was being swiftly overtaken by dragoons when he wheeled his horse sharply from the road down a steep declivity—sometimes represented in old-time histories as a flight of stone steps—and of the many shots fired at him, one passed through his hat, with the sequel that Tryon sent him a hat in replacement. That in substance is the story familiar to school children through generations. The most incredible feature is Tryon's thoughtfulness or sarcasm, whichever. The British had destroyed the precious salt plant before the reinforcements arrived, had pillaged Greenwich homes and had levied tribute.

As told in history, it is astonishing that the Provision State was not better protected against raids. Barring New London, there was no shore town provided with

anything like adequate defenses. Need of something besides Fort Trumbull at New London was about to be recognized; Fort Rock (later Fort Hale) at New Haven was insignificant; Fort Gardiner at Saybrook inspired no great fear; all the rest of the inviting shore and the rich territory back of it was practically wide open. Any strategist would read between the lines the best evidence of the low ebb of finances and also the early faith that England never would resort to arms, such numbers of her people being in sympathy with constitutional rights.

The year 1779 was depressing throughout, because of the inefficiency of the French alliance—as when in October d’Estaing was defeated with heavy loss at Savannah and his fleet quit the coast—because of the failure of many plans and because of the depreciation of bills of credit which the counterfeiting by the enemy had reduced in value till they were worth only one for fifty or sixty. But the spirit of men like Trumbull was the same that it was in April, 1778, when Tryon tried to beguile him in the matter of Lord North’s conciliatory plan, which Trumbull ridiculed as “an overture of reconciliation.” In his letter in reply he called it “a vague, half blank and very indefinite draft of a bill, once only read before one of the three bodies of the legislature of the British nation and in no wise proper” to address “to the people at large of the opposite power.”

“Propositions of peace,” he continued, “are usually made from supreme authority of one contending power to the similar authority of the other.” The day was past when even this step would have been accepted joyfully. Insolent rejection of humble petitions, unbrooked commencement of hostilities, barbarous inhumanity marking the prosecution of the war, insolence displaying itself on every petty advantage, cruelty toward prisoners—“all these,” he wrote, “are insuperable bars to the very idea of peace with Great Britain on any other conditions than the most perfect and absolute independence.” The correspondence method now adopted, he wrote, further, had the appearance of a design to disunite the people and prevent their preparing for a campaign. Such design must be fruitless. “The most ardent wish of every honest American is a lasting and honorable peace.” And he believed England would find the Americans affectionate and valuable friends.

This itself is a complete answer, from highest contemporary authority, to the modern questions as to the causes of the war, and it also is the expression of the determination to continue the war, however difficult. The criticism of the conduct in the war is not from a sensationalist but from one of the most learned and philosophical men of his time. As the points in the letter indicate, Trumbull’s criticisms were not of the England that had been and the England that is England of today.

Neither was the seaman, Sir George Collier, nor the ambitiously loyal General George Garth of the type of Tryon; both of them enjoyed the traditional chase of the fox in “Merry Old England,” but neither of them would go out for hamstringing, even at behest of a Clinton, if one reads the stories of these men aright. Neither of them could have looked forward with pleasure had they known what July 5, 1779, was to be like when associated with gross Hessian hirelings.

It was the day which so soon had become the day of national celebration, postponed till Monday because “The Fourth” fell on Sunday. New Haven had planned



NEW HAVEN WITH OLD FORT HALE IN FOREGROUND

Printed from the Original Copper Plate in an Early Edition of Barber's "History of New Haven"

a. West Rock; b. Long Wharf; c. Campbell's Grave; d. Townsend House; e. East Rock; g. Tomlinson's Bridge; h. Fort Hale; m. Fort Webster, ruins of which are seen on Beacon Hill; n. Cave at West Rock, where the regicides Goffe and Whalley were concealed. Fort Hale, named 1812, the first public recognition of Nathan Hale in his native State.

an enthusiastic and encouraging series of exercises this year when spirits needed reviving. At daybreak, up in his beloved tower on the Yale campus, President Ezra Stiles, descendant of one of Windsor's first settlers and the foremost scientist in America of his day, was beginning his celebration characteristically by scanning the horizon with his famous telescope. Horns were blowing, bells ringing and the few students who were taking the summer course were making preparations for the day's patriotic program. The sun was still below East Rock when the president called down to his boys and met them on the stairs with orders to hurry to the authorities with word that war vessels were approaching from the west.

Collier's fleet was bringing 2,000 seamen and marines and 3,000 British and Hessians, under command of Tryon, with William and Thomas Chandler, lately of New Haven, for guides, together with Colonel William Fanning who once had been a student at Yale. Stiles paused only long enough to see General Garth land 1,500 men on the West Haven side of the harbor. His mind reverting to the fact that in earlier exigency many of the revered John Davenport's papers had gone to make cartridges, he was particularly anxious about his own and lost no time in removing his family and a considerable part of the college papers to the old Stiles home in North Haven.

Major-General Oliver Wolcott, commanding this section, sped summons to the militia regiments of Moseley, Sage, Cook and others, including Major Thomas Bull's dragoons. Brigadier-General John Tyler was to command the western section and Brigadier Selah Heart to be with Ward in the vicinity of New Haven. Couriers saw to it that the three guns at Little Fort Rock on the eastern side of the harbor, the only pretense at defense, were manned. A message from Tryon read that those who were loyal or who made no resistance need have no anxiety, but his well-known record made this not worth the paper it was written upon.

Captain James Hillhouse commanding the New Haven company of the Governor's Foot Guard which Arnold had led to Lexington did not, as Arnold had had to do, make forcible demand on the selectmen for the key to the powder house. The men not away in the service, with sundry volunteers, rallied around him as also did the handful of students under command of youthful George Welles as captain. Likewise there was the redoubtable Aaron Burr, of excellent record in the Canadian campaign, who was visiting friends in the town and was eager to be of service. Lieutenant-Colonel Hezekiah Sabin assembled enough militia to bring the total up to one hundred and fifty, very poorly equipped but filled with the spirit of Lexington and Bunker Hill.

Since apparently Garth was to make the first attack, he must be met at the West Haven bridge over Mill River, a long march for a sultry forenoon. But fortunately Garth had halted at West Haven Green for breakfast, which allowed time for Captain Phineas Bradley to place his two small guns in position at that point. On their dusty way, the rabblish force was overtaken and passed by the Rev. Professor Eliphalet Daggett, Stiles' predecessor as president of Yale—retired on account of old age—mounted on a farm horse and an old musket across the saddle bow.

The confident Garth, surprised by this array, even before he reached the bridge, was compelled to halt the head of his column and get into some sort of battle forma-

tion, and his adjutant, Campbell, was killed during this operation, near Milford Hill. The Americans, taking advantage of every tree or rise of ground, worked their way back to the river. But not Professor Daggett. Selecting a clump of bushes, he was playing the part of sharpshooter when two outposts came upon him. The reason for his presence being demanded, he replied philosophically: "I am exercising the rights of war." Learned in so many matters he was unconscious that the answer would have been marked "O" by a military instructor, for rules of warfare classified him merely as a private citizen, however reasonable his determination to defend home and family. And as such he was treated. Clubbed, bayoneted, though not severely, stripped of his shoes and parts of his clothing, he was forced to walk as a prisoner the rest of the forenoon, even to the far-off New Haven Green, where, by intercession of an English officer, he was permitted to go into a nearby house—to die after a few weeks of suffering.

On Campbell's approach to the bridge it was torn away and the guns of Bradley compelled a detour by Garth northward to the Derby pike to effect a crossing of the small stream, Aaron Burr's detachment hanging on their left flank and effecting considerable loss. The horde entered the city from the west, near present Defenders' Monument, pausing occasionally to fire their cannon, as at the corner of York and Chapel streets. Then, regardless of Tryon's proclamation, they dispersed for general pillage. They carried away many public and private papers, some of great value, endeavor to recover which, according to the terms of the Tryon proclamation, was unavailing; much of it was thrown overboard when the fleet was returning to New York.

Tryon did not land, at Lighthouse Point at the eastern tip of the harbor, till afternoon when he had been apprised of Garth's success. Almost his first act, in consistent disregard of his high-sounding proclamation, was to burn the fine residence of Captain Amos Morris while the invading column of 1,500 men was forming. Stiles' account says that one-third of New Haven's entire population had gathered at Fort Rock, with its three guns, to oppose the column. These were brushed away but when he reached Beacon Hill to the north, Tryon found a different situation. There was only one cannon at a fortification which had been in process of building by a people conscious of their defenselessness, but that gun was worked with an accuracy and endurance that was astonishing. The gunners stood in line to relieve each other and their work was somewhat devastating in the enemy's ranks pressing up the incline—marked today by a representation cast in bronze in Fort Wooster Park. Retiring from Beacon Hill the Americans took position on still higher ground in East Haven, but Tryon, after sending a detachment to "neck" bridge over Mill River near its junction with the Quinnipiac, hastened by ferry over to the town, to have a council of officers.

They assembled on the famous green. Pillaging there had been in plenty. No further benefit could be derived except from burning the large town, colleges, shipping and all. Already the smaller ships had come to the docks to carry out such a commission and the sailors were reported to be in prime condition through the pillaging they had done in all the warehouses with their generous supply of rum.

On the plea of Garth and Fanning, the torch was voted down, so that with the destruction of houses near the docks before the riotous could be brought into subjection and put aboard the vessels, there was no serious destruction of buildings. One of the captured cannon and many valuables were dispatched to the ships. Word that General Ward and the militia regiments were approaching caused Tryon to hasten away before daybreak, abandoning a detachment east of the harbor to be harassed by the local people and the students till they could be taken aboard the large vessels Tuesday afternoon. Some of the valuable papers thrown overboard were later picked up and returned.

Tryon's thought now was on Fairfield where he landed his men early on July 7, and there and at Green's Farms nearby the Hessians and Britons vied with each other in working destruction, deaf to pleas for mercy and burning altogether two hundred and eighteen buildings including churches, warehouses and stores. Lieutenant Isaac Jarvis had boldly assembled all men available but they were utterly powerless. Both Garth and Tryon, according to affidavits presented at the subsequent legislative investigation, gave written orders at one or two houses—on intercession—that they be not molested, for most humane reasons, but in vain. The thorough work was completed before noon. The official affidavits of the Belgians relating to the German invasion during the World War were striking reminders of these from Fairfield in 1779. David Humphreys, Connecticut colonel on Washington's staff, while viewing the ruins of Fairfield wrote an elegy recounting the horror, closing with these lines on Tryon:

These be thy triumphs! This thy boasted fame!
Daughters of mem'ry, raise the deathless song!
Repeat thro' endless years his hated name,
Embalm his crimes, and teach the world our wrongs.

Enthused by this work, the fleet stopped at Norwalk next—on July 11. A force dispatched under Parsons by Washington from the Hudson arrived too late. Captain Stephen Betts of Butler's Continental Regiment with a total of fifty regulars and a few militiamen were driven off and the damage by fire and seizure amounted to £26,606. This with £23,893 in Fairfield, according to the Legislature's summing-up in 1791, made a grand total for Danbury, New Haven, Greenwich, New London (later), West Haven, East Haven, Ridgefield, Norwalk and Fairfield £251,606, for which the victims were allowed grants of land in the State's 500,000 acres in the Western Reserve in Ohio, to be known colloquially as the "Fire Lands."

Meigs and his Connecticut men, under General "Mad" Anthony Wayne, on July 16, must have acquired from such outrages some of the determination which distinguished them when the bold assault was made upon Stony Point on the Hudson and five hundred men and a large amount of ammunition taken. That was honorable warfare, a test of genuine courage and devotion. So also was the descent of the following September 5 of one hundred and thirty chosen men, including Major Benjamin Tallmadge of Wethersfield (and later Litchfield) of Sheldon's dragoons, upon Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, a stronghold of raiders. The well equipped enemy

was surprised at midnight and before morning the garrison of five hundred men were prisoners on Connecticut soil.

Connecticut men also were ready for Washington's call subsequently for the State's quota of 12,000 militia for an attack upon New York, but not finding his plan supported the general abandoned it. Those who already had left the State returned home and the army went into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, the coldest winter in many years. General Putnam, much in need of rest, had gone to his home in Pomfret. He was returning in December when his strength again failed him and suffering from paralysis, he was taken back to his home where he lingered on till May 19, 1790.

Putnam was a man out of the classical legends. He strangled no pythons but he did modernize Cerberus and the she-wolf of Romulus and Remus, and he left a monument to Ceres when he abandoned the "plowshare in the mold." The legend reads that all Pomfret was worrying about the exploits of the she-wolf which lived in a cave, unapproachable by the bravest-hearted, where she devoured the domestic animals of the settlers roundabouts. Putnam crawled in to her, faced the fiery eyeballs and returned with the carcass. Fitting, indeed, that an oil painting of the mouth of the cave should hang these many years in the Chief Magistrate's private office in the Marble Capitol. And on the first floor of that building reposes the hero's original marble grave-stone, his epitaph carved upon it as of the days preceding the present memorial near his still rustic homestead. There are other worthy relics sacredly preserved by the Continental-uniformed Putnam Phalanx of Hartford established much less than a century later, applauded with its Putnam uniform and its flint-locks in many a parade, in distant cities and in Paris as well as at home. It has the plow of song and Lexington story and most of the other belongings in its museum and its own rosters which bear the names of Senators and Governors and clergy of note. It follows Van Steuben in tactics. The grief when Putnam's death knell was sounded on his way back to his post of distinction was universal. In fighting as in speech he saw his duty instantly and went straight to it. He is leading on in his statue on the Capitol grounds.

CHAPTER LII.

Grim Sea Fights

Olmsted and Fanning, of Same Age and Neighborhood, Win Glory—Olmsted's Case Famous in Courts, Arnold Interested—Fanning with Paul Jones.

A "story," by common understanding, implies sequence. Sequence in its very self has been significant in the story of Connecticut people and their government from their first settlement on through the history. Hopefully it has been read along the line indicated in introduction; if so it has been seen to be exceptional for its consistency of record in the lives, customs and, in particular, government-making of and by these free people. But as the stage broadens, with the Revolution and the Confederation, the general sequence, as history-making, involves more scenes than those on land. Not all incidents are essential to the general tenor of maintaining democracy but as parts of history, freshly or more completely assembled data are welcomed, whatever or wherever the field of action. The people were true to Connecticut form, indomitable in their zeal for human rights.

For today's emphatic benefit from years of investigation relative to the State's part in the struggle on the seas, readers are indebted in large measure to a life-long researchist in the person of Captain Louis F. Middlebrook of Hartford, with rank due to his own naval service in the Spanish War and the World War. The work has involved hours and months of study in the capitals of America, France and England, to say nothing of attics and musty chests in Connecticut. Reference to his study of the Salisbury forges already has been made. Now on the approach of the date of Arnold's defection, would seem to be the time to introduce Gideon Olmsted of East Hartford and also incidents which played a part in Arnold's ineffective courtmartial in 1779, and Pennsylvania's test of the Constitution, together with the facts of the famous sea battle of the *Bon Homme Richard* and the unexploited record of Nathaniel Fanning of Stonington—as items from Captain Middlebrook's collections.

Gideon Olmsted, descendant of James Olmsted of the Hooker pioneers who came to have a fine home in East Hartford where Gideon was born, turned mariner and, soon after participating in the campaign around Boston, was captain of his own vessel, the *Seaflower*, in trade with the West Indies. He captured a "prize" and lost it when he himself was captured but was released at Haiti with part of his

crew as reward for good pilotage. Thence he sailed on a French ship *Polly* well armed as an American privateer but lacking in competent men. When the British *Ostrich* encountered the *Polly* off Jamaica, July 8, 1778, there was one of those inhuman battles that privateersmen indulged in, ships lashed together, till the British *Lowestoff's Prize* came to the aid of the *Ostrich* just as she had struck colors to the *Polly*. There ensued "two floating gehennas—hell."

Olmsted and his few surviving men, fifty-five of whom had perished, were put in irons on the *Prize*; the owner of the *Polly* was made prisoner on his own ship. Olmsted and a few of his crew were thrown into a dungeon at Montego Bay, Jamaica, where they arrived July 10, 1778. Lieutenant Hibbs, commanding the *Prize*, was dismissed from command by courtmartial for having claimed the *Ostrich* as his because the *Ostrich* had surrendered to the *Polly*, his capture. Enraged thereat, Hibbs took the oath of allegiance to America and later sailed on a Connecticut privateersman—as Olmsted learned long after.

Admiral Richard Howe was calling for every ship to assist in getting food from abroad into New York for the army. At Montego Bay and Port Royal there were many vessels awaiting convoy. The *Active*, John Underwood captain, was ready but needed a pilot familiar with the tortuous channels up the coast. Olmsted, found to be such, was taken on with three other Connecticut men, all of them understanding that they would be imprisoned again at Sandy Hook. On sighting Long Island, September 6, Olmsted, as acting second mate, had turned toward the Jersey shore and had so arranged the crew that Underwood and his men were below and the conspirators above deck in full control. Bullets were fired up through the deck, one of them giving Olmsted a flesh wound, and the rudder was wedged. After a shot from the swivel into the cabin on the second day, Underwood surrendered and was jailed with his men in Philadelphia; the *Active* had become Olmsted's prize. But before he could make his formal claim, Captain Houston of the *Convention*, which had convoyed the vessel to the dock, had filed record in the local admiralty court and ship and cargo had been ordered sold for a large sum, leaving Olmsted and his heroes nothing but sense of injustice—which to Olmsted was always intolerable. The cargo alone was valued at nearly \$101,000. And the captain of a nearby privateer also was making claim.

On Olmsted's insistence, the court reopened the case a month later, when the Underwood prisoners themselves testified to the capture, but the jury would allow him and his men only one-fourth, directing that the rest go to the State, to be invested in United States certificates and thus to assure the State's retaining possession. The judge was George Ross, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The "president" of Pennsylvania was Joseph Reed, who had resigned his position on Washington's staff and was hostile to Benedict Arnold who had been given command at Philadelphia.

In December the court of appeals to which Olmsted had taken the case and of which Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut was a member, decided that the entire proceeds of sale should go to Olmsted according to law and evidence. Judge Ross and his associates treated the finding contemptuously and the money went to State

Treasurer Rittenhouse. President Reed preferred charges against Arnold for "alleged misconduct"; Arnold demanded investigation; a committee of Congress exonerated him; Reed persisted; Congress threw out part of the charges and at Arnold's request referred the others to a courtmartial which gave a mild reprimand on two points. These points were that Arnold had interposed by the purchase of the property "at a low and inadequate price," causing delay of justice and involvement of Congress, a charge which was not approved by Congress.

Olmsted, it is obvious, had had no friends in Philadelphia to aid him till Arnold, likewise a Connecticut man, had sought to do something. Reed's conduct, it is felt by some, was the cause of Arnold's later defection. The testimony in court and weight of disinterested opinion appear to have been on Olmsted's side however much Pennsylvania politics were mixing in. Arnold, in his defense in court, said among other things: "It is difficult to account for the extraordinary mode pursued by the state of Pennsylvania to damn my reputation and for the asperity with which I was persecuted on any other principle than one by which states as well as individuals are too often tempted to commit the most flagrant acts of injustice. I mean personal interests." He quoted in full the finding of Judge Ellsworth and his associates, Congressional commissioners, insisting that that finding should have been sustained.

State Treasurer Rittenhouse held this large sum in private capacity while Olmsted was borrowing money to live on. After fourteen months of it, he arranged with a lawyer and had gone to sea in hope of capturing other prizes for he had lost everything except fame. And of that there was such abundance that even the sharp details of his were to be lost in general history for nearly a hundred and sixty years. As a privateersman he was again very successful though on no such scale.

One of his disasters was the loss, on her first exploit, of the fine new brig, *General Green*, the property of John Wright and Company of Rocky Hill, a vessel of sixteen guns and eighty-three men, taken by the famous British privateersman, Captain Stanton Hazard, with his larger vessel, off Nantucket Shoals, in May, 1782. Hazard himself had been captured twice and once was confined in Hartford Jail. Olmsted and his crew were held long in New York till they besought their Connecticut friends to secure their exchange. This was achieved after long delay through the activities of Joseph Deane of Wethersfield—and with an exchange of only thirty-five British for fifty-six Americans, on the sloop, *Jersey*, but Olmsted unaccountably not with them. He was given up as "dungeoned" by reason of his record.

At Saybrook, the *Jersey*, having grounded on those shoals which had raised the doubts of the elder Winthrop as to the Connecticut's navigability, was boarded by Captain Samuel Field of Saybrook, under orders of Colonel Samuel McClellan of New London to seize all illicit traders, and was libeled despite his white flag. Next Field asserted there was smallpox on the ship, deaf to the insistence of Mr. Webb and the others. Meantime some of the *General Green* men had reached shore in boats they hired. Field found small bits of merchandise, on the strength of which the maritime jury at Middletown gave a decree of illicit trading. Many of the

General Green men and their fellows died on prison ships at New York and nine of them on their voyage home to Saybrook and Rocky Hill.

Olmsted apparently was kept, like others, a prisoner on parole till peace in 1783. He was home after the evacuation of New York. Exchanges after 1781 had been few. Spain's appearance against England in 1779 and her achievements which counted for much in the West Indies made England desperate. With his brother, Captain Aaron Olmsted, Captain Gideon continued to press his case in the Pennsylvania courts and those of the United States as they took form. In 1784 he removed his place of residence to Philadelphia, still engaging in marine trade, but the money he had raised was lost in a shipwreck. Taking out French naturalization papers, he was a privateer for the French republic for a time. An action against the estate of Judge Ross to recover his prize money he won but there were no funds for settling. His suit against Treasurer Rittenhouse was delayed in one way and another till 1792 when it was thrown out because it was a maritime case. With that, he made it such and attached the bodies of the Rittenhouse heirs, prominent in Philadelphia circles. At the same time the State itself was trying to recover from those heirs. Confusion was worse confounded and more than ever it became the *cause célèbre* Federal courts involved in it.

The Federal Court of Appeals had been established in Congress by vote of all the states, Pennsylvania alone excepted, and Olmsted's action was to be upheld by the Supreme Court. The District Court had decided for Olmsted yet without mandamus, thus permitting the matter to drag along. The Legislature when appealed to, on account of the State's concern, finally had allowed \$1,000 and a grant of land, which Olmsted had scorned. The Supreme Court, the already distinguished John Marshall as Chief Justice, when appealed to, lost no time in ordering the seizure of the Rittenhouse executors—high though they stood in social circles—on the order passed in 1803. Governor Simon Snyder, a leader in the political ring, solemnly and sarcastically ordered his General Bright to have his men in readiness when he, the Governor, acted "in obedience to the injustice of the act."

Streets were thronged with people to witness the outcome of the attempts to serve the writs. The Rittenhouse ladies sat placidly in their reception room and the United States marshal was held at bay by the bayonets of the Governor's troops. He took recourse to the naming of 2,000 as a United States armed posse who must enable him to make service upon Mrs. Elizabeth Sargent and Mrs. Esther Waters, daughters of Treasurer Rittenhouse and executrices of the estate, and said posse would proceed to capture any interfering militia. Bright had come with his local forces to the residence now known as "Fort Rittenhouse." This was April 5, 1809. What with the militia, the armed posse and the citizenry, the approach to the house was fairly blocked but the marshal effected an entrance by a rear door and the ladies were obliged to accept the service of the writ in behalf of Gideon Olmsted, himself victor over British seamen and not to surrender to American vagaries. The ladies were courteous and there was no rebellion against the decree of John Marshall and the Supreme Court of the Union.

Gideon Olmsted's case was won if the United States could win it. By the temper of the Pennsylvania authorities, that still remained a question. The act of

resistance to Federal authority on the part of General Bright came before the District Court April 25, with Attorney-General Walter Franklin and Jared Ingersoll, whose experiences in Connecticut in relation to the Stamp Act have been detailed herein, appearing for the defense. The arguments in print made 224 pages in book form. Justice Bushrod Washington of Virginia, nephew of George Washington and appointed justice by President John Adams in 1798—whose wife on the death of Mrs. Washington inherited Mount Vernon—delivered the notable charge to the jury. Alexander J. Dallas, an outstanding jurist, later Secretary of the Treas-



TABLET IN THE WALL ON THE SITE OF THE BATTLE IN RIDGEFIELD STREET
Erected by Miss Mary Olcott

(Photo by Hartmann Studio, Ridgefield)

ury under Madison, was district attorney; he was Secretary of War in 1815, reorganizing the army on a peace footing, and was instrumental in opening the "National Bank" in 1817. The peremptory mandamus was drafted by Francis Scott Key, author of the *Star-Spangled Banner*. Caesar Augustus Rodney was the United States Attorney-General, later a member of Congress and United States Senator.

After two days, the verdict of guilty was rendered. General Bright was sentenced to prison for three months and fined \$200—his soldiers for one month with fine of \$50 each, and defiance of the United States was at an end, with seeming victory for the long-suffering Connecticut patriot. That accomplished, all were

pardoned by President Madison in May. In his message the following month, published by order of the Senate, he reviewed the act of justice.

In Olmsted's expenses, as he meticulously had jotted them down and including \$80 a month for his time, as agreed upon with his brother, his lawyer's services were given as \$1,417, and travel amounted by April 5, 1810, to \$22,873; he had received \$4,875 and from the Rittenhouse executrices for the Rittenhouse estate \$14,057, leaving \$8,786.47 due from the State. By his will on file in Hartford he had at his death in 1845 a claim of \$30,000 against Pennsylvania which, his wife having died, he bequeathed to the sons of Edward Olmsted, deceased, of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, \$5,000 to each; to Gideon Olmsted Cross of Westchester, Pennsylvania, \$5,000 and the remainder to the State of Pennsylvania. A classical simple white stone, bearing simply his name with the date of his death and his age, ninety-six, marks his burial place in the cemetery in East Hartford.

Another of the products of Captain Middlebrook's research has to do with the aid given by Captain Nathaniel Fanning to Captain John Paul Jones, who was to be America's first admiral, at the famous victory of the *Bon Homme Richard* over the British *Serapis* off Flamborough, England, September 23, 1779. The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* "records that Fanning had the good fortune and the merit to overcome the enemy" in that historic engagement, meaning that his was the act that won that day of horror and wonderful heroism on both sides.

It is interesting to note incidentally that Fanning was born in the town of Stonington, May 3, 1755, just a month before Nathan Hale was born in the almost neighboring town of Coventry—two sons of whom the State has reason to be proud. And Fanning was to be spared to end his brilliant career as commander of the United States Naval Station at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1805. Aside from furnishing a thrilling naval story, the battle reflects something of the mystery of the French naval alliance, not so creditable to France as the alliance on land, and foreboding governmental turmoil in that nation.

In 1779 Jones already had circled England and had struck terror into the heart of that Britannia which ruled the sea while also establishing a bit of precious Scotch literary romance. When the wild news spread that the *Bon Homme Richard* was drawing near the little town of Kircawdy and the terrified natives were crying out to the Lord, an old Presbyterian minister, carrying his chair, edged through the throng and taking his seat near the water's edge addressed the Lord in firm but respectful language, rehearsing the virtues of his people, ending with: "I canna thol't. I hae been lang a faithful servant to ye, Laird, but—gin ye dinna turn the wun aboot and blaw the scoundrel oot o' the gate, I'll nay stur a fit, but will just sit until the tide drowns me. Saw, tak' ye're wull o't." The wind at that critical moment did blow about and Paul Jones had to run hopelessly and far to sea.

Fanning had become midshipman on the *Richard*. The personal log he left gives more particulars than does that of Jones, though the latter throws light on the "concordat" inspired by the commissioner of the French ministry of marine which deprived Jones of appropriate control over the joint fleet of privateersmen. The

Richard was carrying forty guns and three hundred and eighty men and boys, three hundred of them Americans. Havoc already had been wrought with England's vast merchant marine interests and, as every schoolboy knows, Jones had had a strong hand in it—his name was anathema.

After days of watching, Jones had sighted a rich prize for him if he acted quickly. Unfortunately his Majesty's well known ship the *Serapis* was revealed protecting the merchantman, known to the Americans to be carrying fifty guns and three hundred and five well-trained men, under command of the redoubtable Richard Parsons. Jones instantly signaled directions to his small fleet, including the French *Alliance*, the peculiarities of whose commander, Landais, already had lost two of the many prizes Jones had taken and turned over to him to convoy.

The *Serapis* opened fire at 8 o'clock in the evening. On the *Richard* at the first fire three of the lower-deck guns, with ten men at each, burst, killing most of the men; the companion guns on that deck were thereupon abandoned. The *Richard's* ensign was soon shot away. The two-decked enemy showed her superiority in armament, her broadsides and musketry carrying slaughter, and several eighteen-pound shot tore through and through the American. In addition, the *Serapis* could outsail the *Richard* two to one and could run under the stern, to rake fore and aft. In half an hour not an officer would be left. Consequently it was necessary "to lay the enemy's ship on board," which was executed with the aid of a flaw of wind, her jib-boom being run between the starboard mizzen shrouds of the *Serapis* and her mizzen vang. Grappling irons were thrown aboard the *Serapis*, a test of courage which had to be repeated several times as the chains were cut away. Jones himself assisted in finally making fast the end of the enemy's jib-stay to his mizzen mast—and sternly rebuked his men for swearing "when next moment you may be in eternity—but let us do our duty!"

The enemy, seeing he could not get free, and a strong current setting toward shore, let go an anchor, hoping thus to gain aid in breaking away. The fire of small arms from the *Richard's* tops meanwhile silenced the enemy's tops; broadsides had become no longer possible because of the stem-and-stern interlocking. The British leaped aboard, but were driven back and cut down on their own deck. Again and again this was tried till not a man could be seen above decks from the position to which Fanning had been detailed in the *Richard's* top. Terrifying fires started on both sides but were subdued.

After three hours the Americans were getting the best of the impossible situation when report spread between decks that all officers had been slain and the *Richard* was sinking; hence quarter should be asked for. Fanning heard these men crying, "Quarter! We are sinking!" At once Jones was among them, knocking down their leader. Fire starting again on the *Richard* and water exhausted, the men beat it out with their clothing on decks slippery with blood, only to have another recurrence. It was the vital moment. Fanning does not say so in his log but it is testimony that it was then he aimed from the top a bomb which sank deep into the *Serapis*, exploded with great havoc and soon the *Serapis* struck her colors.

When Parsons learned that he had been fighting Americans, he exclaimed: "Then it is a case of diamond cut diamond." The French *Alliance*, meanwhile, had

drawn near but had fired two volleys across the decks of the *Richard* and then had retired, reputedly by error in signal. The fire now had reached the powder room; officers and men of both ships worked together to prevent death for all by removing the explosives, after which the *Richard* was abandoned, and prisoners and wounded men were to be put aboard the privateersmen fleet—the *Alliance*, *Pallas* and *Vengeance*. To keep the *Serapis* from sinking, the crews of all the fleet were sent to help. In the confusion the prisoners got control of the *Serapis*, which necessitated another hand-to-hand fight, after which the prisoners were placed on the *Pallas*.

Of the many privateersmen, another with lasting record was Captain William Havens' *Beaver*, with twelve three-pounders, which, in company with Captain Elisha Hinman's *Hancock*, brought several supply ships into New London. She was being repaired in that port in March, 1779, when a British fleet appeared off the harbor mouth. With fifty volunteers, Havens sallied forth under guise of a merchantman, thus inducing a man-o'-war to leave the fleet to capture him. Waiting until the Britisher had run into good range and well away from the fleet, Havens unmasked his twelve guns to such effect that the war ship was compelled to strike its colors and was brought into harbor as a prize, and a rich one. In all, the *Beaver* captured or assisted in capturing nine prizes. Hinman was one of the first officers commissioned in the regular navy. When in command of his third vessel, the *Alfred*, he was captured.

CHAPTER LIII.

Starvation, Injustice, Prisons

Ethan Allen's Varied Record—Severity of Deane's Fate—East Granby's Old Newgate—Hartford's Prisoners—Attitude of Whigs—Dunbar's Execution.

February 2, 1779, President Stiles of Yale wrote a personal letter to his intimate friend, Governor Trumbull, saying that "the steward of the college has been every way disappointed with respect to flour, so that it has become impossible for us to receive the students" (closing the college), and he desires requisition to be made on the government's commissary department, for fifty or sixty barrels.

Commissary-General Jeremiah Wadsworth reports to the Governor April 6 that breadstuffs for the troops is unobtainable and that he understands the soldiers stationed at New London are without bread. Three tons of flour, valued at £1,412, have been seized at Suffield, under the law, but in general: "If it were possible to obtain bread for the army by the present law, the expense is so great that the treasury of the United States is not sufficient to pay for it."

This in the "Provision State, Washington's great reliance."

What of war goes into history books has to do mainly with the actions in the field, with glamor thereof—the moves on the chess board which, theoretically, decide the issue. The specter Hunger, if not actual Famine, which sometimes appears, is crowded from the picture drawn in later years or dismissed with a word, when in reality it is an essential in that presentment of history which has to do with the temper and character of the people—the prime consideration. Genius and courage in field campaigns won American independence no more than did the grit of the men and women behind the lines, of whose sufferings hardly a trace is left on the records and no monographs—of those sufferings which in certain instances have compelled surrender. Such things hardly can be left to imagination, itself impossible, of those who seek the triumphant "Story" of the men and women to whom Connecticut and the United States owe their existence today. Grit and patience were as eminent characteristics as was their genius in carrying on the principles of democracy. In honoring their memory and not boastfully, it can be said that in world history through the past and in this immediate present in any land there is no nobler example.

And reference to this period of hunger brings back into the "story" the name of the awe-inspiring Ethan Allen of Southbury birth and Ticonderoga fame, the

man whose name had been on every tongue in earlier days as was that of John Brown, another redoubtable son of Connecticut, to be in the Civil War days. The name had not been heard much in camps till now it came with swiftly sped story of prison starvation told with all its vigor. The account of his imprisonment after his capture at Montreal had not been known even to his devoted Green Mountain Boys. When impatient with the delay in Montgomery's attacking the stronghold in 1775, with the aid of Canadians and Indians whom he had enthused, he had crossed to Long Point in canoes with a party of his immediate followers and was attacked by five times as many irregulars—betrayed, he believed—and he and thirty-eight of his men had been made prisoners after his mighty arms had swung the person of the enemy's commander to ward off the sudden onset. He and his men had been thrown into irons and forthwith shipped to the famous Pendennis Castle Prison in England.

The ingenuity he had exercised in saving himself from the extreme of horrors around him on the voyage and in the castle, the exhibitions of a giant's strength, the prodigious arguments with the authorities, his success in getting shipped for home, the skill employed in winning a good taste of food in an Irish port, and then his being held six months on shipboard in New York Harbor—all these incidents were interesting but aside from special interest of the hour—food supply. If poor on land, the condition for prisoners on ships was beyond all comprehension and explained in a measure why so many comrades long since due to be exchanged had not been heard from. Washington welcomed him heartily and listened gravely to his minute description of prison life; he noted carefully his being held nearly three years or for six months after date stipulated for his release and the offer he had had for service under Howe.

To complete Allen's biography: While he accepted a lieutenant-colonelcy by brevet from Congress, he was not for taking the field again, preferring to devote himself to preventing Vermont's being apportioned among other states, to espousing the cause of making a new State in Wyoming Valley with Vermont and Connecticut people and to writing his volume, *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*, a remarkable production for a man without schooling, but mostly destroyed by flames in the publisher's office, to the relief of the clergy who thought his reasoning obtuse. He died in 1789. On his monument in Winooski, Vermont, a part of the inscription reads: "His spirit tried the mercies of God in whom he believed and strongly trusted."

The patriots, too, were sighing over the fate of the brilliant Silas Deane of Wethersfield, the man who had helped Wadsworth do so much to promote the commissariat and throttle profiteering, now supposedly in England eating his heart out. Malicious whisperings in the wide-open halls of Congress had brought about his downfall, to the joy of the men who had been foiled and were both jealous and vengeful. In the army and among civilians the affair had amounted to a scandal, not to be cleared up till long after his death, practically in poverty and without a country. He had gone on his plenipotentiary visit to France, as has been told, on secret mission to secure material and open the way for aid, biding the time of a

treaty—a delicate mission which yielded great benefit and entitled him to high honors.

It was in France that the first scandal originated chiefly in the dog-in-the-manger spirit of Arthur Lee. This man had been London correspondent of Congress and when, in 1776, Thomas Jefferson had declined the appointment of commissioner to France with Benjamin Franklin and Deane, Lee had been named in his stead. It happened that Beaumarchais—secretly, in order to avoid rebuke from King Louis—had been arranging with Lee to supply munitions for America. When Deane arrived on the official commission the count completed his arrangements with him instead of Lee, on the initiative of the French minister of foreign affairs. Lee came to circulate stories that Deane had given worthless promises to army officers which could not be fulfilled by Congress and also that he had misappropriated money. Other malcontents joining in with Lee caused the recall of Deane in 1778. He was obliged to return to France for his vouchers which he knew would relieve him of misrepresentation on the money score. This, supported by Franklin's testimony, brought about his exculpation. But Congress would not reimburse him for extra expense in going for the evidence. It was over half a century later that it paid to his heirs the government's money indebtedness.

But it was the scandal about his connection with the purchase of supplies which impelled him to leave the country for good, and to die in poverty and of a broken heart in England. The truth in this phase of the injustice was not revealed till a hundred years after the war when Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford obtained the key to all the correspondence and revealed not only the high honor of the men wronged but "the difficulties and prejudices insurmountable which beset them in their superhuman effort to keep the army from disintegrating through want of the bare necessities of life."

That was in this starvation period when Deane and his business associates were trying to save the government from being mulcted by the profiteers.

As his business in Washington and abroad absorbed his time, he had left his fine residence in Wethersfield, now the home of former Congressman E. Hart Fenn, and turned over his large affairs there and in Hartford to his brother, Barnabas, of Hartford. In his regular business he had been closely associated with Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, the commissary-general whom Washington so greatly relied upon. Early in 1779 the firm of Barnabas Deane and Company was formed for general trading. At that time the government was being imposed upon by profiteers, the scavengers of war. What between the gourmands scheming in Philadelphia and the difficulty in getting food and supplies at any price, Quartermaster-General Greene found his duties onerous. Deane welcomed a plan carefully worked out by which he should join with Colonel Wadsworth in getting supplies without its appearing to the seller that they were for the government. He and Wadsworth entered the firm as silent partners. The company owned gristmills, was interested in distilleries and tried to establish salt works to eke out the supply that could be brought from the Indies. Never a word must be said to Silas Deane or to Wadsworth, for if the secret became known the purpose would be misrepre-

sented by profiteers, and such scandal might prove disastrous to the whole cause. There were perils enough without this.

There was a mass of blind letters in conducting the arrangement which shut the scavengers out of much of their profit, as Dr. Trumbull deciphered them, and something of these had given Deane's enemies their opportunity. Deane was so keenly affected that he went first to France where he found other fictions afloat, and thence to England, dying at Deal, August 23, 1789.

In a way the whole matter of providing food was of particular interest to Connecticut. Each State was supposed to furnish its portion and, for convenience's sake, Connecticut must have been looked to for furnishing provisions for a large portion of the prisoners, for from the beginning the State was considered the most convenient as well as the best supplied with food. Washington could depend on his "Brother Jonathan" and Trumbull depend on Commissary Wadsworth. So in the days when there were enough men to till the soil, when the government did not have to seize flour in Suffield or anywhere else and when the president of Yale did not have to beg for bread, it was quite a different matter. The British had comparatively no land space for prisons, the Americans no ship space and wholly insufficient jail space. Both had to resort to exchange and parole with their attendant drawbacks, as in the case of Burgoyne's army which became a very palpable burden before the disputes that general created could be settled. In that instance many who were not Hessian hirelings waiting for their pay disappeared in the surrounding countryside, never to be counted again.

Here again Connecticut had something that most states did not have, and that was a place underground. The parole system itself, it was felt, worked better, because of greater homogeneity; neighbors in every community knew each other so well and also the dwellers in surrounding towns that it would be difficult for a stranger to get far away from his habitat without detection. Captive Tories, if not too bellicose in speech or pen, could be apportioned out, and if too contentious for their principles could be put in jail, but for husky and undependable professional warriors from interior Europe or their British comrades who felt they should be back in the ranks, the old Simsbury copper mine, to be known as Newgate—by namesake of the London counterpart then being rebuilt—had been made of rock when the earth was taking shape, and was therefore windowless and secure, like the original.

The location, in the East Granby of today, being away from the main thoroughfares through the State, may seem remote for tourists from other states and countries, but aside from its historic interest, it is in the very heart of some of the wildest and most enjoyable scenery in the Commonwealth, with a local history in keeping with general history's romance. Among the far-spreading foothills of the Green Mountains, and near the amusing notch in the Massachusetts boundary line previously described, the woods and fields are cut by chasms with their tumbling streams. Good highways close-by the streams furnish vistas of fertile farm lands around residences of classic-colonial purity. The whole region was once that prob-

lematical Simsbury with its mineral allurements previously referred to herein. Granby was taken from Simsbury soon after the Revolution, and East Granby from Granby and Windsor Locks as lately as 1858—each division being begotten of the peculiarities of inherited local independence as will be noted in the section of this history having to do with the individual counties and their component parts. Altogether it is a remarkable setting for a remarkable relic of the past.

Ensign Higley, ancestor of "Brother Jonathan" Trumbull, of several ministers and judges and of the Enoses and Pettibones of Simsbury, himself a Simsbury settler in 1660, was the first to whom the region was allotted, and Copper Hill was a "common" property when search for copper began in 1705. First and last considerable foreign capital was invested. The first mining—the first in America—began in 1705 but as England would allow no smelting this side of the water, expectations could hardly be fulfilled. Ten shillings on each ton had to be paid to the town, part of which went to the support of Yale.

A touch of self-righteousness was apparent on the copper tokens produced from Samuel Higley's shaft in the 1730's when there was so much suspicion about all mediums of exchange. They read: "I Am a Good Copper" and "Value Me as You Like." Still taken at their word, their valuation by collectors today gives them resting places only with the wealthiest. Captain James Holmes of England, who secured a twenty years' lease in 1772, was the man who disposed of the main property to the Colony for prison purposes in 1773.

By roofing the west shaft the government made it "next to impossible for anybody to escape." The wisdom of the mental reservation in this clause of the report of the commissioners, who were such eminent men as William Pitkin, Erastus Wolcott and Jonathan Humphrey, was demonstrated as Overseers Wolcott, Humphrey and Josiah Bissell found, a fortnight after their report, when the first prisoner escaped. By 1779, the frequently burned blockhouse was reinforced by another, a military guard was established, mechanical devices were employed in mining and the caverns made more secure. Most of the prisoners in war time were Hessians. One mass effort to escape resulted in the overcoming of the guard but submission after the main body had been aroused and wounds had been inflicted. Tories were added to the inmates after they began destroying property and communicating with the enemy. Twenty-eight of them one night, led by Captain Peter Sackett, escaped and made a general jail delivery. Officer Sheldon was killed when rallying his men. It appearing that there had been bribery, the soldiers were locked up till one of them was convicted. A year later when the buildings were burned and Guard Abel Davis let all the Tories escape, Davis was tried and sent to Hartford Jail for a term of one year.

In 1777 the prisoners were removed to Hartford Jail. By 1780, however, the prison buildings had been modernized, but only to be abandoned again in 1782, built over in 1790, a wall built around the shaft in 1802. By the action in 1790 leading citizens—John Treadwell, Roger Newberry and Pliny Hillyer, of families still prominent in the county—were made overseers with instructions to rebuild the buildings with brick and select a guard of twelve men under the command of Major

Peter Curtis. Entrance was by a heavy trap door in the jailor's house, down a perpendicular ladder fifty feet. "From the foot of the ladder," says a contemporaneous account, "a rough narrow and low passage descends still deeper, till it terminates at a well of clear water, over which is an air shaft seventy feet in height and guarded at its mouth, which is in the jail yard, by a hatch of iron. The cells are near the well, but at different depths below the surface, none, perhaps, exceeding sixty feet. They are small, rugged and accommodated with wooden berths, and some straw. The straw was wet and there was much humidity in every part of this obscure region; but I was assured that I ought to attribute this only to the remarkable wetness of the season; that the cells in general were dry, and that they were not found unfavorable to the health of the prisoners."

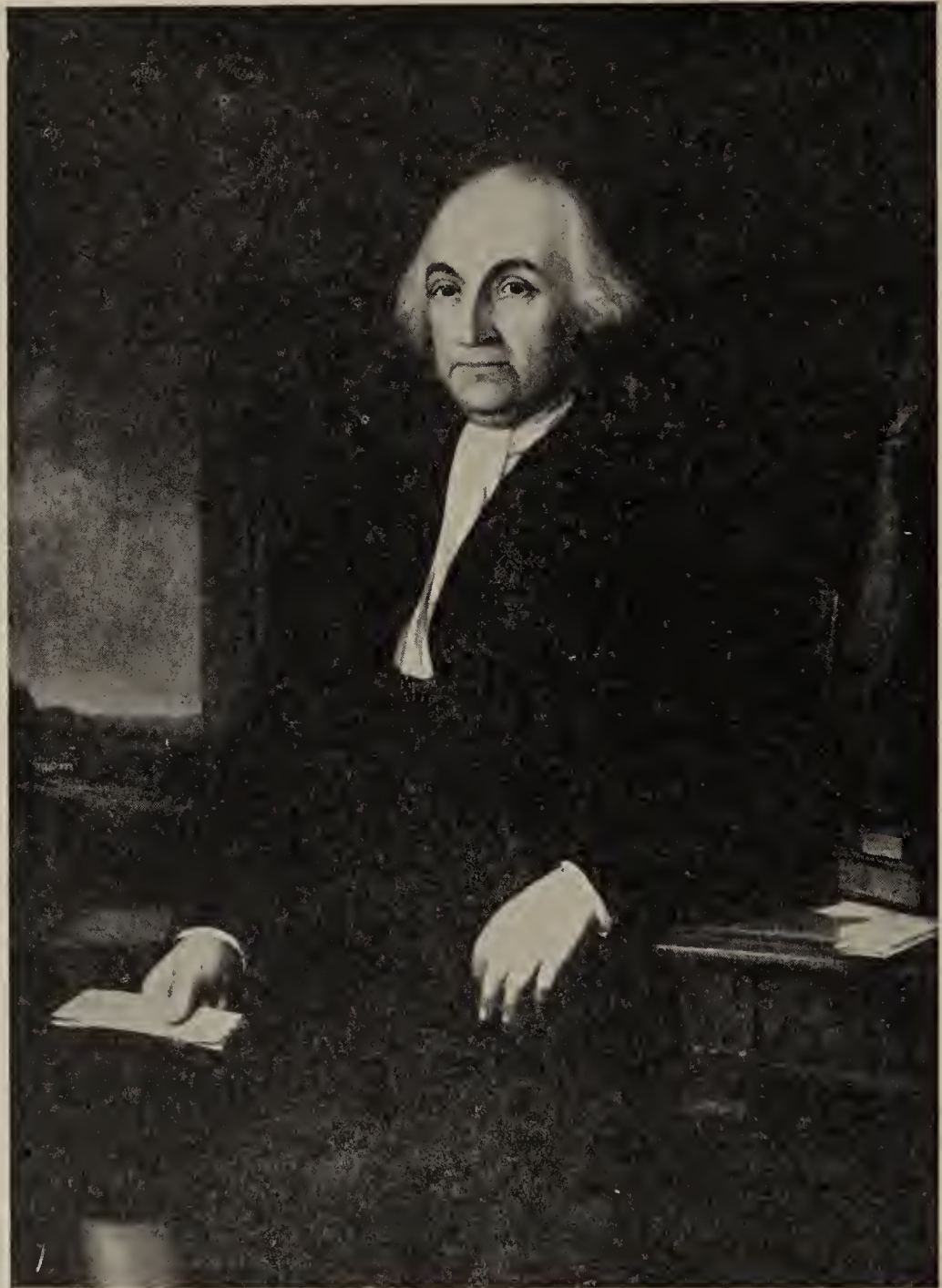
The workshops were in the yard within the walls above. At four o'clock, in all seasons and always fettered, they went down the ladder and at four in the morning they ascended it for their food which was served above ground. In alternation the food consisted of pork and beef, individual portions being left near each man in the smithy, to be washed and boiled in the water used for cooling the iron taken from the forge for making nails. A very neat and airy hospital was provided. No women were imprisoned there, they being sent to the jails. The prison served till 1827 when the first of the present structures at Wethersfield was completed. Further endeavors to work the mines proved unsuccessful and today the hill is the property of Colonel Clarence W. Seymour of Hartford who maintains it for its historical interest and the extensive view of exceptional beauty.

Of the county jails, that at Hartford at the corner of present Pearl and Trumbull streets was the chief one for State prisoners. It was only a block west of the State House, but the approach was so muddy that at one time the inmates drew up a request for some other place since the good people who brought them gifts of food or clothing could not reach them in wet weather. After long being the site for well-known industries it is today crowded with automobiles, a parking space in the very heart of the city. The significance of this is that the automobiles which are bringing in multitudes to do business are driving business concerns farther out.

Hartford had a parole problem in the instance of a Major Christopher French of a British regiment, taken prisoner at Gloucester, Massachusetts, improperly, he maintained. He lived at Mrs. Knox's where there were other officers, some of whom engaged in teaching. French devoted himself to long harangues to the authorities to prove that they were ignorant and incapable, and this though the committee was composed of Colonel Erastus Wolcott, Samuel Wadsworth, Ezekiel Williams, Ephraim Bull (commissary), Henry Allyn, Colonel Fisher Gay, Colonel Matthew Talcott, Jonathan Welles and Ebenezer White with Colonel James Wadsworth and Colonel J. Humphrey and Colonel Nathaniel Terry of Enfield, who had succeeded General Wolcott in command of the 19th Militia on Wolcott's appointment to be a brigade commander, was also active in providing supplies.

For the most part the prisoners were allowed freedom within prescribed limits, as in the case of Governor Skene of the Ticonderoga affair, as before mentioned; but unlike Skene, French had no body servant to amuse the public, along with his

following of Hartford negroes, and was constantly complaining. Like Skene he was permitted to attend the Rev. Mr. Jarvis' Episcopal Church in Middletown till he undertook to escape. His supercilious bearing brought him in occasional contact with the rougher element of the community and he was locked up. Inasmuch as



JESSE ROOT

Of Hartford, Chief Justice of Connecticut, 1798-1807, and Delegate to the Continental Congress

there was suspicion that the jail inmates had communication with the Tories, and as there were supplies of munitions in Hartford, a fence was built around the jail and Barzillai Hudson was appointed chief of the civilian guard. French assumed a sort of command over his fellow-inmates, addressing official letters to them. One

thing led to another, including his departure to Branford and his being retaken there, till he was brought before a committee of which the learned jurist, Jesse Root, was chairman, sitting with Samuel Wadsworth and Mr. Payne.

French seemed to welcome this as an opportunity to malign Judge Root and ridicule the positive evidence that he was in communication with men outside of the jail. His contention was that his parole had actually expired. He was committed to closer confinement yet nevertheless succeeded in getting away a second time late in December, to the particular chagrin of Colonel Wolcott. The Rev. Roger Viets of Simsbury was found to have been in connivance and was punished.

Relative to prisoners after Burgoyne's surrender and the traditions about their number and their doings, there were, according to good authority, nineteen officers with forty-three servants, and forty-three Hessian officers with ninety-four servants, all paroled in East Windsor and South Windsor under the observation of Captain Roswell Grant, one of the family from which President Ulysses S. Grant was descended. Captain Grant was of Major John Roberts' command. Among these paroled officers was Brigadier-General Hamilton with four servants, quartered at Edward Kilborne's and very highly respected.

That that spirit of England which survives through the ages was not represented in this war was impressed upon Connecticut people when they came in personal contact with representatives behind the lines. There were more reasons than having to share the scanty food to cause revulsion against the paroled as a class; much better to exchange them and get back the Americans so greatly needed at the front; England's almost limitless force would be no greater, in effect; man for man, or for more than that, America would be the gainer since each American revered a cause. The more Connecticut saw of this as the war dragged on, the more it was impressed. Hence incidents which attest the fact are preëminently a part of the history of the Commonwealth founded with a definite purpose. As for erring native-born like Governor Franklin of New Jersey—who had languished in Litchfield Jail without pen and paper for writing "peace proclamations" and further injuring the cause in which his father was so prominent—he had shown himself a conspirator or a freak, to be expected in whatever great issue.

The small garrison of Ticonderoga were paroled at Hartford, though not on a level with Governor Skene whose case has been mentioned. What Hartford thought of the astonished group, Hartford did not record but Major French, previously cited, wrote it down that he "did not assimilate" with the inhabitants. That was at the beginning of the war. And there never was to be assimilation between men of such different background and motive.

It adds to the zest of the story to learn that there was far from being display of animosity between Whigs and Tories. Many of the Tories remained quietly at their homes instead of joining the hegira for Canada, where not a few Americans of high worth were sojourning. In various Connecticut towns there were families of Tories following their daily pursuits without fear of molestation or rebuke by their patriot

neighbors of long-time acquaintance. Old-time sociability was at an end—that was all.

This was more particularly the case in New Haven and New London whither Englishmen had been attracted by the opportunities for commerce, notwithstanding the bitterness engendered by the disputes in the earlier years. More emphatically along the shore, little fear had been evidenced that England actually would go to war; protection had not been provided, and the failure of the Mother Country—so embittering at the time—to provide the New England Union with the promised reinforcements for punishment of the Dutch at New Amsterdam was of the remote past. When, after the shock of Bunker Hill, in any town the Tory ladies held afternoon parties of their own, or men and women got together of an evening, that was considered natural, if we may judge by some of the old letters. There were heart-aches aplenty back of calm faces.

A certain element persisted, an element limited in make-up and ignorant of the ordinary rules of warfare, which did connive, burn property or give aid to the country's enemy, some of them out of purest loyalty to the Mother Country of practically all of the citizenry, and not a few with love for the Mother Church of England and for men like Dr. William Johnson, who was born in Guilford. Clearly the latter class were not born "to the manner" of the 1620's and Laud. Dr. Johnson, first president of King's College, later Columbia, had won many to his Episcopal faith, however much that faith was still under suspicion in the New England of the founders; and Samuel Seabury, to be the State's first bishop, born in Groton and ordained in England at the age of twenty-four, had been unperturbed by his capture, along with the Rivington Press, or by the warnings he had received during his Long Island experiences. Western Long Island had become a nesting-place for men with monarchical ideas, however unworthy the ruling monarch.

There were very few executions in Connecticut though they were made possible by direction of the General Assembly in October, 1776. The most notable was that of Moses Dunbar of Bristol, on a charge of treason. He was a high-spirited man of good parts and married Phoebe Jerome whose family had strong Tory leanings. They attended the Rev. James Nichols' Episcopal Church and the four children of the family were baptized there. After his first wife's death, Dunbar married Esther Adams. He was known to have made visits to Long Island; his general attitude caused the suspicion that he was on friendly terms with the Tories there. Indeed, he had been accused of treason before his second marriage and had been rebuked for speaking too freely. Feeling ran so high that his case was brought before the authorities and he was ordered to be sent to jail, to escape which disgrace he fled to Long Island prior to his second marriage.

While at that Tory refuge a second time, he was commissioned a recruiting officer for the King's army with a view to securing recruits in Connecticut. The future Bishop Seabury was chaplain of the regiment to which he was assigned. On his return he secretly visited two or three with whom he had held communication before he had this authority to make out enlistment papers. The news of his intent had been communicated to Bristol by men determined to stop such efforts which,

it had been found, had been successful in obtaining here and there a recruit along the Connecticut shore. Dunbar had enrolled one recruit, which furnished all the evidence necessary, and he was brought before Justices Strong and Whitman of Farmington. They immediately remanded him to the Superior Court, then in session, January 23, 1777, where he was convicted. There was a deep feeling of sympathy for him, his children and his young wife, who was with child.

Elisha Wadsworth helped him escape, for which he was sent to jail for one year, after Dunbar had been recaptured. Dunbar was removed to Hartford for execution on Gallows Hill as it had come to be known—the glacier-marked rocky bluff, now city property, west of where Trinity College stands today, with a wide view north, south and west. Earlier hangings, though infrequent, had given it its name, today wholly obliterated. The Rev. Abraham Jarvis, afterward bishop of Connecticut and for whom Jarvis Hall at Trinity is named, preached for him in the jail and Dunbar wrote an appeal to his children to lead godly lives. In its brief report of the execution on March 19, 1777, the *Hartford Courant* said that there was a “prodigious concourse” of people present. His wife rode with him to the gallows. For a time she went within the British lines, later returning to Bristol where she married Chauncey Jerome, Jr., member of a leading and much esteemed family and brother of Dunbar’s first wife. They made their home with other refugees in Nova Scotia till peace was declared. The horror of it all remained in mind for years but it was the sentiment that an essential deed had been performed.

CHAPTER LIV.

The Arnold Tragedy

Romance and Crime Intermingle—Miraculous Interruption of West Point Plot—Connecticut Generals Judges in André's Case—French Arrivals.

As the obstacles in the way of establishing free government must become more and more pronounced with present agitations in various lands, the details of them for America—the first to be successful—should become more and more precious, not by any means to the dwellers in Connecticut alone but to the uneasy world of today in its entirety. Every incident of Washington's time is sought out for its possible application in the present hour wherever effort is being made to secure human betterment, whether it be honest effort or such figment of the imagination as may negative all the costly gains.

Connecticut has the duty to civilization to preserve intimate records but never in spirit of boasting of the incipency, within her borders, of successful free government, and, by the same token, her incalculable intimacy with its progress through the periods of its greatest tests. If her people now are meticulous in unearthing even minutiae, as in the recent three-hundredth anniversary of its historic founding, and if significant and fruitful incidents are come upon—unrealized in their day and hour, like those at this point being put upon the page of "Story"—it is with no spirit of self-pride that they are emphasized but, rather, as lights on the road to world-acknowledged attainment.

The year 1780 was the most discouraging of all for the American cause. It was marked by disasters, foreseeable to one familiar with the morale of troops and the general financial conditions, and by agony and by shame in Arnold's Connecticut in particular. Strong hearts quivered, unless it may have been that of the silent, always gracious Washington.

One should picture a culmination of the hardships of the previous days to realize the situation, from the people's viewpoint. Woodrow Wilson, in his history, wrote this about it, after the Declaration of Independence and the immediately subsequent plan for Articles of Confederation—of interest here in tracing the development of the germ of democratic government: "The states did not all accept the plan of July 12, 1776, and without unanimous adoption it could not go into operation. All except Delaware and Maryland accepted before the close of 1778, and Delaware added her ratification in 1779; but Maryland still held out—waiting till the great states like

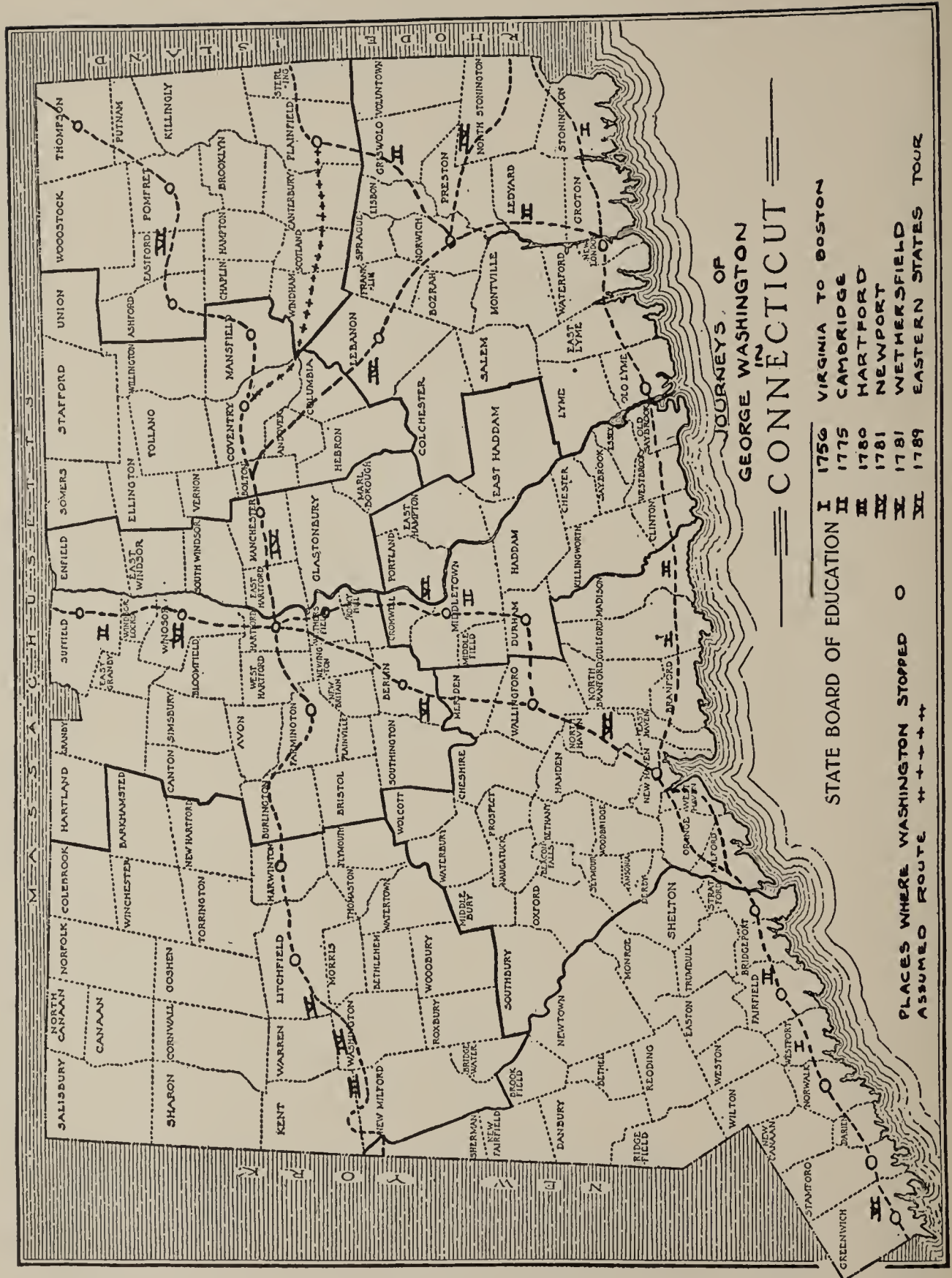
Virginia should forego some part of their too great preponderance and advantage in the prospective partnership by transferring their claims to the great northwestern territories to the proposed government of the confederation; and her statesmanlike scruples still kept the country without a government throughout that all but hopeless year 1780. . . . The scattered settlements and lonely plantations of the Carolinas were, indeed, full of men who cared little for the quarrel with the Mother Country and held to their own allegiance as of course, giving to the King's troops ready aid and welcome." But the inland settlements were dependable.

Then there was more than that—more than indifference, jealousy, ignorance in some of the states. Currency was so depreciated that a bag of it couldn't buy a loaf of bread. The credit upon which the government depended, particularly for European assistance, was cracking; enlisted men were deserting in hope of getting food; in southern states Cornwallis actually was obtaining local Americans for his ranks, with "officers fitted by school and temperament for their irregular duty of keeping a whole country-side in fearful discipline of submission. Many a formidable band of 'whigs' took the field against them but were without a base of supplies, moved among men who spied upon them, and were no match in the long run."

Connecticut from the first, as recognized by Washington, had stood out as a bright spot, which was only in accord with her inheritance, or her mission, whichever it may be called; generation after generation of men had arisen to carry on the "sacred fire" of 1639, whether simply by nature and intuition or by a peculiar inspiration not sensed by any of them or their contemporaries. Individual or printed recording was small; they simply were doing their duty day by day as it was revealed to them—one cannot say by divine afflatus, since that could well have been revealed much earlier in human progress.

Illustration of the minutiae which those succeeding them have sought to resurrect, perhaps illustrative of their perspicacity, is the tercentenary map of Washington's routes within the State boundaries, as published for the schools by the State Board of Education—what time, be it marked in passing, the Legislature was discussing a measure for the doing away with the teaching of history in the schools, a bill which in Connecticut was foreordained to rejection.

A summary of the mapped visits is as follows: First, 1756 by way of Stonington, to Boston to see General William Shirley about the relative authority of officers of like rank in the French wars and Indian wars where Americans had been snubbed; Second, 1775, to take command of the army at Cambridge, returning in 1776; Third, 1780, September, to Hartford and return, for conference with Rochambeau, stopping over night with Arnold at the Robinson house in Peekskill on the way up and at the house of General Oliver Wolcott in Litchfield on the way back—the house where the lead statue of George III, which had stood in Battery Park in New York till pulled down by the people and brought to this place, to be duly chopped up and melted into bullets for the army; Fourth, 1781, March, on way to Newport and return; Fifth, May, to Wethersfield conference with Rochambeau; Sixth, 1789, as President.



(Courtesy of Connecticut Bicentennial Education Committee. Map by R. D. McAlister)

By the rule of "so many men, so many minds" and by the fact that there were numerous Tory sympathizers, especially in New York and Philadelphia, acting secretly and pulling wires in high places, Washington himself was a victim of machinations, if not open affronts. He had to be conscious of an atmosphere of treachery; time and again he found his trust misplaced, but in New England as a whole and especially in democratic Connecticut he could feel that the faith in him was constant. Of bluest Virginian blood, aristocratic in his landlordism, borne almost to the ground by his responsibilities, he craved victory in a war—in which he was the commander—for a principle so unostentatiously conceived in this Connecticut community of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield a century and a half before; he was the chief bearer of the burden put upon a sadly but firmly accepting people, at this juncture covering territory equal to that of a great European monarchy, and, so far, under the only self-sustaining form of government.

Not till today, perhaps, with its world restlessness and America's own anxieties, could the import of these incidents, this seething in the crucible of the simple, straightforward Fundamental Orders, be realized.

At the middle of the year 1780 the arrival at Newport, Rhode Island, of the first evidence of land aid from France, brought a glimmer of hope. Clinton, after scourging the South, had returned to reestablish quarters in New York, leaving it to Cornwallis to complete the work which the incompetence of Gates, the pet of Congress, would have made possible for him had it not been for generals like Nathanael Greene, "Harry" Lee, Morgan and his rangers, Steuben, and William Washington, kinsman of the Commander-in-Chief. July 10, Rhode Island was ablaze with fireworks in honor of Comte de Rochambeau who, with 6,000 men, had landed from de Ternay's Squadron, while d'Estaing's fleet was to harry the southern coast. Yet hopes were to fall like the stick of a rocket. Clinton started forces for Rhode Island, but recalled them when enough of his ships had arrived to establish a blockade—for eleven precious months. In Parliament, where the board for the management of Colonies had despairingly been discontinued, there was quick return of the old imperious tone.

It was at this juncture—note in passing—that Connecticut's hill-top town of Lebanon, the seat of Trumbull's War Office and its people familiar with the varied coaches of all New England and with fast-galloping messengers, saw for itself what a real camp meant. They had told the venerable Governor, who always had a word for them when passing back and forth, how glad they were that he had permitted a room to be constructed in his house for a constant sentinel for him and now here was what looked like a whole army, and in splendid uniforms too. Their peculiar bugle calls, reveille to taps—to express it in American terms—rang out snappily over the boy and girl haymakers in neighboring fields. And it was worth going far to watch their housework; a whole "critter," of which there were many, brought from a distance, was dressed, cooked and gone within an astonishingly short time, and they could bake a loaf of bread most off-hand with their stone ovens. There was one full lesson in the way they washed their clothes, and themselves, too, for that

matter, down in the brooks. If any were very sick—there were their whisperings about smallpox—they were placed carefully in carts and taken off to near Hartford, to the hospital camp.

The local records preserve for us that the strong-minded Lebanon authorities taught those particular "poilus" in the "Provision State" to respect property in the guise of chickens on the neighboring farms, however much soldiers of all nations and generations may consider poultry their own by divine right. Cavalry and artillery, with most of the staff, were held around Newport and North Providence. With them were two prime officers, Chastellux and de Lauzon, and they all enjoyed the hospitalities the scant resources would admit of—according to their diaries. When Ezra Stiles, who did not become president of Yale till 1778, was on a visit to his old congregation at Newport, he saw much of Rochambeau after the first dinner he attended in his honor. He was favored by being given a place next to the count. But neither was proficient in both English and French—which was not true of the many-tongued Stiles for the years thereafter; conversation lagged till Rochambeau quoted a bit of Latin and from then on both tongues ran fast. (The incident is reminiscent of one concerning Trumbull, with his Harvard antecedents. Stiles in a letter to the Governor threw in a Hebrew quotation; after that, much of their correspondence was in that language, greatly to the amazement of Mrs. Trumbull when she chanced upon the phenomenon.)

Washington had calculated that at the least a three-days' conference with Rochambeau was necessary. For the busy commander, Hartford was a good midway ground—and Trumbull would be nearby, as well as the indispensable Commissary-General Wadsworth. Accompanied by General Knox, of the artillery and engineers, several aides, Lafayette and Alexander Hamilton, Washington left his New Jersey headquarters September 18, 1780, crossed the Hudson at Stony Point, was met by Arnold and was entertained over night at the Robinson residence in Peekskill which the general and Mrs. Arnold had taken the previous month on Arnold's appointment as commandant of West Point, across the river.

"Charming hostess" is not too threadbare an expression to apply in Mrs. Arnold's case. Margaret Shippen and her sisters, bright buds of the old Tory element when red-coats held sway in the city of William Penn, had yielded to the attentions of the dashing, widower officer in command of the American forces now in control, and she had consented to become the mother of his children by his first wife, the beautiful daughter of Sheriff Samuel Mansfield, in the gay society of New Haven before Arnold led his Governor's Guard to Cambridge. In Philadelphia, prior to the American occupation, it had been thought that Major John André, the youthful and deservedly popular adjutant-general of General Clinton, would be her choice, but the way in which Arnold had met the calumnies heaped upon him by so many who had felt themselves affronted in one way or another had won her confidence and then her love.

After the turmoil, which, as has been said in describing Captain Olmsted's experiences, had ended with Washington's official reprimand by order of Congress,

Washington had bestowed upon him this West Point honor. This was in the faith that it would aid him in living up to that standard which, as expressed in the reprimand, Washington fully believed was his. Here was Mrs. Arnold's first opportunity to express to the general her gratification. She sincerely hoped that both the general and his companions would be their guests again on their return. She deeply regretted that the French minister to America was not with them as she had understood he was to be. He surely would come and they would hold him till the general's return from the conference, which, according to the general's schedule, would last three days.

Comparatively brief as the conference proved to be, it gave Hartford an opportunity to show its respect for both commanders. Everything in the military line was turned out, to meet Washington coming from Farmington and to meet Rochambeau at the ferry dock on the Connecticut and to escort them from the State House to General Wadsworth's mansion on the site of the present Wadsworth Atheneum. The impossibility of getting a second French fleet under de Guichen was reported along with the lack of success of the vessels which already had come over. Simply nothing could be undertaken till there were more men and ships from France, and that might mean a year. Trumbull's never failing faith was comforting but Washington's heart was heavy. There was the customary brevity in the local paper, the *Courant*, for its short items from all parts of the world and its long letters from war and political analyzers and prophets were reflecting the universal gloom. Yet its language was spirited. Two days of schedule were saved. Washington must improve them, hurrying back to headquarters with the hope of receiving some encouraging report from the fields of action.

His worst blow of the war awaited him, but nothing as compared with what it would have been but for that forty-eight hours of change in schedule. Two days later, by Arnold's schedule, he would have found Clinton in command of West Point, or Arnold acting for him, and possibly the French minister his prisoner; or yet, by perfection of details, Washington and his party also prisoners.

Inasmuch as Washington came to be arriving long ahead of time and early in the morning, he decided to cross to West Point before breakfast. This was September 25. He never could have conceived that Arnold and Clinton had been in correspondence for more than a year and since the day Washington had given Arnold his mark of honor, nor yet that Mrs. Arnold and her old flame, André, had exchanged notes. She was not the first of her sex to play with fire and not know it.

André, absolutely fearless, popular, Clinton's adjutant-general, had been selected for his mission largely on the suggestion of Mrs. Arnold who had a vivid sense of glamor and the brilliant forethought that the glamor of this, the most important capture that could be conceived of, would have as much effect as the capture itself in bringing the war to an immediate close. It was the exact hour for it; America as such would lament; the long-suffering people would rejoice.

Even contemporary accounts of what happened the forenoon of that September 25, especially as to locations, are important, but histories omit them; the account followed here is that of a descendant of an immediate resident, as given by herself.

Washington returned to the house where the Arnolds had entertained him, arriving about an hour after his companions had breakfasted with Mrs. Arnold. All sat chatting pleasantly but there was something distraught in Mrs. Arnold's manner, especially when she was asked by the general what time Arnold would be back. She turned the question neatly but about that time the hue-and-cry was on.

Arnold had received a note at breakfast time, had excused himself for a moment to answer it and soon had been followed by his wife, who returned to her guests with the assurance he would not be gone long and desired her to express his apologies. Washington had become suspicious before she addressed him. The note Arnold had received had informed him that André had been captured during the night; information from the Point now confirmed it. To Washington the details must have been more and more incredible as developed during the days following.

Arnold had been in treasonable correspondence with Clinton since June, 1779, largely in cipher, giving the most important military details and supplemented by Mrs. Arnold's own messages to André, her quonda gallant. Having convinced Clinton of what he could do, he requested that £20,000 be paid, together with a brigadier's commission, if he succeeded, and £10,000 if he failed. He was very heavily in debt. André's name in this correspondence was John Anderson. Arnold must have known Washington's three-days schedule for his Hartford conference but not of its abbreviation.

The André intrigue was to approach its climax September 21. Whether Arnold wildly calculated to include Washington in the tragedy is a matter of conjecture. Under Clinton's orders, with injunctions not to go within the American lines or in any way disguise himself and not to receive incriminating papers, André had sailed up the Hudson to Teller's Point, eighteen miles below West Point, on the date fixed. Joshua Smith came to row him ashore to meet General Arnold on business of the service. Arnold took him to Smith's own house, much to André's alarm when he found that to be within the American lines, and it was then about daylight. André's alarm had increased when, in the forenoon, a cannon was heard, firing a ball at the sloop-of-war *Vulture*, in which he had come. It proved to be that the shot was fired by Colonel James Livingston on his own responsibility. Arnold having completed his data, Smith had refused to take André to the *Vulture*, which had dropped down the stream a way, and instead set him ashore on the east side of the river, where he had furnished him with a horse. The road was one familiar to farmers who smuggled produce through the lines to New York. To stop this, Patriot John Paulding and his neighbors, Van Wort and Williams, had established a little patrol of their own, near Tarrytown. It was a border line where men of either army might occasionally be seen.

Near the end of his second day's journey, wearing a long blue coat in place of his regulation garment, André had been stopped by these men. His answers were not satisfactory; they searched him, found the incriminating papers in his stocking and scorned the large bribe he offered. The plan was that Clinton should move at once upon the Point, obtain its surrender from Arnold and pay according to stipulations, including the brigadier-generalship.

The court-martial included some of the most eminent men in the service—men like Greene, Steuben, Lafayette, Stirling, Knox, Stark, and Parsons and Huntington of Connecticut, and also John Paterson, native of present New Britain, who had moved to Lenox, Massachusetts, and played a prominent part in the war from the beginning, becoming a major-general.

Of Mrs. Arnold's bearing in the presence of Washington and his companions after the exposure, Alexander Hamilton wrote to Miss Schuyler, his betrothed: "It was the most affecting scene I ever witnessed." She kept up her splendid acting till she and her children were on their way to Philadelphia, undeterred. On her journey through New Jersey she wrote to an old school friend, widow of British Colonel Mark Provost and later wife of Aaron Burr, declaring that she was tired of acting.

The Council of Pennsylvania ordered her out of the State. Arnold had appealed to Washington to protect her almost in the same words with which he had threatened him with bodily injury if any harm were allowed to come to André. To "thousands suffering under the tyranny of usurpers" and others "criminally protracting the war for sinister views at the expense of public interest" he sent an appeal to follow him into the British lines, preferring enmity of neighbors to their applause. Upon officers and men he urged that they come over and support the standard of the King, assuring Clinton that he would have a splendid corps established. To the court he addressed an argument that André was not a spy since he had entered the lines in uniform and at the request of an American officer, and finally that he was protected by a flag of truce he bore, an argument which was met by Washington with the simple statement that, under no code, could a flag of truce be used for such a purpose.

Before the court André, in manly fashion, confessed everything except a pre-meditated scheme to deceive. The court reluctantly found that "Major André ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death." With like reluctance Washington approved. Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, British, wrote reflectively upon both the past and present feeling of his fellow-officers: "The useless murder of Major André would almost, if it was possible, annihilate that which . . . has ever operated on the officers of the British army, the wish of a reconciliation and speedy reunion with their revolted fellow-subjects in America." In the cart on the way to the gallows André said he was reconciled to death but not quite to the mode of it, and added, to the officer of the guard, "It is but for a moment, sir." Told that time would be allowed for anything further he might wish to say, he replied with utmost composure that he would call on all the gentlemen present to bear witness that he died like a brave man.

To Miss Shippen in Philadelphia Arnold had written before their marriage: "I daily discover so much baseness and ingratitude among mankind that I almost blush at being of the same species." To Lord George Germain, this: "I was intent to have demonstrated my zeal by an act, which, had it succeeded as I intended, must

have immediately terminated the unnatural convulsions that have so long distracted the empire."

And the "unnaturalness" he was still further to demonstrate, as will be seen. For the present Clinton sent him to the South to scourge and destroy.

CHAPTER LV.

Wethersfield Conference

Sequel, British Surrender—March of the French Through the State—Arnold's
Final Disgrace, Near Place of Birth—Ledyard's Brave Stand.

"Tuesday, May 22, 1781—Wethersfield.

"Fixed with Count of Rochambeau upon a plan of Campaign in substance as follows—That the French land force (except 200 men) should march so soon as the squadron could sail for Boston—to the North River—and then, in conjunction with the Americans, to commence an operation against New York or to extend our views to the southward as circumstances and a naval superiority might render more necessary and eligible."

This quotation from Washington's private journal—incidentally correcting misapprehensions which have been circulated by so-called "de-bunkers"—might have been paraphrased by one with foresight and familiarity with Shakespeare thus:

Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of—France,
And all the clouds that loured upon our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.

History finds no question but that it had been a winter of all-but hopeless discontent—a land force strengthened by an expensive ally but daily weakened by its own discouraged, untrained, ill-paid, foe-baited men. In military maneuver after maneuver, the Americans had proved the more efficient when there had been obedience to the chief will, and patience and endurance had set a new mark in history. Connecticut, for one State, had not slumped or conceived of anything but success for its constant fundamental of free government, no "ifs" or "buts" on the lips of its leaders any more than on the lips of Washington of Virginia or of his real marshals from other states. A novitiate Congress and a slowly approved "Articles of Federation" were products of a simple but novel way for the people to escape subjugation dating from a time immemorial—a way like that which Hooker indicated and Connecticut had lived up to, counting a man as a man and not by his chance station in life, rich or poor, aristocrat or plebe. It was that "sun," winning strength from France and moral support from men of the Pitt following among their once neighbors and often their blood relatives, in their Mother Land, that had held out to make glorious an unprecedented winter of discontent. And without that, despite the French array, the winter would have been the end and human progress have been

set back. That is what the world was learning, the "story" that was being written; that is the essence of the thrilling incidents the school boy knows by heart.

To come up, then, to Washington's "a campaign was determined." And first in this "Story"—the picture of the event in Wethersfield, a short distance from the spot where the Fundamental Orders of 1639 were adopted. In March, 1781, Washington had come to Hartford and to Lebanon on his way to Rochambeau at Newport. There were questions of prime importance to be discussed with Rochambeau and also with Trumbull and Wadsworth. Information was needed of the French opinion on what the fleets were doing and on how a more effective coöperation could be brought about. Might assurance of closer touch in land and water maneuvering be obtained? It was to be obtained—largely because of the Wethersfield Conference—and yet greatly aided at a critical moment by a British error or an inscrutable act of Divine Providence in southern seas.

In his stop at Lebanon, later, Washington did not find Duc de Lauzon any too well pleased with the town—"too much like Siberia" he had said in a letter to a friend. Governor and Mrs. Trumbull had given up their residence to him, Mrs. Trumbull going to the Huntingtons in Norwich with her fifteen-months-old babe, where she was to give birth to a second daughter, Abigail, on June 2.* Other officers were billeted in private houses, the men in the fields, and according to the papers of Commissary-General Wadsworth, preserved in the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, they were well cared for under the circumstances. Rochambeau in one of his letters, speaking of conditions, said the inhabitants were so generous that, in addition to regular rations, there was at each mess "every kind of provisions at a low price." For the State in general a proclamation had gone out from Trumbull's office that prices of food be not increased even by one cent.

Washington's reception at the time of the Wethersfield Conference had been more elaborate than that of any previously. After respects had been paid him in good military fashion in Hartford, he and his party, including General Knox and also General Duportail of the French, were escorted to the Joseph Webb house in Wethersfield, next door north of Silas Deane's, where the Ticonderoga capture had been planned, and known the country-round as "Hospitality Hall," because of the grace of Mrs. Abigail Chester Webb in presiding. Large and of exquisite Colonial design, it stands today as a memorial maintained by the Daughters of the American Revolution. This was to be headquarters. Knox, Duportail and the suites were entertained at Stillman's noted tavern. Wethersfield had seen nothing like this since the day Jared Ingersoll, collector of British revenue, had been headed off and forced to resign. In the demonstration there was nothing to violate the sanctity of the Puritan Saturday evening.

The same beautiful church of today was crowded with worshippers on Sunday when the Rev. Dr. Marsh voiced the spirit of New England faith and Washington was so pleased by the singing that the choir provided a special concert for the visitors the next evening. On Monday there was the booming of guns again, the

* Mrs. Trumbull's wedding gown descended to her great-great-great-granddaughter, daughter of Colonel Louis R. Cheney, of Hartford.

parade of the Foot Guard and the militia under command of Captain Frederick Bull when Rochambeau and his following, including Chevalier Chastellux (de Barras having been detained by British activities) arrived by the Hartford ferry and were escorted to the Webb house, members of the General Assembly joining in the procession. Then the conference and dinner and the same the next day with discussion of the commissariat and the assurances from Wadsworth. Before Washington's



THE WEBB HOUSE, WETHERSFIELD

"Hospitality Hall," as it was known in Washington's day, was built by Joseph Webb, Sr., replacing the original residence of Major Samuel Wolcott (2d), of whom Webb had bought it in 1752. Joseph Webb, Sr.'s widow married Silas Deane. She died in 1767. Deane's second wife was a daughter of Colonel Gurdon Saltonstall and they lived in the similar house he had built next south of the Webb House.

Webb's son, Joseph, in 1774 married a sister of eminent Colonel John Chester, of Wethersfield, and with his brother, General Samuel B. Webb, of Washington's staff, lived in the Webb Homestead. In 1777, on an expedition to destroy British supplies on Long Island, General Webb was captured and held till 1781. General James Watson Webb was his son; his grandson, General Alexander S. Webb, became president of the College of the City of New York. The Daughters of the American Revolution having acquired the property, which had been preserved intact, redecorated it reminiscently of its period and furnished both it and the spacious barn in accord with its earliest period.

The Deane House, likewise carefully preserved, became the property of former Congressman E. Hart Fenn, and likewise bears the D. A. R. tablet, since it was there that Deane and his associates concocted the secret plan for the historic capture of Ticonderoga.

departure on May 24, he wrote all the New England Governors to complete their quotas, the time of the three-year men having expired, and to Massachusetts for a loan of powder. Lafayette, impressed by Connecticut's loyalty, furnishing nearly half of the New England regiments remaining in the army, wrote: "No European army would suffer one-tenth what the American troops suffer. It takes patience to support hunger, nakedness, toil and want of pay, which constitute the condition of our soldiers—the hardest, most patient, to be found in the world."

To Lafayette went Washington's first dispatches. The general then (1781) was in the South, with Greene trying to bring order out of chaos since the loss of Charleston. Headquarters must be kept intimately informed on the strength and character of the enemy in their respective areas. On that, as matters stood, would depend whether to attack New York, campaign in Virginia or besiege Charleston, decision to be deferred till de Grasse's fleet arrived. The French land force were to move from Providence in June, joining Washington in the Hudson Highlands, and ready for word from de Grasse. A decoy letter was sent by Washington on May 31, to fall into the hands of the British and make them think the attack would be upon New York and not the South. (The elaborate camouflage is now in the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. Misled by this, perhaps, writers have said that the actual plan or, better, plans were not worked out at Wethersfield.)

Rochambeau's march through the State was a blessed revelation to the people whose knowledge of the French had been gained only from the hateful wars in the old days. It was an encouraging spectacle, and the conduct of officers and men, inspired by their commander, was such as to win the enduring respect of the cheering populace. While a body of flanking hussars and infantry marched from Lebanon by way of Wallingford and New Haven, the main body of 4,000 effective troops took the road from Providence, the four regiments proceeding with intervals of one day's march between them so as not to overburden the towns where they encamped each night and were rationed, the commissariat having been arranged in advance.

Thus Rochambeau reached East Hartford June 24, by way of Bolton, with the first contingent, and left on the 25th, and the others in order of arrival. At this camp they received the pay due them and the natives gave the road where they were encamped the name it still has—Silver Lane. The officers were pressed to accept the hospitality of several homes and the men's rations of beef and pork were eked out and served—in this and the other towns—with delicacies the "women folks" had vied with each other in preparing. The regiments were Bourbonais, Soissonais, Touraine, and Saintonge, general and regimental officers in red with dark blue long coats and gold epaulettes, line officers and privates in white—as also were the privates in the Saintonge. The Deux Points and Gatinois regiments were in white with light green and light blue coats respectively, while artillery and hussars were in dark green and light blue respectively, the hussars with light buff breeches. They held Connecticut's first Catholic services near Silver Lane in East Hartford. Their sequence in camping left the tradition in some of the towns that the army as a whole was in camp in each of them for a considerable period.

The next bivouac of the army was at the south end of the Farmington, across the brook that flows from Diamond Glen. On the green and opposite the tavern where Washington stopped on his trips, a bronze tablet was set a few years ago with patriotic services. Thence the route through Middlebury and Southbury, where the campfires extended for four miles along the Pomperaug Valley and where various relics of them have been turned up by plows, and to Dobb's Ferry. After

the surrender of Cornwallis, the French were on duty in Virginia till the next fall, when they marched to Boston to embark, passing through Farmington and Hartford in two sections the last days of October. The towns vied with each other in honoring them and the officers formed many lasting friendships. The first Roman Catholic services in Connecticut were conducted in a field near Silver Lane by a priest attached to Rochambeau's army.

Washington had felt Clinton's lines and found that his own 12,000 were exceeded by 2,000, so that attack at New York, as he had presumed, was inadvisable till news could come from de Grasse. Word from de Grasse was that he would leave the West Indies August 13, 1781, whereupon Washington made the momentous decision to have that force of twenty-nine vessels, three regiments and good field pieces form conjunction with him at Chesapeake Bay. The stroke of fortune came in this—that Admiral Rodney of the British fleet did not conceive that de Grasse would take his whole array and thus leave French interests in the Indies unguarded, and consequently sent insufficient number of vessels with Hood after de Grasse. Failing to find the enemy, Hood pushed on to New York to report to Admiral Graves, there to learn that de Barras's fleet had sailed from Newport, presumably for the Chesapeake, and it was for him to go out to find it. He was astounded to learn, instead, that de Grasse with his whole fleet was behind the Virginia capes. An open-sea fight lasting five days ensued after which Graves had to return to New York for repairs and de Barras meantime had slipped by to the capes, thus giving the French preponderance. Meantime, by Washington's orders, Lafayette was holding Cornwallis, and two weeks after that Washington, well informed, had begun his march southward. Clinton, on his part, was writing Cornwallis: "By intelligence I have this day received, it would seem that Mr. Washington is moving an army to the southward, with an appearance of haste, and gives out that he expects the coöperation of a considerable French armament."

Clinton already had 7,000 men to sail the moment Graves could furnish convoy, unaware that Graves was limping back to New York with his sad report and unable to do convoy service for six weeks. Cornwallis, left alone with a force of 16,000 assembling on land and a powerful fleet at his rear, could only set to fortifying Yorktown. October 11, French engineers had broken ground for the second parallel at only three hundred yards and the siege guns de Barras had brought were sweeping everything,—what though the colonial treasury was empty and dependence was on private subscriptions. The 15th Cornwallis vainly tried a counter attack; his lines were enfiladed. A storm prevented his ferrying his way to Gloucester Point en route for Philadelphia. Saying he could not expose his force to an assault, "which from the numbers and precautions of the enemy could not fail to succeed," he opened negotiations for surrender.

Such was the sequel of the Wethersfield Conference. Time was allowed Cornwallis to submit his proposals, which failed to meet Washington's demands, but by the morning of October 19, 1781, the surrender papers were signed, for 7,247 men

—"the heaviest blow that ever has fallen on the British Army," says Fortescue in his *A History of the British Army*.

The right of the line against Cornwallis, the place of honor, had been given to Lafayette. Ten of his thirty-six companies were from Connecticut and two of these were in Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton's special battalion for the occasion on the extreme right. Among the officers in these units were Major John P. Wyllys of Hartford, and Captains Jonathan Heart of Farmington, John St. John of Ridgefield, Elijah Chapman of Tolland, Roger Welles of Wethersfield, Samuel A. Banks of Branford and Richard Douglass of New London. In Hamilton's regular battalion (of four companies, formed just before the march to Virginia), two were from Connecticut and two from New York. The Connecticut companies were captained by Lemuel Clifton of Plainfield and Thaddeus Weed of Stratford. In the regiment of Colonel Alexander Scammel of New Hampshire, made up of Hampshire Grants, Massachusetts and northern Connecticut men, were Lieutenant-Colonel Ebenezer Huntington of Norwich, Adjutant Nathan H. Whiting of Hartford and Captains Aeneas Monson of New Haven, Stephen Betts of Norwalk and Samuel Comstock of Wilton.

The later-distinguished litterateur Joel Barlow, of Redding, appointed chaplain of the Fourth Massachusetts Brigade in 1780, delivered an address before the brigade a little later on Arnold's New London villany which he himself called a "flaming political sermon." Colonel David Humphreys of Derby, an aide on Washington's staff, was chosen to present the British flags to Congress. In later years he and Barlow were to be members of a literary group known as the "Hartford Wits," as will be told farther on. Lieutenant John Mansfield of Wallingford on October 14 led a forlorn hope in an assault on the enemy's works, was wounded and was given honor in Colonel Hamilton's report.

The "Connecticut Line" from 1781 to 1783, with Parsons as major-general and Jedediah Huntington as brigadier, was composed of the regiments of Durkee, Swift, S. B. Webb, Butler and of Isaac Sherman of New Haven. Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., was secretary to Washington in the Yorktown campaign.

No master of romance or modern film-screens could conceive incidents more sensationally than they were conceived in this war between parent country and offspring. From first to last no one was more adept at this than Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut birth. His final effort was to be at the moment when his old comrades were making their last desperate effort, September 6, 1781, and the scene chosen for it was close to his birthplace, Norwich. Not from his parents, not from his ancestor, a governor of Rhode Island, had he inherited his sensation traits, nor can it be that his last spectacular performance was calculated for the good of the cause he so brilliantly had opposed and now so dastardly supported. He had done rough bushwhacking in the South for Clinton after his Judas-like betrayal of Washington. It is difficult to imagine why Clinton let him perform this last act. He was not popular in the British army; his council was not sought; there was no occasion for what he contemplated. If it was to divert Washington's attention from

the South—as he may have told himself—it was far too late for that. Clinton's generalship would have required that there be the wherewithal for effective diversion, and of that there is no evidence in Clinton's records. The action is therefore reducible to a display of vengefulness which Clinton should have detected in time to prevent the foulest blot on the history of his command. With view to making these chronicles complete, the major details of the affair should be given, familiar as they have been in England and America since the day of them. In India itself, where in this epoch England was laying the foundations of a rich empire and where the opposition was barbaric, there was no stain to compare. To a reputed explanation that Arnold had no intent that matters should go so far, it can be said that he had just come from a field of experience; and ignorance is no plea in abatement.

In the night of September 5, 1781, Arnold stole up Long Island Sound, with 1,800 veteran soldiers. There were no vessels on watch against him. All thoughts were on the South, where his raiding had ceased. No mention of his name in news of the day from that important quarter led to the hope he could be forgotten forever and Connecticut be forgiven for begetting him. At daylight of the 6th his vessels were discerned by the guard of twenty-three men under Captain Adam Shapley at Fort Trumbull on the western shore of New London Harbor. Lieutenant-Colonel William Ledyard of New London was in command of all. This fort had become inadequate but farther up the Thames, on the east side, at Groton, a new work was being completed, known as Fort Griswold, where were stationed a number of the militia upon whom Ledyard was to depend in case of need. Nothing like an ample force could be maintained at these works when the demands for help in farming, manufacture and commerce were so urgent, which was well known to Arnold who as a boy in Norwich, just up the river a short way, was familiar with every foot of land and water.

There was a system of signals familiar in every family throughout that section. Three-guns was not unfrequently heard, a cheering sound, meaning that a prize was being brought into the harbor, and the crew would have a celebration. But two-guns meant the militiamen should hasten to their prescribed positions in the fortifications and about the towns.

Shapley immediately ordered the two-gun signal. Arnold added one more and thereby succeeded in making the militia think another celebration was in prospect—they could go on with their home work. As 1,000 of Arnold's destroyers already were coming swiftly in small boats to Fort Trumbull, it was impossible to spread the warning beyond the few houses both sides of the harbor in time for resistance. Ordering Shapley to spike his guns and take his men to Fort Griswold, Ledyard crossed over thither from Trumbull, and barely escaped capture in doing so. The British made short work of that fort and little "Fort Nonsense" and, hurrying on with Arnold, applied torches to business houses and shipping in the town—with or without orders; Arnold always maintained, without. Through his glasses, Arnold could see that Griswold was the stronger of the two forts, whereupon he signaled Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, who already had landed eight hundred men on the east side, to withhold the assault, but it was too late.

Eyre on the right and Major Montgomery on the left had made their way over the rough and hilly ground and were assembling their men imposingly on the edge of a ravine which the Americans in a sortie could not have crossed. Ledyard had about one hundred and sixty officers and men all told and was still in hope that the militiamen of the regiments of Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Latimer and Lieutenant-Colonel Nathan Gallup—members of families still of prominence there and cherishing the memory of the victory over the Pequot Indians in this same locale—could be reached by the alarm in time to give them a fighting chance. Eyre, it is said, an exceptionally fine officer, regretted to give the command to charge the fort; the work of the flames along the river should serve all purposes. Moreover, he, like



GROTON MONUMENT AND MONUMENT HOUSE

(Courtesy of "The Day" New London)

Arnold, was surprised at the strength of the fortification, and the fire of the militia was withering.

Staggered for a time, the British rallied and rushed over the uncompleted redoubt and the moat on the west side and finally over the high rampart, only to be met with a line of spearheads which so astonished them that Montgomery had difficulty in rallying them. He himself fell victim to such defense—tradition has it by a spear in the hands of a negro as the officer was springing down from the top of the rampart. Furious, his men swept on for hand-to-hand combat. Eyre also had fallen, but by this time the gate had been forced and the parade was swarming with maddened soldiery, the number increased by the breaking-down of the gate.

Conscious of the hopelessness in the face of overpowering numbers and of the improbability that reinforcements could be arriving as yet, Ledyard gave the signal

for surrender to stop the flow of blood in this seething mass of redcoats and brown hunting shirts. Shapley's men, at the southwest corner, not aware of this, continued to fire point-blank and were mowed down by the guns of the north bastion which the enemy had turned upon them. Major Bromfield forced his way into the welter, crying, "Who commands this fort?"

There was an instant's lull as the British beheld the commander, calm as though on parade.

"I did, sir," replied Ledyard, stepping toward Bromfield, like a chevalier—"but you do now." And holding his sword by the tip, he extended the hilt toward his antagonist.

Army traditions never allowed it to be known who, but some one in the wallow seized the hilt, the blade was thrust through Ledyard's body just below the armpits, and one of the war's heroes had "passed on."

His maddened men, firing having ceased, fought the enemy hand to hand till a British officer cried out to stop the *mêlée*. There were eighty-five dead within the fort and most of the others were wounded. With intent to blow up the magazine, the British loaded the wounded into an ammunition wagon to take them to the shore, but the hill was so steep that they lost control of the wagon and it went down with a fearful momentum till it struck a tree where the mangled men were left to be taken into the nearby houses. Major Peters extinguished the fuse that led to the magazine and saved the fort. Arnold's men burned houses in Groton and reëmbarked at sunset.

The officers besides Ledyard who were killed were Captains Youngs, Ledyard and Cary Luds, Lieutenant Elisha Avery, Lieutenant Ebenezer Avery, Lieutenant Joseph Lewis, Captains Samuel and Simeon Allyn, Captain Hubbard Barrows and Lieutenant Joseph Lewis, all of Groton; Lieutenants Richard Chapman and James Comstock of New London, and Captain Elias H. Henry of Long Island.

All told Ledyard did not have over one hundred and fifty men; at the end of the hour of fighting eighty-seven had been killed, forty wounded and fifteen made prisoners. Arnold's report showed forty-seven British killed and one hundred thirty-nine wounded. Reports on the return to New York showed a loss of two hundred and twenty-seven able-bodied men from the rolls at the start. In his official statement to Clinton, Arnold made it appear that eighty-five dead and sixty mortally wounded were found when his force entered the fort.

The meticulous Ezra Stiles wrote in his diary that the loss by fire was, in New London, sixty-five dwellings (occupied by ninety-seven families), thirty-one stores, fifteen shops, twenty barns, and nine public and other buildings—a total of one hundred and forty-three; in Groton twelve dwellings, one schoolhouse, four barns, two shops and two stores. The Legislature's investigation after the war showed the loss by fire was £178,813.

Shortly before the formal close of the war, Arnold with his family went to England to live. In an atmosphere of increasing Whig sentiment in favor of the Americans, his presence drew little comment. For a brief period he was in a commercial enterprise at New Brunswick. Mrs. Arnold's charm brought her many

friends. Her four sons won credit in the army. Her second son—by her first husband—Lieutenant-General Sir James Robertson Arnold, found his opportunity in the Napoleonic wars. For skill and valor, a grandson, killed in the Crimean War, received special mention from Lord Raglan for bravery and skill. Another grandson, the Rev. Edward Arnold, became rector of Great Massingham, in Norfolk, and by intermarriage, position was gained among the landed gentry. Yet the curse of their ancestor hung over them, as in the case of James Robertson Arnold who, when a lieutenant at Surinam in 1804, begged that he might be allowed to lead a forlorn hope, with chance that he might wipe out the stain on his name.

For the last days of Arnold himself, there was little but remorse. His defiant spirit and his massive frame broke. In the final days in London, in June, 1801, his thoughts went back in particular to Washington. The Continental major-general's uniform he wore in the old days he had preserved with care, together with the epaulettes and sword-knot which Washington had given him after he had snatched victory from defeat at Saratoga. Donning the accoutrements on almost his last day he said, "Let me die in these in which I fought my battles. May God forgive me for ever putting on any other!" The quotation may be as inaccurate as that credited to Napoleon at Waterloo—"The Old Guard dies but never surrenders"—but it is faithfully indicative of his remorse. André's remains rest in Westminster Abbey. In America, where government memorials or those of patriotic societies preserve the memories of Revolutionary heroes, there is a blank tablatore, as at West Point Military Academy,—an empty niche in the line of American major-generals.

The memorial to Ledyard and his comrades is a beautiful State reservation on Groton Heights, overlooking the Thames, where in 1840 the State erected a strong-lined, rugged stone monument, the rooms within which are maintained by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Fort Griswold and its surroundings retain their original configuration but are mantled with carefully-kept green sward. The national colors on the tall staff are visible from miles around, including the beautiful New London Harbor, the naval station and the college and other fine buildings on the New London side.

The fort was named in honor of the eminent Griswold family, as Fort Trumbull had been named after the Governor. George Griswold, born in Lyme, March 25, 1754, was Deputy-Governor during "Brother Jonathan" Trumbull's long period of service as chief magistrate, a position Griswold had gained altogether by his native ability, for he had had no early educational advantages. He began studying law at the age of twenty-five, and became an advocate of marked ability. He was the successor of Trumbull as Governor on the latter's retirement in 1784 and himself retired after two years, to enjoy the peacefulness and beauty of his native town till his death April 28, 1799. He was a close associate of Samuel Huntington of Norwich, who succeeded him in office, was a member of Congress, signer of the Declaration of Independence; and in 1799 was president of Congress, the then highest office in the land. This was the neighborhood and these among the associates whom Arnold abandoned.

CHAPTER LVI.

Strength in Crisis

Washington's Praise—Confusions of State Interests—Hartford Convention
the First—Union Imperative but Uncertain.

England's hope so suddenly deferred made Lord North's heart sick. Soon there was an appeal for negotiations. Spain as well as France felt that she should be included in them. The American commissioners, Franklin, Jay and John Adams, disregarded instructions of Congress by arranging a protocol; England came to terms with France and Spain and a formal treaty followed, in June, 1783. America's western boundary was to be the Mississippi, with some rights in the Newfoundland fisheries. Hostilities were suspended early in 1783 but the definite treaties were not signed till September—accepted by Congress, with ratification, the following May.

But before that, in our study of the development of the liberty germ, there had been items of significance far away from war-torn fields. In England Lord North and his rampant Tories (March 20, 1782) had gone down in the waves of popular sentiment which had brought Lord Rockingham and the pre-Georgian spirit into power, a spirit much in harmony with America since the day at Lexington. New evidence of corruption and inefficiency had come to light, on the part of men whom Fox boldly denounced as "men void of honor and honesty." Rockingham had secured from the brain-failing George III a promise of "no veto to the independence of America." Lord Shelburne, an old friend of Franklin's, was now Secretary of State in charge of American affairs, and was to succeed Rockingham at his death.

In Connecticut meantime, after the Tryon raiding, the openly "loyal" Tories had fared hardly. Hundreds had migrated to Canada and under excuse of "settling estates" the property of sundry had been confiscated, though some of the people remained, in evidence of the State's clemency.

Little Connecticut had furnished 31,939 men for the armies, ranking second only to Massachusetts with its 67,907, in adjusted terms of service, and, for its soldiers, Washington had violated his traditions by writing of them that they were "as fine a body of men as any in the army," after which, following a general review, he had published in orders this:

"The general informs the army he had great occasion to be satisfied at the review of the Second Connecticut Brigade yesterday, especially with the

soldier-like and veteran appearance of the men, and the exactness with which the firings were performed. He felt particular pleasure in observing the cleanliness and steadiness of the Second Regiment under arms."

With one minor exception, this is the only instance of such a commendation for any organization under his command. And be it said in passing that the principle of democracy in the Connecticut military contingent was as strong as it had been with Thomas Hooker's little group of founders. To illustrate: With their English-inherited sentiment, in the army as a whole, there was an almost unconscious sense of aristocracy in the regiments. Even with Washington, the officers were always the "gentlemen of the army"—the privates, commoners. Half-pay for the army in 1778 covered only the officers; men in the ranks had to be ignored and were obliged to be satisfied with only \$80 a man, in debased continental currency. Purely this class distinction it was which caused the revulsion of the Connecticut men against the officers' Society of the Cincinnati and hence against the proposition that Congress must have a limited power to levy impost to keep down the Federation's debts; it seemed obvious to the men that that power would be under the control or in the interests of the society. This was not, as Hamilton called it, "the old leaven of Silas Deane" (whose character had not then been cleared) but, as Johnston in his history puts it, "the instincts of democracy, that fought against class distinctions in the army, as elsewhere."

The obvious defects of the Federation and its Congress paved the way for real Statehood at the only possible time, and its management by the members who did not think or show jealousy was little short of genius. Above all it preserved the Union of Colonies that had inherited widely diverse sentiments on the rights of the common man. Its promoters were not motivated by the plain and simple conceptions of the Fundamental Orders, but the spirit was there and the men who had thrived under the influence of the Fundamental Orders and the free charter revealed their strength, especially when it came to devise a constitution. It might be said that they saved America from the fate of France after its subsequent revolution; they held up as something to go by the principles of Hooker, Ludlow and Haynes and their group of pioneers. And the spirit and tendency had been in evidence in 1780 when Connecticut, Virginia and Massachusetts made their land cessions in the West to enable Congress to organize and legislate for national domain, paving the way for the northwest ordinance of 1787. The ordinance provided for temporary government in that territory, ultimately to be admitted as states.

Effort to stabilize the currency was made difficult by the condition of the farmers and the depreciation of paper currency which had necessitated resort to mortgages. Instinctively there was desire for more unsupported paper money and the debtor group had assumed large proportions while gaining in suffrage the country-round. This element won in Rhode Island; other states had strenuous contests; when conservatives won in Massachusetts, Shay's rebellion spread terror through the State. That actually was a protest against hard times—a demand for remedy in the form of more currency not dissimilar to demands of sundry politicians in these later years.

The rebellion was confined to a central section of the State where some houses were looted but spread was prevented and comparatively little damage was done. It did serve, however, to call attention to the perils of such radicalism and chaos as were soon to prove the curse of the French Revolution; it did impress men of property with the necessity of revising the Articles of Confederation in the interests of local peace and general welfare. It strengthened the Alexander Hamilton suggestion in 1780 for a convention to form a confederation to provide perpetual revenues that should "give Congress substantial assistance and a stable foundation."

Further marking that the days of landed gentry had passed, old-time large estates being forfeited were sold off in parcels to the plain farmers, who were in the majority among the erstwhile Colonists, this to result in more general cultivation, a special *desideratum* in Connecticut. The days of primogeniture and entail, so long and successfully contended for by Connecticut in the British courts, in order that sons should be held to an interest in development of their fathers' acres, were past; the danger now was that the newly enfranchised voters would use their power in a way to be disconcerting.

Therein were to lie Connecticut's persistence, insistence and eventual achievement in days as full of peril—as gravid—as any that had preceded. The shortcoming of the confederation, which in itself was the only reasonable first step when tyranny threatened, was, comparatively, that of the old Greek confederations or leagues. Freedom, not cost, not taxation, was still America's first question of the hour. Confederation had meant the drawing up of "articles" for operation. They must be signed by all. It was a matter of "united we stand, divided we fall" more than ever. Connecticut early gave her approval, though with certain mental reservations. Maryland was the last to add her signature, having held back till the larger states had surrendered their claims to western territory in the days of the great struggle.

With this there was the question of Federation taxes. States varied. France came to have her doubts whether the loans she had made ever would be repaid. Individual states contributed; currency became a mockery. Congress went on stumbling. Connecticut had to pay import duty to New York and Boston on goods coming through those ports, while her own income was meagre and taxes often uncollectible. The country over, advantage of the situation was being taken by speculators, though the patriotic majority set their teeth and lived up to their principles. Under the Confederation there were thirteen worthy but distinctive organizations—thirteen separate peoples, each on a different basis, and each under its own system, and the Federation claiming no authoritative jurisdiction over any and none over the whole. It might be said that the hour of the peace treaty was the most perilous. But the spirit was there and, too, the men who had thrived under the Fundamental Orders and the 1660 charter.

The first formal step in getting at the evils of the situation was taken in Hartford, birthplace of the Fundamental Orders of 1639; and it was at the suggestion of a New England conference in Boston, birthplace in 1643 of the government of

the United Colonists of New England which had been in the form of a general court with two commissioners from each of the four Colonies—Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Rhode Island—and marginal references to the Bible in support of the scheme of the articles. There now had been suggestions, born of good intent, and Thomas Paine in 1776 had expressed his belief that “we have every opportunity and every encouragement to form the noblest, purest constitution on the face of the earth.” A practical, working union was what the leading minds were seeking.

Washington himself, in 1779, had been so disturbed by the Virginia Legislature's having rebuked Congress for infringing upon what it called the sovereignty of the confederated states that he had taken up the subject with Thomas Jefferson and one or two dependable intimates; he, like other leaders, could see—as he expressed it in a letter to Congressman Sullivan of New Hampshire—no “happy termination of the war, nor great national concerns well conducted in peace till there is something more than a recommendatory power in Congress. The last words, therefore, of my letter and the first wish of my heart concur in favor of it.” He had rejoiced when his own State of Virginia and Pennsylvania and New York had ceded their western territory to the Federation, “a tract of land,” he wrote, “which for fertility of soil, pleasantness of climate and other natural advantages is equal to any known tract of country of the same extent in the universe.” In taking command of the army he had spoken of the powers of the separate Colonies and had emphasized “that power and weight which ought of right to belong only to the whole.” He lamented the policy of the states in “employing their ablest men at home.” In the many sayings, writings and printings of the period, from which it would appear that there had come to be practically general accord as the war wore on, there is nothing to quote about suffrage, system of legislation or those matters which characterize the Fundamental Orders and which eventually were to be the vital point in establishing the Union.

The convention in Hartford was held on November 11, 1781. The New England delegates were Eliphalet Dyer and William Williams of Connecticut, John T. Gilman of New Hampshire, Thomas Cushing, Azor Orne and George Partridge of Massachusetts, William Bradford of Rhode Island and from New York, which was gratified on being invited, Judge John Sloss Hobart of the Supreme Court and Attorney-General Egbert Benson. The chief subject was the raising of revenue as was evident from their broadcast of the occasion. They agreed that the existent embarrassment lay in the fact that, while government presumes the power of coercion, the Confederation government never had it or never exercised it; therefore, resources and force never could be properly utilized. Individually states trying to retain too much independence might ultimately lose the whole. “By the expulsion of the enemy we may be emancipated from the tyranny of Great Britain; we shall, however, be without a solid hope of peace and freedom unless we are properly cemented among ourselves.”

In every State, among the Congressmen and with eminent writers in public print, this was the foremost subject. When in July, 1781, word came that Virginia was

disposed to strengthen the Confederation government, Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor, of Connecticut—among the foremost lawyers,—James M. Varnum of Rhode Island and Edmund Randolph of Virginia were selected by Congress to prepare a plan, and Hamilton, while participating in the Yorktown campaign, was writing his series of articles. Public interest almost surpassed that in the closing days of the war; newspapers carried more articles and letters on the subject than they did “news from the front.” The war situation becoming more tense, however, Hamilton and others could write less and the committee’s report was overshadowed by the evident outcome. That report was in accord with prevailing sentiment as to points in the weakness of the governmental form; it advised more power for raising funds, laying of embargoes, impressing of property, a consular system, distraint of property of a State delinquent in soldiers or money and change of suffrage rules so as to be able to decide important questions on a two-thirds vote of the country. Coercion at that late moment would have been impossible because of the weakness of the confederacy and of the fact that every State was more or less delinquent. It was not a time to try to heal a confederation so weak that its life hung in the balance.

Congress and Legislatures did what they could to meet the emergencies. Out of “indispensable necessity” Congress asked the states for power to levy a five-per-cent. *ad valorem* duty on imports, exempting only material for making wool and cotton cards—the first effort to encourage industries in this way. Connecticut, with special session, a month earlier had agreed upon such a plan, with a limitation of three years after the end of the war. Aside from the five states that had convened at Hartford, the new demand had been agreed to by Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the Virginia Legislature could not act till it could find a place in the mountains safe from British attack. Other states fell in line—New York doing so with great éclat evidenced by Governor George Clinton, and assurance on his part that, after the war, his State could be depended upon in every way.

Robert Morris was acting with a free hand to establish the Bank of America, France helping but authority still questionable. The Hartford Convention resolutions for a general convention were submitted to Congress in new form—reëmphasized by New York—and were allowed to die. At the moment of the departure of Rochambeau and his forces, cheered most heartily, America was still without the means or a way to pay her debts. Rhode Island had put a veto on the revenue plan, believing that she, being an import State, would suffer by it and would have to have Federal officers within her boundaries. Without unanimous consent the plan could not go through. Hamilton was trying to correct this when Richard Henry Lee, persistent champion of State sovereignty and of separatism, persuaded the Virginia Legislature to repeal its vote in favor of the revenue plan, and for six years thereafter there was to be continuing strife on the subject. Useless were the arguments of men like Hamilton, negligible the intense suffering everywhere, the complaints of the soldiers, the demands of creditors, and thus was drawn the party line between “state sovereignty” and a “union,” as Lafayette expressed it; Washington and Madison on one side in Virginia, Lee on the other and controlling the legislative vote.

Across the water, this confused condition, this lack of unity, this evidence of weakness precipitated another and, for a time, more fearsome war between Parliamentary parties, criticizing the terms of peace, threatening worse commercial war, even stirring the repugnance of King George himself. In bitterness the cry was raised that it was a mistake to deal with America as a unit when it was a collection of irresponsible, quarreling entities. A coalition ministry finally became a necessity but it did not last long enough to exchange treaty ratifications. The troops were brought home from New York because of expense of maintenance but, though promise had been given to the contrary, those on the frontiers were left, at the behest of Canadian interests.

Problems were here developing, adding greatly to the governmental confusion of the hour. But, in this story of Connecticut and its relation to the world's first democratic republic, they are not to be allowed to interrupt the sequence of political events leading to the adoption of a constitution. They were problems in which Connecticut was deeply concerned, as will appear; but that in which humanity's progress was greatest may well be followed to its conclusion, even though at this writing (the later 1930's), there may be those who would make that conclusion only the close of a first chapter.

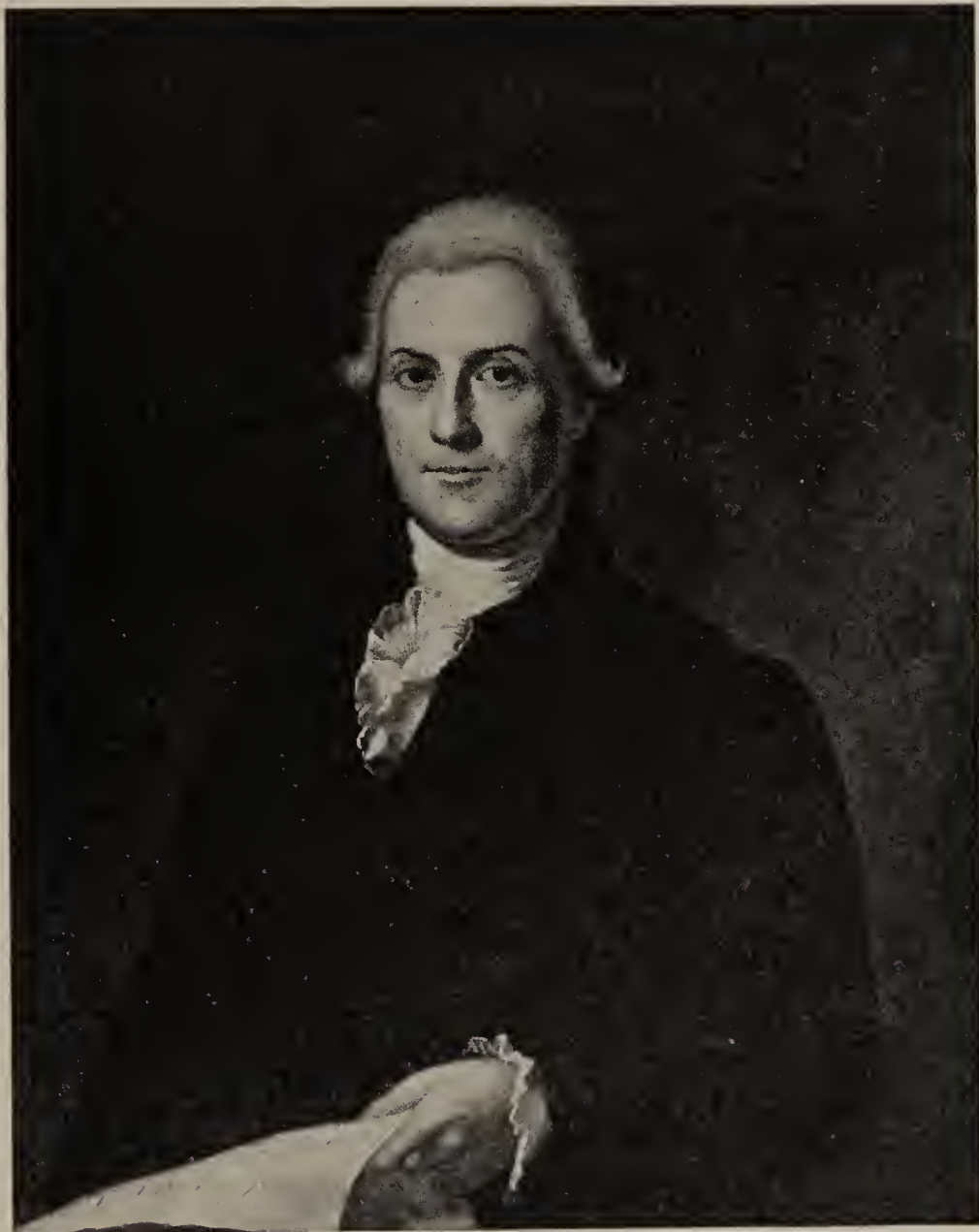
Virginia invited Maryland to a convention at Annapolis to consider the regulations for commerce on the Potomac River which flowed between them, the convention to be of a general nature. Maryland's Lower House promptly approved, but because of the appeal by Congress for revenue, the Upper House would not concur. Connecticut, South Carolina and Georgia sent no delegates; two successive sets of delegates declined to serve and a third set was stopped on the way, as also were the Rhode Island delegates, by word that the convention had adjourned. Hamilton and Schloss from New York had attended and had found, September 11, 1786, the Virginia commissioners favoring a broader topic for consideration and New Jersey insisting on action looking toward a complete, new Federal organization.

Only the central states had been represented. Through Hamilton's influence, a proposition was put through for a general convention in Philadelphia in May—to provide to “render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the union.” In Congress, Rufus King of Massachusetts blocked this on the ground that Congress only could initiate such a matter. Madison of Virginia saved the situation by having his fellow-delegates to Annapolis appeal for a May convention where the whole subject might be gone over, rather than in Congress “where it might be too much interrupted by ordinary business” and, “besides, be deprived of the counsels of individuals who are restrained from a seat in that assembly”; the time had arrived to lay aside inferior considerations and to “render the United States as happy in peace as they have been glorious in war”; and any agreement should be approved, not by Legislatures, but by vote of the people.

The Virginia Legislature proceeded at once to put Washington at the head of its delegation, accompanied by Madison, Randolph and Mason. The committee which reported the plan, not daring to submit it for a vote of the Congress, sent this

—by bare majority of one—to the several Legislatures. It was well received. King amended it to read like a motion by Congress, so that that body could not be offended.

Connecticut was unperturbed. Her delegates to Congress, in these days of disputation but firm purpose, were men true to the character of the one Colony which



SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,

Of Norwich, Connecticut—Chief Justice of Connecticut—1784-85, Governor, Delegate to the Continental Congress, and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation.

had free government from the first, the Colony which alone had stood for State sovereignty, and had maintained it against all comers. These delegates had been: Eliphalet Dyer of Windham, Silas Deane of Wethersfield, Roger Sherman of New Haven, Jonathan Sturges of Fairfield and Joseph Trumbull of Lebanon, chosen in 1774; Titus Hosmer of Watertown and Oliver Wolcott of Litchfield, chosen in

1775; Samuel Huntington of Norwich and William Williams of Lebanon, chosen in 1776; Andrew Adams of Litchfield, chosen in 1777; Richard Law of New London, Jesse Root of Hartford and Joseph Spencer of East Haddam, chosen in 1778; Jedediah Strong of Litchfield, chosen in 1782; James Wadsworth of Durham, Stephen M. Mitchell of Wethersfield and William Hillhouse of New London, chosen in 1783; William S. Johnson and Joseph P. Cook of Danbury, chosen in 1784; John Treadwell of Farmington, chosen in 1785; Pierpont Edwards of New Haven and Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, chosen in 1787. Those in the last session of the Continental Congress were Cook, Edwards, Huntington, Mitchell and Wadsworth.

Connecticut herself had known nothing but State sovereignty since the issuance of her free charter and she had guarded her rights sacredly, the benefits of which the New Haven Colony had come to enjoy after the consolidation; the people had punctiliously guarded the boon against all efforts to over-ride it. But it was another matter when she entered into a confederacy for the salvation of all Colonies not thus free and, altogether, disunited in the matter of providing the wherewithal for their heavy obligations. For herself she had been skilful and successful in financing; it irked her to be under a system where she had to pay inequitably and where there was no arbiter. The depreciation of currency, State and confederate, as well as her paying import duties to sister states, was threatening her existence. Yet there was hope—not to say puritanical faith—that all would come out well. The Shays' rebellion in Massachusetts, with its attempt on the Springfield armory so close to her doors, did not unduly alarm her. The beneficial effect of that was that it called the attention of the sister states to the impending peril. As in the days of the New England Union, a way would be found to meet the peril.

CHAPTER LVII.

Constitution Established

Connecticut's Serene Faith and Good Generalship in the Great Crisis—Men of the Hour—Atmosphere Since 1774, Achievement in 1788.

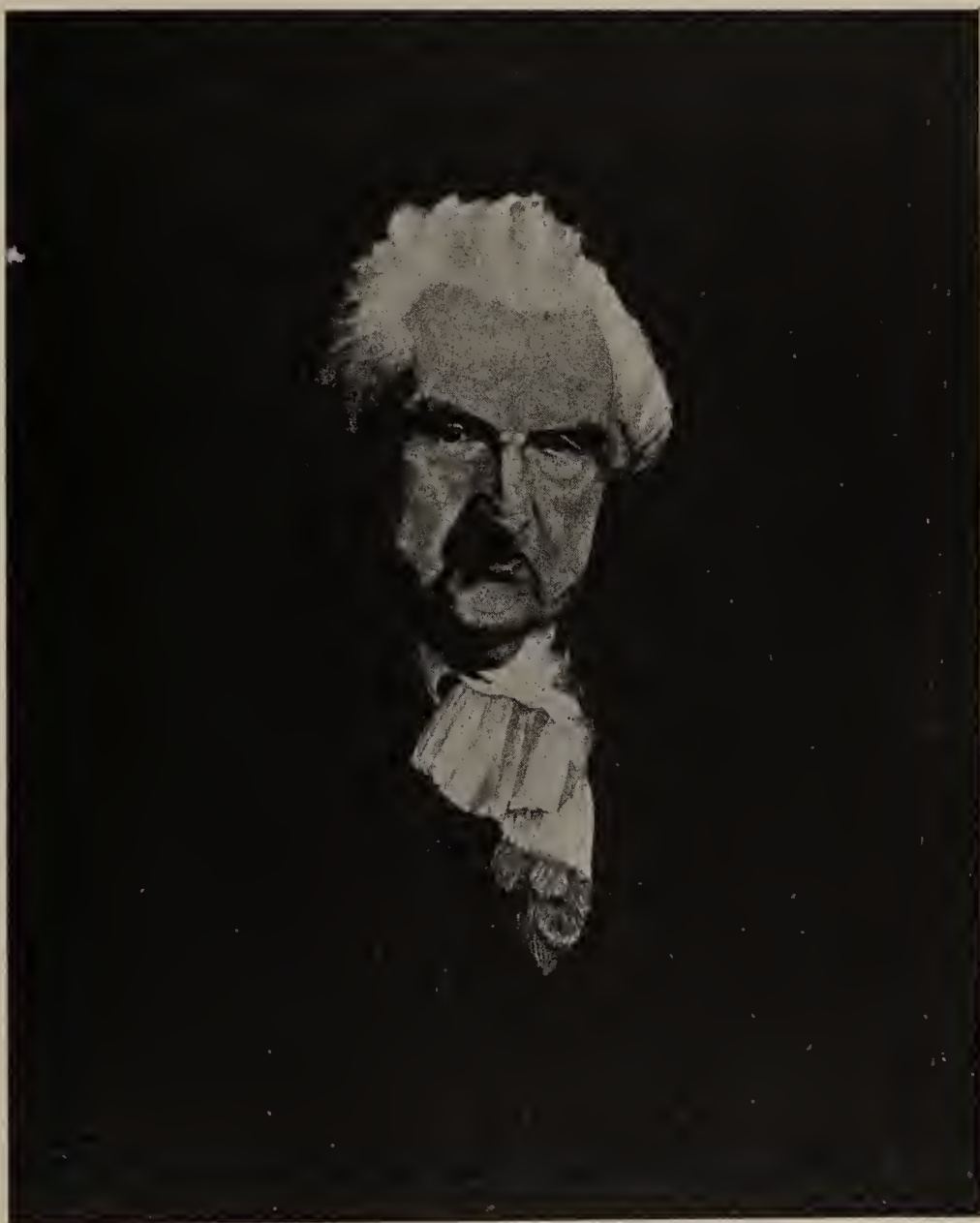
Connecticut's position as original standard-bearer in the cause of free government had become irksome, yet would be continuous if necessary. In the interests of fellowship she might submit uncomplainingly to the taking away of western territory within her chartered rights, the like of which she had successfully opposed when beset by Royal emissaries; of her disproportionate share of burden she had complained no more than she did in the days of the Colonial wars. She continued to do her duty as she saw it, and in calm faith. So, when the message came to her that she was to send three delegates to the Philadelphia Convention to consider a change in national method, she did not rush, as did most others, to an immediate election of them; she waited till May election day. There likely were the traditional three days or more of social festivities during that "lection week"—somewhat curtailed, no doubt, by the prevailing depression—on one day of which the general assemblymen would be chosen who would make the choice of delegates to the convention. Confidence was serene that the delegates would be truly representative and capable.

Governor Trumbull had retired in the fall of 1784 after more than half a century of public service irreproachable. In his farewell he had said: "Contemplating with pleasing wonder and satisfaction, at the close of an arduous contest, the noble and enlarged scenes which now present themselves to my country's view, and reflecting at the same time on my advanced stage of life—a life almost worn out, in the constant cares of public affairs, that, at the evening of my days, I may sweeten their decline by devoting myself with less avocation and more attention to the duties of religion, the service of my God, and the preparation for a future and happier state of existence; in which pleasing employment I shall not cease to remember my country, and to make it my ardent prayer that heaven will not fail to bless with its choicest favors." He trusted that the people would recognize the necessity of granting the national government clearly defined powers, sufficient for all the purposes of that union that could assure their strength and happiness. The last months of his life, at his home in Lebanon, were cheered by the prospect that the dark clouds were passing away and that Washington would again triumph. At his death,

August 17, 1785, in his seventy-fourth year, Washington wrote to the Governor's son Jonathan—who had been aide and secretary to Washington; to be member of Congress, speaker of the House in 1791, Senator and then Governor from 1797 till his death in 1809—these words: "A long and well spent life in the service of his country places Governor Trumbull among the first of patriots." The Governor was succeeded in office by Matthew Griswold of Lyme, long the Deputy-Governor, and he, after two years, by Samuel Huntington of Norwich, for ten years, and Huntington by Oliver Wolcott of Litchfield, preceding the younger Trumbull—all men of the "Brother Jonathan" type.

In such solemn, appreciative, thoughtful attitude, continuous since Haynes, the General Assembly, in May, 1787, appointed William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth its delegates to the Federal Convention in Philadelphia, to meet the next month. Nothing but the crowding of historic events is responsible for the casual reader's surprise at the selection of the first of these three. Not only the crowding but the sometimes seemingly contradictory features of his career would have made sequential mentions of it lead to astonishment at this point in it, except for those familiar with the history of the Connecticut bar, of which he sometimes is called "the father." Son of that Anglican missionary, Dr. Samuel Johnson, who had established the first Episcopalian group in Stratford and was to be the first president of King's College, New York, he was born in Stratford in 1727, was graduated at Yale and at Harvard, was a leading lawyer and was given the degree of Doctor of Civil Laws by Oxford. Episcopalians as such were in disfavor during the troublous years that followed, though as deputy from Stratford, Dr. Johnson denounced the Stamp Act in the Legislature and was on the Committee of the New York Stamp Act Congress which sent an address to the King. In the Colony as a whole, then and through the Revolution, his Episcopalianism could but becloud his reputation as a scholar and a lawyer, but his district, which knew him well, elected him a member of the Governor's Council (or Upper House) in 1766 and he was appointed to conduct the Mohegan Indian case before the Privy Council in London. There he established close relations with eminent men of the legal profession and no longer could the word "tory" be used by anyone in referring to him when he was selected as one of the three to conduct the Connecticut cause in the dispute with Pennsylvania relative to the Wyoming lands, however poorly Connecticut fared therein. He was sent to Congress in 1784 when that subject was to come before it and—as will be told—saved the State what could be saved under the peculiar circumstances. When King's became Columbia College, he was made president of it, in succession to his father, and with desire to retire from public life, but the next year was chosen to be Connecticut's first Senator, a position which he held till the national capital was removed to Philadelphia when he was impelled to resign his Federal office, in 1791. Broken health compelled him to retire from the college presidency in 1800 and to return to Stratford, where he died November 14, 1819. There was no bigotry in a State which would avail itself of the services of such a staunch Episcopalian as Dr. Samuel Johnson.

Roger Sherman (1721-93) was of a strongly New England type. One of the seven children of a blacksmith and shoemaker, he was born in Newton, Massachusetts, followed his father's trades, after age of twenty had to support the family, built up an iron constitution, removed the family on foot to his brother William's town in Connecticut, New Milford, became county surveyor as result of his night study, established profitable stores in his own nearby towns—New Haven and Wal-



STEPHEN MIX MITCHELL,
Of Wethersfield, Chief Justice of Connecticut, Delegate to the
Continental Congress and U. S. Senator

lingford—and acquired a reasonable fortune. Of his seven children he furnished three sons for the Revolution. Making a study of law, with astronomy for recreation, he was admitted to practice, became selectman, town clerk and assistant in the General Court in succession, confining his occupation finally to that of merchant, and removing to New Haven in 1760. For eleven years he was treasurer of Yale

where he was given the honorary degree of Master of Arts, meantime serving terms as member of the Legislature, one of the three first delegates to the Continental Congress, beginning in 1774, serving on important committees, including that with Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams and Robert Livingston to draft the Declaration of Independence, and afterward the committee of one from each State to frame the Articles of Confederation. He would work from seven in the morning till ten at night. He was especially bitter against paper money without reserve and to the circulation of it outside of the State of issue. In 1784 he was chosen mayor of New Haven, which office he held till his death. In Congress he was a worker for a national bank and a protective tariff.

Oliver Ellsworth (1745-1807) was of one of the oldest families in Windsor. Following tradition he went to Yale in 1762, which unhappily was at the time of conflict between the corporation and the Legislature over control of the college; students were being encouraged in rebellious conduct and he was among those who withdrew, "at the desire of his parents." Entered at Nassau Hall, now Princeton, he was graduated in 1766, studied theology for a year but abandoned it for his more natural bent, the law. He married a granddaughter of Governor Oliver Wolcott, and would walk from the home he built in Windsor to attend to his law business in Hartford. He gave much of his time to the study of the grave public affairs of the country and by the time he was twenty-eight was sent to the General Assembly where his judgment in matters of finance caused him to be appointed on the Committee of the Pay Table. In 1778 he was elected a member of the Continental Congress where he quietly but steadily made a name for himself. The following year he was called upon to serve on the Connecticut Committee of Safety, while he was holding the office of State's Attorney. Noah Webster, who had been studying law in his office, deemed him one of "the three mightiest" of the bar, along with William Samuel Johnson and Titus Hosmer.

He had been appointed a judge of the Superior Court when in 1785 he became one of the great trio, with Sherman and Johnson, to give weight to Connecticut's views in the constitutional convention and to share in the honor of saving that body from dissolution. "It was Ellsworth's advocacy," says Chief Justice William M. Maltbie, "more even than that of his great colleague, Roger Sherman, which won the day; and in the debates he held his own against such opponents as Madison, James Wilson and Rufus King." As one of the committee of five he helped complete the form of the Constitution. Of him Pierpont Edwards, who opposed ratification, is quoted as having said after Ellsworth's display of vigor: "He makes me feel like a lightning bug in broad daylight."

Perhaps Ellsworth's great work was his drafting and putting through the law establishing the Federal judicial system, providing large powers for the Federal courts. The opposition from the State-rights delegates was keen but the principle of it has been maintained ever since. If for nothing else but this, Ellsworth's place among the immortals should be secure. In general he was looked upon as a leader in the Federalist party in Washington's administration. He was "the firmest pillar in the Senate," was John Adams' expressed opinion. It was he who suggested to

Washington the sending to England of an envoy plenipotentiary to try to clear up the differences between the two countries at a time when more war seemed to be inevitable; Envoy John Jay returned from his mission with a document which the opposition would have torn up, be the results what they might, but the "firmest pillar" saw it through, as his last act. Aaron Burr's typical comment was: "If Ellsworth had happened to spell the name of the Deity with two d's, it would have taken the Senate three weeks to expunge the superfluous letter."

It came to Ellsworth most unexpectedly, though really most appropriately, when he was appointed in 1796 Chief Justice. Of this, Connecticut Chief Justice Maltbie today says: "While that court was not confronted in those early days with the great issues in the determination of which a little later, under the leadership of John Marshall, the form of our government was really shaped and fixed, he proved himself perhaps the ablest judge who during his time sat, or before him had sat, upon the bench of that court." And yet he retained his simplicity. When seen mending a broken wheel of his coach, "an impressed observer asked, 'Who is this gentleman who understands everything and is eloquent about a coach wheel,' the surprising reply was: 'The chief justice of the United States.'" On his resignation in 1799, President Adams appointed him one of three envoys to France to discuss affairs likely to lead to war. Unshackling themselves of instructions, they brought back a treaty with Napoleon which dispelled fear but caused heated discussion here before ratification. Ellsworth came in for sharp criticism, though never of his motive. On his return to Windsor in 1801 he became an assistant in the General Assembly which office carried with it membership in the Superior Court, and this, with reorganization of the system in 1807, resulted in his being made Connecticut's Chief Justice just before his death in the fall of that year. His enfeebled condition compelled him to decline the honor. Daniel Webster said of him that he had "left behind him, on the records of the government of his country proofs of the clearest intelligence and the deepest sagacity, as well as the utmost purity and integrity of character." His greatest joy he found in the beautiful home he had built, delightfully situated and of pure Colonial design preserved today as a memorial by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Major William Pierce, a Georgia delegate, wrote down his estimate of his colleagues, and had this to say of the Connecticut men: "Dr. Johnson is a character much celebrated for his legal knowledge; he is said to be one of the first classics in America, and certainly possesses a very strong and enlightened understanding. As an orator, in my opinion, there is nothing in him that warrants the high reputation he has for public speaking. There is something in the tone of his voice not pleasing to the ear—but he is eloquent and clear—always abounding in information and instruction. He was once employed for the State of Connecticut to state her claims to certain lands before the British House of Commons; this office he discharged with so much dignity and made such an ingenious display of his powers that he laid the foundation of a reputation which will probably last much longer than his own life. Dr. Johnson is about sixty years of age, possesses the manners of a gentleman and engages the hearts of men by the sweetness of his temper, and that affectionate style of address with which he accosts his acquaintances.

"Mr. Sherman exhibits the oddest-shaped character I ever remember to have met with. He is awkward, unmeaning, and unaccountably strange in his manner. But in his train of thinking there is something regular, deep and comprehensive; yet the oddity of his address, the vulgarisms which accompany his public speaking, and that strange New England cant which runs through his public as well as his private speaking make everything that is connected with him grotesque and laughable—and yet he deserves infinite praise—no man has a better heart or a clearer head. If he cannot embellish he can furnish thoughts that are wise and useful. He is an able politician, and extremely artful in accomplishing any particular object; it is to be remarked that he seldom fails; I am told that he sits on the bench in Connecticut and is very correct in the discharge of his judicial functions. In the early part of his life he was a shoemaker, but, despising the lowness of his condition, he turned almanac-maker, and so progressed upward to a judge. He had been several years a member of Congress and discharged the duties of his office with honor and credit to himself and advantage to his State. He is about sixty.

"Mr. Ellsworth is a judge in the Supreme Court of Connecticut; he is a gentleman of a clear, deep and copious understanding; eloquent and connected in public debate; and always attentive to his duty. He is very happy in a reply and choice in selecting such parts of his adversary's arguments as he finds make the strongest impressions, in order to take off the force of them, so as to admit the power of his own. Mr. Ellsworth is about thirty-seven years of age, a man much respected for his integrity and venerated for his abilities."

This is the character and these the standards of the men who were to make sure that the principles of free government as established in Connecticut were carried forward for the national government. It was another great crisis for those principles. As has here been written, they were lost in Greece, in the Roman Empire, in European nations, partially revived in the Anglo-Saxon Magna Charta of 1215, defied by Charles I, trustingly and more strongly reasserted in the Hartford Fundamental Orders of 1639, flouted by George III and now to rest upon the arbitrament of a mighty war in their behalf. It was to be a test of the people who had won that historically most hopeful victory for enlightened humanity—a victory for the people's rights.

It is well, then, to review the immediate past.

In 1774, the arousing of the Colonists had hurried the people to this point in 1787 where the fate of the principles of the Fundamental Orders was in their own hands; in the earlier year, the entire question for the world's first purely democratic conception seems to have been at stake for all time. Human nature's bickerings aside, it was left in particular to the character and discipline of the immediate supporters of the pronunciamiento of 1639, unconscious of the scope of that fact though they themselves might have been at that date. Conscious enough they had come to be in 1774 when, despite the powerful opposition of the Whigs in England, Parliament had published its Articles of Colonial Regulations abolishing town-meeting rule; when British "councilors" (or local administrators) were appointed and farmers began drilling in Massachusetts towns; when English tea was thrown into

Boston Harbor and Putnam drove his one hundred and thirty sheep to help meet the wants of the defiant, later to lead his men to brave the outcome of British wrath—shoulder to shoulder with the Colonists and rangers rallied even from the distant South. From this on, of necessity, it had been a matter of the meeting of American minds, a matter of the character of aroused continental Englishmen.

When the first Congress had been called, to be held in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia, back in that year of 1774, and joyous paraders had honored the departure of delegates from the states, the delegates from Massachusetts had hastened on their way, fêted in every town; the men in Hartford, home of the Fundamental Orders, to join them, after pledging themselves to abide by the anticipated resolutions of Congress; in Middletown a cavalcade to escort them to New Haven; there, to the accompaniment of the town bells, to pledge themselves at the gravestones of Whalley, Goffe and Dixwell and to hear Roger Sherman in his address to them say: "The Parliament of Great Britain can rightfully make laws for America in no case whatever"; Jefferson coincidently voicing the like for Virginia, after studying the rights of British America by "the nature and extent of the legislative authority of the British Parliament." Withal, the new British court in Springfield was dissolving after being met with the declaration that 20,000 men from the county and Connecticut would march to meet any British force.

Further, in this review being made as of the eve of the birth of the world's first free nation, are these two items: One, the letter of Washington to an officer friend on Gage's staff in Boston in 1775, saying that "If the ministry are determined to push matters to extremity, more blood will be spilled on this occasion than history ever yet has furnished instances of in the annals of North America"; the other, America's expressed idea, not for independence but for British freedom—for peace, liberty and safety—and if this desire was to be denied, as Samuel Adams expressed it, then persistence would be favored if only one in a thousand men survived.

In this 1787, the peace treaty had been signed and the fate of the free nation, with only a little over two million people, one-fifth negroes, in thirteen states, was in her own hands. English Tory prophets were hurling back to their Whig neighbors that the constitutional convention would be broken on the rocks of dissension, a prophecy endorsed by eminent Tories still remaining in the suffering states. And in truth, for a time they were able to gloat. But, explain it as one may, differences were to be ironed out, the most precious of the Connecticut fundamentals were to be adapted and were to prevail. The vagaries of a well-intentioned Congress, efficient as it had proved on the main points of loyalty to the cause, were not to be permitted to wreck the ship to be launched to brave the waves which included the debts of states as well as of the Nation. The war had cost at the least \$140,000,000, and the heavy impositions England now was making on the rapidly increasing imports from the states were crushing manufacturing industry and agriculture. England, too, had incurred heavy debt together with permanent loss of estate, and she was within her then rights in demanding all she could from American commerce, her Whig cartoonists to the contrary notwithstanding. George III was still supreme.

Hume quotes "a careful observer" that his Majesty instructed Prime Minister North as to the management of debates in Parliament, reserved to himself all patronage and himself ordered the marching of troops; the weight of this was seen in the dependence to which the new ministry was reduced. "George was, in fact, sole minister during the years that followed; and the shame of the darkest hour of English history lies wholly at his door." "India was the one-quarter of the globe where England lost nothing during the American war," however much Hastings' schemes of conquest were for the moment frustrated. The news of the surrender of Cornwallis "fell like a thunderbolt on the wretched minister who had till now suppressed at his master's order his own conviction of the uselessness of further bloodshed. Opening his arms and pacing wildly up and down his room, Lord North exclaimed, 'It is all over,' and resigned. England in fact seemed on the brink of ruin." Only Rodney's historic victory over the French and Spanish fleets off Gibraltar in September, 1782, ended the general war and led to the treaties of Paris and Versailles in November. As from the beginning, Connecticut's story is not complete when not timed with the contemporary history of the Mother Country.

Opening in mid-May of 1787, it had required genius, fellowship begot of war and above all force of circumstances as already indicated to bring the Constitutional Convention together, Rhode Island alone holding back. Washington, president of Congress, presided. Among the many speakers and writers, Noah Webster of Hartford, in the tone of Hooker, had expressed in his *Sketches of American Policy* the sentiment that was then gaining ground: "So long as any individual State has power to defeat the measures of the other twelve our pretended union is but a name and our confederation a cobweb. The sovereignty of each state ought not to be abridged in any article relating to its own government; in a matter that equally respects all the states, a majority of the states must decide. We cannot and ought not to divest ourselves of provincial attachments, but we should subordinate them to the general interest of the continent; as a citizen of the American empire, every individual has a national interest far superior to all others."

The commissioners of Virginia, the most populous State, had prepared fifteen resolutions as a basis for discussion, known as the "Virginia plan." They provided for enlarging the two houses, the first house to be elected by the people, membership to be according to number of inhabitants; the second house (our Senate) to be elected by the first house and to take over the rights of Congress as existing, empowered to negative State laws contrary to the spirit of the Articles of Union, or any treaty, and to call out the national force against a delinquent State; the chief executive to be chosen by this body, for one term only. It was a plan for an ideal representative republic, founded on representation of free inhabitants solely, and it would be wholly national. No official nor members of the first house would be chosen by the states as such, and for the second branch states would only nominate candidates.

The delegates were slow in arriving. Sherman, member of the commission which had drafted the Articles of Confederation, was ready yet only to make the point

which had been of so much concern, namely that power to raise a national measure should rest in the general government, which was approved. He believed it only necessary to revise the Articles of Confederation and did not favor nationalization as that would be contrary to public sentiment.

Johnson and Ellsworth were of the new school of republicanism in distinction from the federalism of Virginia. Sherman held at the outset that members of the first branch of the National Legislature should be chosen by the State assemblies, and that the body of the people, likely to err through lack of information, should have as "little as possible to do about general government." Elections should be by Legislatures. Wilson of Pennsylvania protested that "without the confidence of the people, no government, least of all a republican government, can long subsist; nor ought the weight of the state legislatures to be increased by making them the electors of the national legislature." Madison, though for the Senate, executive and judiciary, favored refining popular appointments by successive "filtrations," and believed the popular election of one branch of the National Legislature essential to every plan of free government. And this opinion prevailed. By his doctrine, while maintaining that powers to be granted should be enumerated and defined, all means for securing "liberty and happiness" must, however reluctantly, be submitted to. Nine states voted in favor of this but Connecticut was divided, Ellsworth for and Sherman against, Johnson probably absent.

The discussion of population in relation to the number of votes for each State consumed much time. Problems of further importation of slaves, of trade in them in general, of considering them in estimating value of property, of transportation to other states, of undue advantage in possessing them were debated with considerable heat even among the Southerners themselves. Eventually there was a compromise, allowing five negroes to be counted as three white men.

The convention was thus feeling its way toward the point where it was to preserve the spirit of the Connecticut system of government and give the Federal Constitution its special place among governmental institutions since the beginning of time. Its progress in this assemblage of outstanding men, imbued with a common spirit of independence and desire for a permanent, workable basis for a union of one-time chartered Colonies under a King across the sea, is beclouded for the general reader by the long discussions of these other matters. Most of these matters, when so many had come together to seal their war victory with a new and hopefully permanent form of nation among the governments of the world, had to be decided without guidance; there was little in the way of precedent. And that little—as has herein been reviewed—was not familiar to the majority of the delegates, whatsoever their education or howsoever much they were imbued with the principle. In the war they had won something other men in other lands had won in previous centuries, only to lose. This something was human freedom. Connecticut was the only State that had had the essence of that from its start.

The detailed reports of each discussion are confusing. As Professor Alexander Johnston of Princeton says in his contribution to Scudder's *American Commonwealths*: "It is far better to fix the attention on one point of time, the most critical,

perhaps, of the convention, and thus to see how the whole force which had been accumulating for one hundred and fifty years came in at the right time to turn the convention into the exact track which made permanent success possible, against the desires of the mass of the members."

It had been the original idea to make over the Articles of Confederation, and Sherman's resolution, as has been seen, was unanimously adopted as a step in that direction. The "Virginia plan," already presented by Randolph, would establish a Congress with the Lower House chosen on the basis of a free-inhabitant population and the Upper House chosen by the Lower, they to have the power to name the president (ineligible for a second term) and judiciary, to veto any contravening State laws or subsisting treaty, and to call out troops against a State failing in its duties. Patterson's "Jersey plan"—improperly called "state sovereignty plan," just as Virginia's was called the "national plan"—introduced June 16, adhered to the Confederation principles but with power to coerce dissenting states. This was intended by its sponsor to protect the smaller states.

The Connecticut plan soon came to appeal to the minds of the Virginia delegation. Connecticut alone, if we except Rhode Island which had the nearest approach to it but was not represented in the convention, had enjoyed what practically was the universal suffrage idea and in her growth had preserved the principle for each new town, consistently with Hooker's "The choice of the public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance."

The discussion continued through June, Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia usually voting for proportional representation in the two houses; New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland for one house and equality of states. That the smaller Southern states lined up thus was because of their expectation of considerable immigration and the fellowship of slave states, while New York was in the column of small states unconscious of her coming enlargement.

Sherman's motion June 11 for proportional representation in the Lower House placed Connecticut in the "large-state" column and was carried seven to three, with Maryland divided. Sherman and Ellsworth followed this up with a motion for a vote for each State in the Senate or "second branch," which was a "small-state" idea and which failed then by one vote. With faith in their most appropriate State motto that "He who transplanted will take care of us," the Connecticut men persisted in their attempts to win over the necessary one vote, which caused the proposition to be referred to as the "Connecticut plan." Viewed as legislative generalship, the effect was to keep Connecticut in the advantageous "small-state" column, maintaining a size for the column that could not be ignored by the generals on the other side.

Meantime the few newspapers of the country were teeming with essays and communications, local and nation-wide, while pamphlets nearly swamped the mail service. Hamilton, whose use of the press had brought him into great prominence after it became assured that there would be no revival of the "confederation" idea, and who had maintained silence in the convention, proposed an aristocracy plan on June 16, to the effect that the chief executive, the judiciary and the Senators should hold office for life or during good behavior. That did not get far.

Ellsworth's motion that the "national government" should consist of a supreme legislative, executive and judiciary body was adopted unanimously, New Jersey and Delaware protesting against the word "national," and the words "the government of the United States" being substituted therefor on Ellsworth's motion. Sherman opposed the plan of having two houses, while admitting the necessity of both in a State Legislature; he emphasized that the Congress, of one house, during the Confederation had carried through the war as well as a Congress of two houses could have done. The convention was not in a mood to accept his proposition.

The next day, June 21, Johnson made his first speech. Analyzing the New Jersey and Virginia plans, he favored the principle of State individuality, which must imply equal votes in the Upper House. This was not to signify a break in the Connecticut delegation, for Sherman immediately coincided; Connecticut voted for two houses and also that the Lower House should be chosen by popular vote. But Connecticut could not agree to a three-year term for representatives; Sherman would favor a one-year term, to the end that representatives by going home would keep in closer touch with their constituencies. (Jefferson had said of Sherman that "there was a man who never said a foolish thing in his life.") Connecticut and Delaware favored the proposition that each State pay its representatives, but the proposition had short shrift.

Now the time was approaching for the proof of Connecticut's legislative generalship. Large-State plan and small-State plan had skirmished with each other backward and forward; Connecticut by keeping the small-State plan at six as against seven for the large-State, provided the strength for the minority, which spelled balance of power. The word "national" did not look so well after Connecticut's skirmishing had fastened it on the Virginia group. Connecticut's insistence upon State equality in the Upper House and popular representation in the Lower forced the issue. The small-State group tried to have New Hampshire send delegates and be brought into the field of voting. There was an all-around tense atmosphere. Practically it was the calmness of Franklin that prevented a break, admonishing the North and calming the South and then at a critical moment advocating reference to a committee, to which Sherman quickly agreed in behalf of his colleagues.

To committee it went in July—a committee of one from each State. Ellsworth was Connecticut's representative. Adjournment was for three days. On July 7, in the committee, North Carolina came over to the Connecticut "proposal," and with six states thus in the affirmative, Virginia, Pennsylvania and South Carolina against it and Massachusetts and Georgia divided (Baldwin of Georgia, of Connecticut birth, being for it), a favorable report was adopted. It was received with a storm of disapproval from many of the "large-states" delegates, including Madison.

The greatest contest was over the point on representation, for which Connecticut was so largely responsible, insisting upon the rights of the people. The most notable comment on this opposition is found in a letter from Washington to Hamilton July 10. Washington said: "I almost despair of seeing a favorable issue. . . . The men who oppose a strong and energetic government are, in my opinion, narrow-minded politicians, or are under the influence of local views." And that

included Pennsylvania, Governor Clinton's group in New York, and most of Virginia.

On September 17, with thirteen members absent and three withholding, the engrossed copy of the document was signed. Sherman and Johnson signed for Connecticut; Ellsworth had been called home. Hamilton, whose signature was next

below these, was the only one from New York to sign. The committee in its report had called for ratification by at least nine states after printed copies had been distributed, the ratification vote to be taken in special conventions, to assure finality. With realization of the strength of the political opposition to which Washington had referred, the Federalist party zealously secured the acceptance by five states within four months.

Connecticut was the fifth, in convention held at Hartford January 4, 1788, Matthew Griswold presiding. The speakers were Oliver Ellsworth, Governor Huntington, Richard Law and Oliver Wolcott. Ratification was voted 128 to 40 on January 9, 1788. Fairfield, New London and Middlesex counties were unanimous for ratification; Hartford, 28 to 6 (two towns not voting), the fully negative being Enfield, Granby, Simsbury and Suffield. Sherman's New Haven County was nine for and thirteen against, one not voting.



CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BRIDGEWATER, 1807

(Courtesy of the American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)

Branford, Durham, East Haven, Guilford, North Haven, Wallingford, Woodbridge and Cheshire were dividedly not in favor for some unknown cause. Tolland County voted ten for and five against, the five including Hebron, Somers and Ellington. Windham County stood fifteen for to seven against, the latter, of those

voting, including Pomfret, Mansfield and Woodstock with Trumbull's Lebanon divided. Litchfield County stood twenty-six for and nine against, including Barkhamsted, Cornwall, Harwinton, New Hartford, Norfolk, Sharon and Torrington.

Then the opposition rallied. The "large states" had been too confident. In Pennsylvania, the rural sections arose against Philadelphia and what they called the "money interests," and after the ratification they were to draft ten amendments, under the lead of Madison, which eventually were to find place in the "Bill of Rights," ever since a part of the Constitution. In Massachusetts, Delegate Elbridge Gerry had not signed the Constitution; Adams and Hancock had hesitated, and the Shays following, among the farmers, still had strength, but on February 6 the vote was favorable by a small majority. June 21 New Hampshire's favoring vote completed the quota; yet without New York and Virginia, success would be in jeopardy.

In the latter State, whose Delegates Mason and Randolph had not signed, Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee had joined with them in forcible opposition; Jefferson, then in France, was doubtful. But Washington, Madison—now brought over by the agreement for amendments—and the brilliant young lawyer, John Marshall, were for it, so that on June 25, Virginia ratified but with proviso that there be a Bill of Rights. New York, where Governor Clinton, fearing the State's importance would be diminished, had built up a powerful machine, was flooded with pamphlets and heated oratory till the convention met in Poughkeepsie. Then for five weeks there was the most notable display of printed propaganda in America's history, by Alexander Hamilton, Jay and Madison, in the *Federalist*. The vote on July 26, accompanied with a request for another main convention to consider amendments, with thirty for and twenty-seven against, promoted joyous parades especially in the city of New York. Virginia and Massachusetts, after having favored amendments, now opposed the convention idea, in fear that all might be lost. North Carolina and Rhode Island were taking no action till late in 1789 and May 29, 1790, respectively, both wed to the paper-money idea up to the time the government's revenue law alarmed them and the Bill of Rights was a certainty.

Ellsworth and Johnson became Connecticut's first Senators and this long-established Commonwealth became one with the Commonwealth of the United States—"its own lineal successor," as Johnston tersely puts it. And the first common effect was to be, naturally, with wider field, a development of their genius in their back-shop industries and their commerce.

The Bill of Rights consisted of ten amendments to the Constitution proposed by Congress and ratified by states according to the plan agreed upon in advance. Among other things they provided chiefly for matters of human interest rather than property and territory, not affecting the structure or powers of government. Since then there have been eleven amendments, counting the last one which cancelled the one for national prohibition. All of these attest the solid foundation of the great instrument. Washington himself often said time likely would develop need of changes and his faith was that the people could well be trusted to make them. At the hour of writing, with a pressure much intensified, there is a forceful agitation

to relieve the President of the duty of appointing civil service officers, incidentally ending the un-American cry, "To the victors belong the spoils."

Connecticut's first electoral college, when Washington and John Adams were elected President and Vice-President, was composed of Samuel Huntington, Erastus Wolcott, Oliver Wolcott, Thaddeus Burr, Richard Law, Jedediah Huntington and Matthew Griswold. Her five representatives, by allotment, were Jonathan Trumbull, Jonathan Sturges, Benjamin Huntington, Jeremiah Wadsworth and Roger Sherman. When the all-important Tariff Bill came up, Sherman was one of the eight who pled for high tariff but failed. After long wrangling it was voted that the government assume \$21,000,000 of the states' war debts, to be apportioned. Connecticut's apportionment was \$1,600,000; her expenditures had been \$9,285,737. By this legislation and what had been advanced to her—a total of \$3,436,244—her net total expenditure was \$5,849,493. In the 1793 final settlement, the government was found to owe her \$619,121.

CHAPTER LVIII.

The Families, Trumbull

Successive Generations, with Three Governors and Others of Repute—Inter-marriage with Gurdon Trumbull Family and the Huntingtons—Connecticut Principles Affirmed.

Already in this story, it has been seen that the faith of Hooker and Ludlow and Haynes in the possibilities under free government had been confirmed at every test, however severe. And they had been more severe than could have been anticipated. The story has lost its meaning if it has failed in its original purpose to show that in the darkest hours—first of the Colony and then of the combination of Colonies imbued with the "Connecticut principle"—the right men were to appear upon the scene. And thought of the sophists, with each occasion even unto the present day, has been this: But how long can this continue, the whole world changing as it does? How deep are the roots?

Connecticut always has answered: The roots are in the character of the people—the freemen. Therefore the main value of the story must lie in the study of that character. It is to be illustrated in the occupations, the pursuits of individual families rapidly developing here, not only of those "to the manner born"—where it cannot be said of "native custom" that it is "more honored in the breach than the observance." There is today an exceptionally large number of families whose members trace their ancestry back to the time of the building of the foundations. Genealogical charts more and more are being worked up for libraries and patriotic societies with the sense that therein lies the essence of prime history, however humble the origin and development. For it is "government of the people, by the people, for the people," as Lincoln expressed the ideas of Connecticut's founders.

Many of the humblest of present-day citizens do or could take pride in such charts. Many of the families are prolific but, for history purpose, we well can take that of "Brother Jonathan" as an example not only of early tribulations and humble ambitions but of fertility physical and mental and of persistency within the State, never in an autocratic sense but rather, by marriages and inter-marriages, a true democratic nobility, generation by generation simply living and working true to inherited form.

People locate in Connecticut because it is a good State to come to. "Your tradition—what is it?"—they should inquire. And every library should be able to

answer succinctly, and with evidence, that it is not in scenery, the proximity to prosperous states or the opportunities to make a living in a choice of good fields; it is not in government reports of receipts from industry, commerce and agriculture; rather it is in the character of the families from the beginning who have made it what it is. What is conspicuous in the days of Hooker and Eaton is also illustrated in succeeding generations. The Trumbull chronicle may be selected as one out of many—as our biographical section indicates—that are to the point.

John Trumble and his wife, Elinor Chandler, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland, England, came to Roxbury, thence to Rowley, in Massachusetts Bay Colony, in which latter settlement John became town clerk and “teacher,” meaning assistant minister. Tradition has it that an early ancestor owned a large estate in the northern part of England. When the King visited it with his retinue, a bull rushed through the field at them. At the risk of his life this ancestor attacked the animal single-handed and turned it aside. The King rewarded him for his bravery and after that he was known as “Turn-bull” with armorial bearings as follows: Shield presenting three bulls’ heads; crest a bull’s head, and this certainly ever-consistent motto—*Fortuna favet audaci*. Atrocious indifference to spelling in the days of making and un-making kings may have produced the “rumble,” first corrected by one and then by other early New England members of the family. The present spelling of the name began in 1712.

This John died in 1657, leaving three sons and two daughters and an estate appraised at £16 shillings, 8 pence. The third son, Joseph, removed to Suffield in present Connecticut and three years later was followed by the second son, Judah, in 1676. Joseph had four sons, of whom John and Captain Joseph removed to Suffield, Captain Ammi to East Windsor, and Benoni to Hebron, likewise in the Connecticut Colony. The military titles were won in the French and Indian wars. This John of Suffield was the father of John, Yale, 1735, minister of the First Congregational Church of Watertown, Connecticut, and he the father of John, Yale, 1767, Doctor of Laws, Congress and Legislature, 1792-1800; judge of Superior Court 1801, Supreme Court of Errors 1818, one of the “Hartford Wits” and author of *McFingal* and other poems. Sarah who married Caleb Perkins and Lucy who married the Rev. Timothy Langdon of Danville, Connecticut, were his sisters.

Benoni (of Hebron) was the ancestor of three successive Benjamins, including the Rev. Dr. Benjamin (1735-1820), Yale, 1759, pastor of the North Haven Congregational Church and writer of the history of the State, of the United States and of religious works. His grandson, Lyman, born in Colchester in 1813, became a lawyer and removed to Belleville, Illinois, where he was legislator, Secretary of State in 1841, justice of the Supreme Court, 1843-53, Congressman, 1848-53; then Senator and one of the foremost of the Republican party till 1873. He and Fessenden of Maine were of the leaders among the seven neutrals in the impeachment trial of President Johnson and his name was anathema through the northern states, only again to be prominent before his death in Chicago in 1896. His son, Walter, married Hannah Mather Slater of the eminent Rhode Island family of manufacturers.

Now, for the other family sequences, one returns to the Captain Joseph of Suffield who with his father, Joseph, had come down from Rowley, Massachusetts, to Suffield in 1670 and had moved across the Connecticut to Simsbury. Having heard during the Indian campaigning of possibilities in the Thames River section, Joseph had removed with his family and household goods, by long and weary stages, eastward over steep and wooded hills, to hill-top Lebanon, in hope of bettering his opportunities. Not far from the inland port of Norwich he saw that he could transport skins and timber and bring back from the docks the supplies the widely scattered neighbors needed. With the aid of his son, Joseph, he perhaps could establish a profitable business and, withal, encourage the consuming ambition of his younger son, Jonathan, to become a minister by letting him take a course at Harvard, in the class of 1727. But the son Joseph was lost on a business voyage to England, and Jonathan, who was taking a post-graduate course in theology with the aid of the local minister, had to forget his one purpose in life and devote himself to the farm work and his father's trading. At odd moments, only, he could proceed with his Hebrew. Another blow fell when the youngest son, a most promising lad, was drowned in a pond. A sister and another brother also had died. Fortunately Jonathan's wife was a worthy descendant of one of the brave-hearted Plymouth Pilgrims and contributed her share of faith—which was, in fact, her name—in continuing their struggle. Such was "Brother Jonathan's" start in life.

Captain Joseph, 1679-1755 (son of Joseph) and his wife, Hannah Higley, of Suffield and Lebanon, had eight children. Joseph, born in 1705, married Sarah Bulkley and, as already noted, was lost at sea in 1731 when he and his father were beginning to build up their business. He left two daughters.

The second son of Captain Joseph was "Brother Jonathan" (1710-85). He married Faith Robinson, direct descendant of John Alden, who frequently visited her sister, wife of Jacob Eliot, the Lebanon minister. Of Jonathan's younger brothers, John, died in infancy and David (1723-40) was drowned in a mill pond.

Jonathan's sisters were Hannah, who died young; Mary, who married Judah Fitch; a second Hannah, who married Joseph Sherman, and Abigail, who married Ebenezer Backus of Norwich.

Jonathan's children were: Joseph (1737-78), who married Amelia Dyer and was the first commissary-general of the Continental Army; the second Governor Jonathan, born in 1740, Governor from 1797 to 1809, whose wife was Eunice Backus; Faith, who married Colonel Jedediah Huntington of Norwich; Mary, who married William Williams, signer of the Declaration of Independence; David (1751-1822), assistant commissary-general of the Continental Army, who married Sarah Backus; and Colonel John, the artist (1756-1843), who married Sarah Hope—and who had disagreeable experiences when he went to England after retiring from the army to study art, and was under surveillance for a time.

Commissary David's children included the third Governor, Joseph. They were: Sarah (1779-1839), who married William T. Williams; Abigail (1781-1861), who married Peter Lanman; Joseph (1782-1861), Governor, 1849-50, who removed to

Hartford. By his first wife, Harriet Champion (1789-1823), Governor Joseph had one child, Henry Champion Trumbull, who married Sarah Jones Whittlesey. Their only child was Harriet Champion Trumbull, born in Wallingford in 1843; she married Austin Stickney.

Governor Joseph Trumbull's second wife was Eliza Storrs (1784-1861), a direct descendant of Elder Brewster of the Plymouth Colony. Her only child was Eliza Storrs (1826-62), who, on October 2, 1850, married Lucius F. Robinson (1824-61), eminent Hartford lawyer and scholar, Yale, 1843, Master of Arts and Bachelor of Laws. He was brother of the Hon. Henry C. Robinson (1832-1900), Yale '53 and Doctor of Laws, mayor of Hartford (1872-74), twice nominated by the Republicans by acclamation for Governor, and was offered the position of Minister to Spain. Henry's wife was Eliza Trumbull, daughter of John F. Trumbull of Stonington and his wife, Eliza Niles. His sons, Lucius Franklin Robinson, Yale, 1885, and Doctor of Laws, and John Trumbull Robinson, Yale, 1893, who died in 1937, together with the former's sons, Lucius F., Jr., and Barclay, Yale, 1918 and 1919 respectively, continued the law office, Francis W. Cole also being a member of the firm. Henry Seymour Robinson, Yale, 1889, second son of the Hon. Henry C., was president of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company when he died in 1926, leaving two sons, a namesake and William.

Henry C. Robinson's sister, Mary Caroline, married the Hon. Nathaniel Shipman of Hartford, born in Southbury in 1828, who was to become judge of the United States District Court and of the Circuit Court of Appeals. During the Civil War he was Governor Buckingham's private secretary. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Yale in 1884. His children were the Rev. Dr. Frank R., president of the Atlanta Theological Seminary and chairman of the board of Piedmont Institute; Henry, professor of history and government at Princeton; Arthur L., Yale, 1886, Hartford, lawyer and director in several institutions, who died in 1937, and Mary Deming Shipman, who married President Stephen B. L. Penrose of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, and was national president of the Young Women's Christian Association.

Lucius F. Robinson, Yale '43, brother of the Hon. Henry C., and in memory of whom his daughters established a fund at Yale for the furtherance of Latin studies, had four children of whom Mary married Colonel Louis R. Cheney of Hartford, one of the Manchester family of that name (so prominent since Colonial days in the silk industry and in military and general public affairs), assistant quartermaster-general, long commander of the First Company, Governor's Foot Guard, mayor, and director in several institutions. Colonel Cheney's daughter, Eliza, is the wife of John T. Roberts, son of the late Governor Henry Roberts whose ancestors came over in 1654 and are commemorated in Massachusetts for their deeds in the early wars.

Governor Joseph's brother, John Trumbull, married for his first wife Anne Gibbons. Their children were: Gibbons, John Heyward, who married Sarah M. Trumbull; Anne Heywood, who married Ralf H. Isham, and Sarah Backus, who married Daniel C. Ripley. By his second wife, Hannah Tunis, this John had one

son, Davied, who married Jane Fitch and whose children were Jonathan, Allan, John (who married Flora Smith), Stephen, Mary, William (who married Anne Train), Anita (who married Frederick Van Lennep), and Julia (who married William E. Dodge). By his third wife, Eliza Bruen, Governor Joseph had Caroline Ward (who married Arthur Ward Marshall), James Hedden, Jane Lathrop, Joseph and Harriet Silliman, who married George Jarvis Brush. This Jonathan G. W. Trumbull was as enterprising as was that John Trumbull of early Revolution period as revealed in the various newspapers he established to help on the cause of the patriots.

Governor Joseph's brother, Jonathan George Washington Trumbull, married Jane Eliza Lathrop. Their children were: Daniel Lathrop (who married Alexandrine Navarre Wilson), Lydia Lathrop, Joseph and William. Daniel Lathrop's children were: Jonathan, who married Harriet Roosevelt Richards, daughter of Thomas Fleming Richards of New York, whose children were: Jonathan, Harriet Roosevelt, Alexandrine Navarre and Thomas Brinkerhoff Trumbull, who married Mrs. Vera Annie (Haynes) Osborne.

Jane Lathrop, second child of this Daniel and Alexandrine Trumbull, was born in Norwich in 1844 and died in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1869. She was the first wife of Colonel Robert Watkinson Huntington, of Hartford, marrying him on November 2, 1865. He had entered Trinity College in 1860 but had enlisted on Lincoln's first call for troops, 1861, in Joseph R. Hawley's Company B, First Connecticut Volunteers—receiving his diploma with his class, however, in 1864. He was transferred from the infantry in June, 1861, on being appointed a lieutenant in the Marine Corps where he was given captain's commission in 1864. He served at various stations, commanding the Legation Guard in Japan in 1864. Commission as colonel came to him in August, 1898. He was assigned to the command of the first organized force to land in Cuba in the Spanish War and participated in the landing at Guatanama and the surrender of Manzanillo. In the resolutions of gratitude adopted by the Legislature after the war, the colonel was specifically named. He retired from the service in 1900 and lived in Charlottesville, Virginia, where he died in 1917. His second wife was Elizabeth Sherburne of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, daughter of Major-General Amiel W. Sherburne.

His first son, Robert Watkinson Huntington, president of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company of Hartford, was graduated at Yale in the class of 1889. He was born in Norwich but has lived in Hartford since his infancy. He married Constant Alton Willard, of Lexington, Massachusetts. Of his six children, the youngest bears the name Trumbull—very appropriately, since his ancestor, Major-General Jedediah Huntington of Norwich, as previously noted, married in 1771 Faith, the greatly beloved daughter of "Brother Jonathan"—and one of the first victims of the Revolution, through caring for the wounded at Bunker Hill.

The Huntington family is in direct descent from Simon Huntington, who died on shipboard while bringing his family to Massachusetts before 1635, and of his relative William, one of the settlers of Amesbury, Massachusetts. In addition to

the links with the Trumbull family, the Huntington connections have been many throughout Connecticut, especially in New London and Hartford counties. Suffield is the birthplace of Samuel H. Huntington, born in 1793, who removed with his parents to Hartford, served in the War of 1812, was judge of the County Court, was the first chief clerk of the United States Court of Claims and a trustee of Trinity College. Names of several of the branches of the family are in the records of the states west of Connecticut.

In New London County there had developed this other Trumbull family and the connection of that family with the "Brother Jonathan" family and of both families with the Huntington family is exceptionally noteworthy. It is also noteworthy that both of the families had their Connecticut origin in one county New London.

The Stonington Trumbull family trace back to John who was one of the settlers of Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1641. The first of them were active in both Norwich and Stonington. Gurdon Trumbull, son of John, second, of the 1750 period, married Sally Ann Swan, naming the last of his seven children after himself. The others were given the names of James Hammond, Mary Hollister, Henry Clay, Thomas Swan, Annie and Charles. James—or J. Hammond as he wrote it—married Sarah Aurelia, who was the daughter of David F. Robinson of Hartford. Mary married William C. Prime of New York, writer and editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, New York. Henry Clay's wife was Alice Cogswell, daughter of the Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, also of Hartford, and founder of America's first School for the Deaf. Annie married Edward Slosson of New York.

In the days of the Stamp Act alarm, Gurdon Trumbull was editor of the *Norwich Gazette*, famous as the mouthpiece of the Sons of Liberty, eventually acquiring other papers, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

J. Hammond (1821-97) was born in Stonington. As a philologist he gained national fame, was one of the founders of the American Philological Association of which he was president in 1874. He made particular study of the Indians' languages and it was said that he was the only man who could read the Bible John Eliot wrote for the natives. From Yale he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts with the class of 1842 and the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1871. He was assistant Secretary of State five years from 1847 and again from 1858 to 1861, when made Secretary of State, holding office till 1865. One of his most appreciated works was his editing and publishing the first three volumes of the *Connecticut Colony Records*, so full of vital data but originally like a sealed book for the general public. Likewise he unearthed and rearranged documents and correspondence, making accessible many Colonial facts which have been utilized in the early part of this history. His own writings were mostly Indian lore but he edited and supervised an elaborate history of Hartford County. A very important contribution to national history was his vindication of the character of Silas Deane and his associates during the Revolution, as has been told herein. He deciphered the key to the writings that had been misinterpreted by Deane's enemies, the profiteers. Still, perhaps the most

important work for posterity was as librarian of the David Watkinson Library, opened in 1866, in connection with the Connecticut Historical Society and the Wadsworth Atheneum, previously referred, to as memorials. For twenty-seven years, or until his resignation, he was responsible for the selection of the thousands of volumes which are of national as well as local value forever. He died in 1897.

Of his brothers, James married Sarah Aurelia, daughter of David F. Robinson, who was one of the founders of the *Hartford Evening Press*, Joseph R. Hawley, editor, in which office the future general enrolled the first local company for the Civil War. Previously, in 1820, Mr. Robinson, who had come to Hartford as a boy and had worked his way up, had established a publishing house which issued many important works, including *History of the United States*, by Samuel G. Goodrich ("Peter Parley"), who was an associate in the business, 1816-22. The establishment later became a book store, Brown and Gross, a predecessor of the present Witkower's. The publishing house itself had grown so large, publishing Olney's school books, Comstock's chemistry and like books, and atlases, that it had removed to New York where it began as Robinson, Pratt and Company and employing A. S. Barnes who eventually became the head of the well-known establishment bearing his name. D. F. Robinson and Company published Harriet Beecher Stowe's first book, *The Mayflower and Other Sketches*. Mr. Robinson was president of the Hartford Bank from 1839 to 1853.

Of J. Hammond Trumbull's two sisters, Annie, born in Stonington, married Edward Slosson of New York in 1867, and is well known for her literary productions and her studies of entomology and botany. Her *China Hunters' Club*, *Heresy of Mehitabel Clark*, and *Puzzled Souls* in particular made her well known. Mary married William C. Prime of New York, a writer of books on Egypt and explorations and at one time editor of the *Journal of Commerce*. Dr. Hammond's daughter and only child, Annie Eliot, was born in Hartford and resides in the family home on Asylum Avenue, near which the Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, Dr. Mason, F. Coggs-well and their associates, with State aid, built the first American School for the Deaf in 1821, on land now occupied by the Hartford Fire Insurance Company, the school having removed to its present large buildings in West Hartford suburbs. Miss Trumbull's early excursions into literature gave promise of the series of popular fiction that was to follow, including *White Birches*, *Rod's Salvation*, *Mistress Content Craddock*, *Life's Common Way*, and plays like *A Wheel of Progress*. She is president of the Hartford Town and County Club which is for women and is located on beautiful Woodland Street.

Gurdon, the youngest child of Gurdon of Stonington, married Anna, daughter of Jonathan Niles of Hartford.

How true to form are the descendants of the early families, in war as in peace, is here well illustrated and therefore may be interpolated at this point in the story. When the Civil War came, one of the most beloved of Connecticut sons who responded to the call was Gurdon's son, the Rev. Henry Clay Trumbull (1830-

1903). He had entered upon a life full of promise, with his wife who was the daughter of the Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, inaugurator of the first school in America for the deaf. Born in Stonington, he was making Hartford his home. In 1862 he went out as chaplain of the 10th Connecticut, and was captured and taken to agonizing Morris Island, South Carolina, July 19, 1863. In the loathsome prison he was like unto Belgium's Father Damien of later date who devoted himself to ministering to the lepers on the Hawaiian Island of Molokai. He was released late in November of that year and served with his command to the finish.

Perhaps his closest friend in the regiment was Major Hiram W. Camp, son of the Rev. Henry B. Camp of Hartford, who had graduated at Yale in 1860 and was one of the famous Yale crew of that year, which included Major Charles T. Stanton (21st Connecticut, born in Stonington), the Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, chaplain in a New York regiment and so long pastor of the Asylum Hill Congregational Church in Hartford, and Major Charles H. Owen, acting aide on the staff of Colonel (later Major-General) Robert O. Tyler of Hartford. Camp had been taken prisoner the same day with Trumbull and had not been released till April 30 of the following year. On October 13 of that year, 1864, Trumbull saw Camp, who recently had been promoted major, lead a desperate charge at Darbytown Road, Virginia, and fall victorious, his body riddled with bullets. Of the books the chaplain wrote in later years, including his *Old-Time Student Volunteers*, his story of Camp, *The Knightly Soldier*, is preëminently classic. It is reminiscent of a Yale battle-cry—"For God, for Country and for Yale." In 1875 the chaplain went to New York as editor of the *Sunday School Times*, maintaining his circle of war-time friends.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Swan Trumbull of the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery was another who honored the family name. He was Henry Clay's brother, also of Stonington birth, 1835. Having graduated at Harvard Law School, he was practicing in New York when the call to service came. Promptly enrolling in the Seventh of that city he was bitterly disappointed when he learned that the number of recruits had been exceeded and he must withdraw. Taking the first possible train for Hartford he reported to Captain (later Major-General) Joseph R. Hawley of the first company that was being filled for three-months service. He was too late for that but was accepted by Colonel Levi Woodhouse of Hartford—a veteran of the Mexican War, commanding a third regiment but to resign on the reorganizing of the command as the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery, for three years' service, Colonel Woodhouse to be succeeded by Robert O. Tyler of Hartford, also of the Mexican War and a Regular Army man. Trumbull very soon was advanced to the position of adjutant and then lieutenant-colonel December 5, 1864, after Tyler had been appointed brigadier-general (later major-general), and Henry L. Abbott of the Regular Army had been assigned to the colonelcy.

As an example of what goes in the army as "pure sand," Trumbull deserved a better fate. His regiment was the first of any State to report for three years' service. When Tyler named him first for major he said it was "solely for the good of the service and because of Trumbull's extraordinary capacity as an artillery officer."

In all campaigns up to the last, with the Army of the Potomac, he was given heavy responsibilities though suffering severely from injuries by being thrown with his horse and from swamp fever. Twice he was proffered position on a corps commander's staff as chief of artillery but preferred to continue in field work. Early in 1865 he was detailed on a general court martial in Washington, chiefly because of his profound knowledge of law. It was there that he succumbed to exhaustion and his injuries. He died March 30, and as his body was being carried to the grave in Hartford April 2, crowds in the street were cheering the news that Petersburg had fallen and the end of the war was at hand. Colonel Abbott, then commanding the regiment, said of him in his official report: "His only fault was in laboring beyond his strength. Few officers have the energy and ability to accomplish what he has done." And of the group for the 21st Connecticut, including Captain Walter P. Long, Captain Charles P. Stanton, Jr., Lieutenants Henry R. Jennings and Franklin H. Davis from Stonington and Captain William W. Latham from nearby Groton, was Lieutenant John F. Trumbull, Jr., of Stonington. Gurdon Trumbull, Jr., of Hartford, was a lieutenant in Company C of the 25th.

Charles Gallaudet Trumbull, son of Henry Clay and Alice Gallaudet, residing in Philadelphia, Yale, 1893, became editor of the *Sunday School Times* and eminent in exploration, archæology and mission work.

CHAPTER LIX.

Jonathan's Last Days

Honors Include those from Yale and Across the Seas—Williams and Other Friends in Rural Retreat—Surprises Stiles—Disposal of Papers.

After a total of fifty-one years of public service at the capitol, his tall form only a little bowed, his mind unfailing, the Jonathan of Lebanon had sought relief. In his address at the October session of the General Assembly, 1783, he said: "The reasonableness of this request, I am persuaded, will be questioned by no one. The length of time I have devoted to service, with my declining state of vigor and activity, will, I please myself, be for me a sufficient and unfailing excuse with my fellow-citizens." The man whom Washington had dubbed "Brother Jonathan" and thereby, for all time, had given the title, along with "Uncle Sam," to the symbolic national figure, retired the following May to his Lebanon hill-top farm, where he died August 17, 1785.

In his expression there was no quintessence of joviality as in the symbolic "Uncle Sam's"; in the eyes of the French nobility who so much enjoyed his hospitality during war days, there rather was indication of slight uncouthness in his manner. The Lebanon hill-top was not beautifully kept up, like Mount Vernon, nor yet like the Lee mansion in Virginia or the home of Jefferson; more nearly, with its plain cottage and the little hip-roofed store, the later war office, it was like the birthplace of Lincoln, and speaks his character as it did then. He had been chosen Fellow of the Academy of Arts and Sciences; Yale had conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and a like honor came to him from across the lately forbidding sea—from the University of Edinburgh. He mourned the loss of one son, Joseph, his eldest, member of Congress and commissary-general on Washington's suggestion but sacrificed through a repented whim of Congress, yet could rejoice in the progress of his second son, Jonathan, who had succeeded Alexander Hamilton as private secretary to Washington and who previously had served as paymaster-general for the Northern Department. He was not to live to see his namesake six years a representative in Congress (1789-95), four years of the time as speaker, and then Senator till he resigned in 1796 to accept the office of Deputy-Governor, followed by that of Governor. The son's length of service as chief executive, from 1797 to 1809, almost twelve years, was second only to that of his father since the days of Governor Fitch and never has been equalled by any Gov-

ernor since up to the present. He succeeded the first Governor Oliver Wolcott of Litchfield, who died in office, as Wolcott himself had succeeded Samuel Huntington.

And, as said, there was to be still another Governor in the family—Joseph, who was born in Lebanon in 1782, son of David, and grandson of Jonathan. He was graduated at Yale in 1801. After practicing law in Ohio for a short time, he returned and made his home in Hartford. For three sessions he served in the General Assembly. On the retirement of William W. Ellsworth from the National House of Representatives in 1833, he was chosen his successor and was returned to the next three sessions, covering the period 1834-43. In 1849 he was nominated by the Whig party for Governor. The Democratic party was split chiefly through the unpopularity in Connecticut of the Mexican War and the manner of raising troops. Thomas W. Seymour, editor of the *Jeffersonian* of Hartford, who had been major in the regiment which had been raised in the State and had recently returned with laurels won in the capture of Chapultepec, was nominated by the Democrats, as also was John M. Niles nominated by a disaffected portion of the party. Niles drew 2,500 votes which was enough to throw the election into the Legislature where the vote was 122 for Trumbull and 110 for Seymour.

Trumbull as president of the Hartford Bank from 1828 to 1839 showed remarkable ability, especially in the trying times of the '30's when the theories of the Federal administrations of Jackson and Van Buren were causing bankruptcies and the closing of banks in New York. He was prominent in all worthy enterprises, a zealous supporter of the Hartford and Providence Railroad, senior director of the Retreat for the Insane and an incorporator of the American School for the Deaf at Hartford. His only daughter, as has been told, married the eminent lawyer of Hartford, Lucius F. Robinson, the elder. The Governor died in 1861.

Of the career of "Brother Jonathan's" youngest son, John, the historically celebrated artist, a sketch has been given on an earlier page. By reason of his portraits of Revolutionary leaders, his canvases, in the Capitol at Washington, in the Wadsworth Atheneum and especially in the Trumbull Gallery at Yale, are invaluable.

This and other honors "Brother Jonathan" was not to live to see, but he had much to dwell upon in that peaceful last year of his life, beginning with the hour he learned that "Man proposes but God disposes." He had felt the wrench when his elder brother was lost at sea, making it imperative to forget his hard-fought-for ambition to be a minister and to go to his father's assistance in the mercantile line. In years of drudgery and trying to help out, the one bright moment was when he met Faith Robinson on one of her visits to her sister, the wife of Jacob Eliot of Goshen Parish. It was not so much that she was a descendant of that Pilgrim, John Alden, who was bade by Priscilla to "speak for yourself, John"; it was the charm of her smile and the glow of her beauty—which through the coming years of governmental abstraction was to sustain him.

There had been no happier day than when he heard of her rising in the crowded church where all had gathered to contribute to the army fund and presenting the beautiful scarlet cloak Rochambeau had given her—to be sold for the benefit of the

fund and in a later day by its purchasers to be cut up for trimmings for thread-bare uniforms. Now he was rejoicing anew over the manner in which she had maintained the hospitality for distinguished guests who called and for their own considerable family group, including their daughter, Mary's husband, signer of the Declaration of Independence, William Williams, each so well fitted for the important tasks which fell to them. If he himself had no time for sociability, he could see that it was being maintained fittingly. Then the blow that fell when their daughter, Faith, the wife of Colonel Jedediah Huntington of Norwich, had succumbed to her zeal for the men he had led to Cambridge and her care for the wounded in the Cambridge Hospital she speedily formed at the battle of Bunker Hill. And the wife Faith—both so fittingly named—had been taken from him in 1780, the hour of his greatest need.

In those last days, Jonathan had little of political contest to recall, or not since the turbulent times of the early '60's when he had been a leader among the Sons of Liberty. Sent to the General Assembly in 1733, he had been chosen speaker in 1739, the next year assistant, soon judge of the County Court—judge and soon chief judge of the Superior Court. When the learned and conscientious Governor Fitch, himself opposed to the Stamp Act, still thought it obligatory to have the council witness the administering of the oath to him, Trumbull with most of his associates left his presence and he was defeated overwhelmingly at the next election by energetic William Pitkin of Hartford. Tradition has it that Pitkin's majority was so large that it never was counted. On Pitkin's death near the end of his third term, or in October, 1769, Trumbull was elected to succeed him with his old friend, Matthew Griswold of Lyme as deputy, and to hold the office for two years.*

Now in this his last year, at seventy-five, he could indulge his love for learning. It had been an astounding revelation to President Stiles of Yale when the Governor responded in good Hebrew to a letter he had received from him, and they had conducted much of their correspondence in that script thereafter, rather to the amusement of Lady Faith when she discovered it. As for touch with the outside world, he had an occasional letter from Washington, who was twenty-two years his junior, and many from his old associates. The humblest private among the veterans could write him. His son-in-law, William Williams (1731-1811), was a frequent visitor, for, withal, he had an abiding love for his birthplace, not far from the "war office."

His own history furnished reminiscence. With his cousin, Colonel Ephraim Williams, who was the founder of Williams College, he had participated in the French and Indian wars, and, after the colonel had been one of those sacrificed at Lake George by the futility of British commanders, had come home in disgust. He had been a member of the Continental Congress in 1775 and again in 1776 when he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He also was a member of the State Convention that ratified the Constitution and for forty years was judge of probate for the Windham District after it had been established. (The town of Wind-

* To the present generation, with its armies of secretaries, clerks, copying devices and typewriters, it is nothing short of a marvel that his State papers, even when in circular form, like his call for troops for the battle of Brooklyn Heights, are in his own handwriting and that this writing, with the signature, is like that of a school copy-book. "God" is not capitalized but "generals" is, and with a double "l." Both sides of the sheet, power of expression is biblical.

ham had been incorporated in 1692, but the county by that name had not been set off from New London till 1726.) Williams' father for many years had been pastor of the Lebanon Church and his uncle, the Rev. Elisha, was that rector of Yale, who had been elected such after the Episcopalian stir of 1722 to 1726.

With practically little clerical force, the Governor had kept his papers in good order, both at the war office and in the out-dated old wooden capitol at Hartford, and was concerned to have them preserved. Therefore, he directed that they be sent to New England's depository at Harvard, whence they were generously delivered to Connecticut when the Supreme Court and Library Building had been built in Hartford in the period of 1909.

The Governor had lived in the atmosphere of church, college, State and nation in process of building, and his body was borne in 1785 with simple ceremony to where the plain family-tomb was to be built later in the little cemetery on the eastern slope of Lebanon Hill, still retaining its exceptional rural beauty.

CHAPTER LX.

Expansion and Pioneering

Surrendering Pennsylvania Rights—Western Reserve and Fire Lands—And Founders in the Far West—Washington's Inspection Tour.

Connecticut was to play her part in the great western development of the country, as she had in Long Island, Maryland, the Hampshire Grants, Vermont and western Massachusetts. It hardly had been dreamed of for the West till the Susquehanna Company, with its seven hundred members, had been organized, had made a treaty with the Indian Five Nations and had paid them \$2,000 July 11, 1754, for a wide tract within the Colony's official boundary lines, the forty-first and forty-second parallels of latitude, in what is now Pennsylvania. The movement had had its start in Windham and had been promoted largely by Colonel Eliphalet Dyer.

And this carries back to the Wyoming Valley where in northern Pennsylvania today are reminders—names like Windham, Litchfield, Canton, Middlebury, Middletown and New Milford. Wyoming County lies south of them, and the town of Wyoming where the National Wyoming Commemorative Association assembles yearly is a few miles north of Wilkes-Barre on the Susquehanna. As the bird flies, the beautiful Wyoming Valley was two hundred miles from Hartford, which after all, was only twice the direct distance to Boston, New Hampshire or Vermont, and that was not much for the "trekkers" of those days.

We may have noted in the general story the incentives for moving in that eighteenth century—out from Hartford, out from New Haven and out from New London. It was not wanderlust; Ludlow himself inaugurated it when he founded Fairfield; it was mainly a desire to obtain large farms for the support of large families, and in this instance to extend the bounds of the Colony—"the fairest that e'er the sun shone on," in their opinion. There should be "equal opportunity for all." In the course of years the supply of land would be exhausted; having come from the narrow island of the Mother Country, the people experienced a strong sense of freedom in a comparatively boundless and comparatively unoccupied country; here were acres of fertile land at a nominal price, all within the Colony's own rights running westward to the "South Seas."

How this could have raised controversy with the most peace-loving of all men, the Quakers, is as astonishing to the modern reader as it was to Connecticut when the first sad news of it came—as already has been described in regular course herein.

The main points in the half-century contest have been reserved till this chapter following the Revolution when they came to have bearing upon the whole subject of western extension, vital for the new nation, surprisingly incongruous for the "Constitution State."

The intricacy of the puzzle-picture of Connecticut's expansion westward, which picture-historians have not undertaken to piece together, map fashion, is due primarily to the ignorance of English geographers of old—or, some hint, to Royal-court chicanery in the days of Charles II, to which, surely, William Penn, "king of



EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BETHANY, 1809

(Courtesy of The American Scene. Copyright by Samuel Chamberlain)

Quakers," himself could not have been a party. That the charter expression "to the South Seas" was merely an indefinite expression was contended in court in other cases that came up but was answered by quoting from the document with which the Plymouth Company in 1635 had surrendered its charter, where the expression occurs "through the main land from sea to sea, being near about 3,000 miles in length"; that is, as Winthrop knew when he obtained the charter of 1662, the "3,000 miles" meant the distance to the South Seas, even though the geographers were a little short in their estimate. English authorities also understood it in 1752 when asserting their rights across the Mississippi as against those asserted by France.

Penn, son of the great Admiral Sir William Penn but having a wonderful career of his own, was like the New England founders in that he and his followers sought

"easy, free and safe government, liberty of conscience and an inviolable possession of civil rights and freedom." In 1677 he had bought and his followers had occupied a moiety of New Jersey. Three years later he sought a charter for Pennsylvania across the Delaware, "greatly opposed" (by Lord Baltimore), but granted by King Charles who needed money and to whom Penn was willing to return the claim he held for £16,000 awarded to his late father for victory over the Dutch in the conquest of Jamaica. Rights the King so generously had conferred on Connecticut could not weigh with the King against that proposition any more than they could against the Duke of York what time Charles let him have the lower New York portion. Connecticut's rights extended down to Delaware Water Gap, covering two-fifths of what was given to Penn, including the great mining wealth afterwards discovered.

Yet there was unendurable blundering at the very outset. After fifty years' dispute with Maryland a compromise was made on the parallel of $39^{\circ}45'$, to save Baltimore for Maryland and enabling Penn to include his Philadelphia, which he had placed too far south, coincidentally restoring to Baltimore his town of that name. With the rest of the adjusting they left on the map, as of today, a segment of the circle, from the tangent of which they drew the new line, and in later days this became the historic "Mason and Dixon" line.

Penn's 1680 charter was limited to five degrees of longitude but was to have the generous latitude of three degrees, from the $39^{\circ}45'$. It originally had read "from the beginning of the fortieth parallel to the beginning of the forty-third" and Pennsylvania had been allowed to interpret the "beginning" as meaning the thirty-ninth and forty-second. Obviously this wiped out Connecticut's fortieth and forty-first lines, modest in themselves but a sacred pledge in the minds of the God-fearing Connecticut people. New York fought for and obtained the territory thus filched from her. Connecticut, absorbed in affairs at home, seems to have preferred to rest on the principle that "possession is nine points of the law." Pennsylvania had made no settlements in her northern section, leaving it, instead, in the hands of the Indians from whom they were to buy its sections from time to time. There were few English inhabitants north of Philadelphia, only here and there a Dutchman or a Swede, relict of the old-time changing grants, to which earlier reference has been made in connection with New Haven's trying to gain a footing near the coast. It was a settlement conducive to realty speculation and utter confusion of title to the land. In the end, in the Connecticut dispute, Pennsylvania was obliged to confirm Connecticut settlers' titles; the unique Connecticut system of parcelling land among the proprietors, the ministers and those to whom there was voted a distribution could not be ignored.

Professor George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan said relative to this significant feature, in his address before the Wyoming Commemorative Association: "In contrast with this procedure of the Connecticut settlers were the activities of the land speculators who derived their titles from the Pennsylvania authorities. The whole experience of the Wyoming settlement testified to the superior advantages of the Connecticut system with its absolute fairness and its practical democracy." And he added

this general noteworthy fact: "Furthermore, the migration of organized groups to establish specific new towns afforded coherence, coöperation and stability in the Connecticut settlements, which were absent in other frontier communities where each individual was free to follow his own devices, but equally free to provide for his own needs. It is but little wonder that ultimately the Pennsylvania authorities found it necessary to confirm the land titles of Connecticut settlers." And he said further, in regard to a characteristic feature which must have been observed in reading about the earlier days in this story of them: "It is significant that the church in Connecticut was not superior to the civil authority. Connecticut was not a theocracy. On the other hand, the civil government—that is, the State—did not dominate the church. Church and State each had its respective and separate sphere in the community life. It was the duty of each to coöperate with and respect the other." To this it can well be added that the character of the Connecticut settlers who carried on after the great debacle is readable today in the character of their many descendants. The character of the women was like unto that of the men—braver if anything. Not a few of them, eventually, were from other New England states by way of Connecticut, for the soil itself was of good repute, howsoever little was known of the great wealth underlying it.

It is not to be understood that the Connecticut settlers had taken up the whole of the territory to which they were entitled when the decision was made against them. On Connecticut's forty-second parallel* they ran their line one hundred and twenty miles west almost to the Allegheny River where it makes its detour into New York State, or about eighty miles east of Pennsylvania's northwest corner; thence, due south, sixty miles on the longitude of eighty degrees to Connecticut's south parallel of forty-one degrees; thence due east one hundred and twenty-two miles to the Susquehanna, and thence by line following the curves of that river, and ten miles from it, to the starting point, a distance of about sixty-two miles by straight line—or, as previously said, approximately two-fifths of Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvanians were compelled, ultimately, to confirm these land titles. When approving this layout in 1755, Connecticut's General Court also approved a plan of Samuel Hazard of Pennsylvania for another Colony to be planted within Connecticut's bounds west of this of the Susquehanna Company. It has been remarked that at the first "congress" of the Colonies, in 1754, at Albany, Pennsylvania's representatives raised no objection to the resolution recognizing the Pacific coast as the western boundary of both Connecticut and Massachusetts.

The first party from Connecticut, in 1757, stopped on the northeastern edge of what was to be the company's purchase in 1762. This was rather experimental, the pioneers returning home for the winter season. The following year an organized party located just below present Wilkes-Barre but was driven out by the Indians. Because of the incidents attending the approach of the Revolution, the next attempt was not till 1768 when the organization mapped out five townships and began formal settlement with a party of forty at Kingston, across the river from present Wilkes-Barre and about four miles south of Wyoming which takes its name from that of

* In manner previously described herein, Connecticut's exact northern line, originally a little above 42°, was adjusted to 42° 3'.

the Susquehanna Valley in that region. They were the men who built the "Forty Fort," in honor of number in their ranks, led by Captain Zebulon Butler, who, like the others, had participated in the French-Indian War. In this territory, not so far from Philadelphia, headquarters of the Penn people, land could not be bought and could be leased only to those who would assent to "defending the lands from Connecticut claimants." The place was seventeen miles above the Connecticut Colony's south boundary line. It was speculator against planter, and the speculators had a four-pound cannon. And the speculators were there when the planters returned to their task in 1770, as can be gathered from what has been sketched herein as matter of sequence. This time the planters secured the cannon and, thereby, possession.

The possession was maintained the following year despite the fort the Penn men put up, for the determined Connecticut men were increasing in number, amounting to 3,000 at the beginning of the Revolution. The Connecticut Legislature had reasserted the Colony's rights west of the Delaware in that year. It was in 1774 that it raised the district into the dignity of a town, Westmoreland, as of Litchfield County—to become a county by itself, with all offices and functions and enlistment of men, in 1776. Apparently Connecticut's rights would have prevailed and stood test but for the great war for the rights of all. Earlier we have had the story of terrible massacre when the freebooters, John Butler and Brandt, fell upon the settlement, defenseless because so many of its men were absent with Washington, in that July of 1778, and Congress felt it could not allow the temporary return of those men to the defense of their wives and children. Westmoreland County was wiped out. But Connecticut's faith was firm. It was a firmness which eventually was not to accrue to the benefit of the State as an entity but to its people as pioneers and, in that way, to the Nation.

While Connecticut's rights were such as have been maintained by the English race since early days, a backward glance from today's standpoint would make them impossible for the Nation that was to evolve. Pennsylvania produced great men, including Franklin, for the Revolutionary period but there were frictions due to this proprietary element which fought the Connecticut pioneers; on April 6, 1776, they put through a vote to enjoin their representatives in the Continental Congress to dissent from and utterly reject any proposition that might lead to a separation from the King's government or a change of proprietary government.

When the Articles of Confederation went into force in 1781, Congress had been allowed to appoint courts of arbitration to settle boundary disputes. In accordance therewith, Pennsylvania now began action. Congress, overruling Connecticut's request for time to get papers from England, ordered a hearing at Trenton, New Jersey, for November 12, 1782. The arbitration commission consisted of three from Virginia, Pennsylvania two, New Jersey three, New England only two—one from New Hampshire and one from Rhode Island. Colonel Eliphalet Dyer, Dr. William Samuel Johnson and Jesse Root were counsel for Connecticut. In answer to the Wyoming petitioners, the commission declared that its jurisdiction extended only to State rights and not to the settlers' rights to the soil. After a month and a half of arguments, the decision was unanimous that the Susquehanna district belonged

to Pennsylvania. Years later it was learned that the court, in itself, agreed that it should never reveal the reasons for its decision and that the minority should be bound to make the decision unanimous whatever it might be. Not conscious of the fact, Connecticut immediately yielded.

The astonished settlers were slow in evacuating the territory; and were beset by a rabble; writs and counter-writs were being served and cruelties of all sorts were heaped upon Connecticut people, in the "Yankee-Pennamite" war, and upon their local sympathizers, who were not a few. It came to a point of danger for the whole Confederation. Talk of a new State carrying Franklin's name was heard. This was approved earnestly by New York as well as New England. More went from Connecticut to stand by their fellow-citizens, while Ethan Allen with a body of his Green Mountain Boys was ready to take the field again in the interests of an independent Commonwealth. The original Susquehanna Company was revived in 1785. A form of government was drafted and a Constitution prepared; a Governor and Lieutenant-Governor had been agreed upon.

Pennsylvania passed the Conforming Act of 1787 which tended to pacify the majority of the settlers, while Colonel Thomas Pickering of Pennsylvania, a commissioner, played the part of a pacifist with prospect of success. But the sentiment of the Pennsylvania populace was against him, so that in 1790 the Conforming Act was repealed, as being contrary to the Constitution. Still the Connecticut settlers would not give up their holdings to these eager speculators. A full clearance of the Connecticut titles was not secured till 1807, whereupon, with payment of a small sum to the State, there was complete surrender. And a number of the settlers remained to continue what they had begun in farming or industry, encouraged by the better element, who had been their friends from the beginning. Descendants of many of them are in Pennsylvania today, and the Keystone State attests their worth. Connecticut's claim to the Western Reserve a little later was to have the support of the full Pennsylvania delegation in Congress.

Then arose the whole great question of the western holdings, with a variety of heated arguments. Virginia was contending not only for Kentucky but for everything to and around the Great Lakes. Since that would be impossible under the King's government, military ardor for a war that would yield disproportionate returns on the side of the victor was dampened, whether or no a State like Connecticut had a direct interest. National jurisdiction over the northwest and the possibilities of what lay farther on would seem, in the Connecticut mind, to have weighed against appeal from the decision of the court of arbitration in any event, however contrary to the inborn sense of justice. The claims of the three other states to western territory were based, by Virginia, on right of the conquest by George Rogers Clark during the Revolution; by New York, on its agreement with the Iroquois Indians and, by Massachusetts on its charter rights, as will appear later. Maryland had held off from signing the Articles of Confederation till the four states had yielded. There was joint interest inasmuch as, if the whole were sold, there would be more than enough money to pay the war debts.

In brief, Virginia yielded her claim to territory within the confines of the parallels of Connecticut and Massachusetts in 1784; Massachusetts her portion

thereof in 1785, and Connecticut hers the following year. The region south of these holdings by Virginia were ceded in 1784 and 1792. Federal recognition of the Connecticut cession obviously was recognition of the State's charter, whereas the action of the court in the Pennsylvania occupation case had been the opposite; but there were other cases of inconsistency in the process of amalgamation. Finally, the Massachusetts claim in western New York was adjusted in 1786.

General Samuel Holden Parsons of New London, traveling on government business down the Ohio as far as its falls, was so impressed by the possibilities of the country that he wrote home about them. In January, 1786, with George Rogers Clark and Colonel Richard Butler, by authority of the government, the general met the Shawnees at the mouth of the Great Miami where the treaty was signed acknowledging the sovereignty of the United States over the whole of their territory as named in the peace treaty with Great Britain, renouncing claim to property in any land of the main branch of the Great Miami—that is, all southern land and all Ohio to the eastward of the Cuyahoga. At the same moment, almost, New England men were forming the "Ohio Company," representatives of eight Massachusetts counties forming an association with a thousand shares of a thousand dollars continental certificates, valued then at \$125 in gold. A year later General Parsons was one of the directors chosen to lay before Congress successfully the matter of buying adequate lands. Nearly all of the subscribers had served in the war; he was to be conspicuous in the work for the anti-slavery compact, one of the most notable documents in the history of human liberty.

Thomas Jefferson had summoned the Congress to prohibit slavery throughout the United States; the outcome was that on July 13, 1787, the statute was adopted forbidding extension of involuntary servitude across the Ohio, amended with a clause for return of run-away slaves. All states represented voted for it—Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts.

In the meantime Connecticut had sensed the possibility of making good her loss in Pennsylvania by obtaining rights in Ohio Territory, which was so vast that there was talk of cutting it up into two or possibly five states. On May 11, 1786, the General Assembly formally surrendered the State's right to territory, within her parallels of latitude, to the west of the western boundary of Pennsylvania, to the extent of one hundred and twenty miles, or along the shore of Lake Erie, to longitude $84^{\circ} 45'$, which was to be known as the Western Reserve, a total about equal to that surrendered in Pennsylvania. While Pennsylvania's representatives in Congress voted yea unanimously, Washington himself and the Virginia delegates, together with those from Maryland, strongly opposed; but the Virginians changed their vote since they realized that Connecticut emigrants would serve as an effective barrier against the Indians and British Canadians. Without Maryland's vote, Congress accepted the proposition May 23, 1786. The area greatly exceeded that of Connecticut (3,930,000 acres), embracing ten of the present Ohio counties and that State's chief city. By the twentieth century the population was very nearly that of the parent State. As General Parsons had seen to it for Ohio, there was gen-

erous provision for churches of any denomination, for schools and for all else which Connecticut people enjoyed at home.

The judgment and skill which had marked the State's effort to recover from the disasters in the Wyoming Valley were apparent also in its management of proceeds. As of values in 1774, legislative investigations revealed that the Connecticut loss during the war in public buildings and merchandise had been £294,236 16s 1d, and other loss in general £167,000. These included losses by fire and rapine: New London, £145,788 15s; Groton, £23,217, scattering, £9,806; Norwalk, £34,867 9s, by confiscation £2,077; Greenwich, £6,365 11s, plus £369 incidental; Fairfield, £40,809; New Haven, £24,893 7s; East Haven, £4,882 16s; West Haven, £474, other losses to bring the total up to £30,836 4s 2d., and the grand total, or to £461,129.

In 1792 the General Assembly took the first steps toward reimbursement by deed-ing to losers 500,000 acres at the western end of the Reserve—now Erie and Huron counties and part of Ottawa, generally spoken of as the "Fire Lands." Then one man was appointed from each Connecticut county to dispose of the balance to such as were sanctioned by six of the committee, full payment to be made within six years. The lands were arranged in thirty-six parcels. The largest purchasers were Oliver Phelps of Suffield (personally and in partnership) \$250,000; Gideon Granger, Jr., of Suffield, \$80,000, and Pierpont Edwards, son of Jonathan Edwards, \$60,000. The total sales amounted to \$1,200,000, payments to be completed in five years with interest after the second year. The purchasers incorporated the Connecticut Land Company while the entire Reserve was made one county, named Trumbull in honor of the Governor. There was delay in completing the project, occasioned by lack of acknowledgment of jurisdiction—as will be seen—the more embarrassing because of the great wave of speculation in other states caused by the movement westward. For Connecticut, relief came in the shape of the "Easement Act" passed by Congress on the State's ceding jurisdiction to the United States and the United States releasing all title and claim to the soil. (The incidental matter of the "Gore Lands" belongs with the story of the Bulfinch State House in the next chapter.)

On the appointment of the sales committee, a resolution was introduced in the General Assembly under which a perpetual fund should be created, the interest to be paid to church and school organizations. This failed in the Upper House but continued a subject of warm debate till in 1795 it was voted that the interest from the fund be paid to the towns toward the support of schools. This established what is still known as the State School Fund, of which Granger is called the father, an important factor in the State's gaining the position it so long has held for school development. Granger was Postmaster-General from 1801 to 1814.

Another development enterprise, prior to this and of hardly less importance in history, is that of a somewhat larger territory just north of Connecticut's parallel and of Pennsylvania. The territory had been claimed by Massachusetts under her charter rights but at the period of cessions and adjustments, or in 1786, it passed to New York. It was bounded on the north by Lake Ontario and on the west by Lake Erie. In the County of Ontario and in territory around Lake Canandaigua

one finds towns bearing Connecticut names—like Farmington, Cheshire, Manchester, Bristol, Bristol Center, Bristol Springs, South Bristol, Bloomfield and North, South, East and West Bloomfields. One large town bears the name of Phelps, in honor of Oliver Phelps who was born in Windsor in 1749, was at one time a resident of Suffield and was deputy to Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, commissary-general for the Continental Army, and subsequently was conspicuous in the affairs of Massachusetts. When New York ceded to Massachusetts right of preëmption to 6,000,000 acres in Central New York, he and Nathaniel Gorham of Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1788, bought all the land for £300,000 and laid it out in townships for selling. He also was engaged in similar enterprises in other sections of the country, devising a system of surveying which was adopted by the government. He made Canandaigua his place of residence, was appointed judge of the Circuit Court there and was elected a member of Congress. He died there February 21, 1809.



OLD SOUTHWESTERN VIEW OF THE BOROUGH OF STAMFORD

In that era of mad real estate speculation throughout the land, Connecticut again was true to its tradition of conservatism. It would seem that through the war, the last shilling of the people's money had been drained from them and, in fact, another year of the widespread misery might have caused America's surrender. When, by the united government's methods, compensations began to come in and, withal, commerce became brisk, there was a sense of relief which would induce to inordinate spending, and the opening of western territory dangled tempting prizes. The needs of rehabilitation, as along Connecticut's southern shore, having been looked to in the town meetings and by a cautious Legislature, there was still money to invest on terms that were made easy by excess of opportunity.

The character of the selling is evidenced, in the instance of Connecticut, by the home-town names which purchasers carried with them into the wilderness opened up by their own State authorities, and is further evidenced by the great number of the descendants of those settlers living in the new territory today. Of the New

York Constitutional Convention in 1821, a majority of the one hundred and twenty-seven delegates were natives of Connecticut or sons of natives. It is said that a man who had watched the caravans of migrators passing through Albany remarked that he could not understand how the Governor of Connecticut remained in Connecticut when all his people were moving West.

In the fever created, not a few, lacking in discretion and in judgment, were victimized by sharpers and fell into desperate straits from which they were long in being saved, to the end that the last decade of the century, for a large part of the new nation, was marked by suffering. Connecticut instances were comparatively rare; the title of "The Land of Steady Habits" was beginning to be applied to it. There was one exceptional incident where a group of defrauded people combined to send lawyers and surveyors to southern territory to try to locate the property they had bought and to round up the speculators who had hoodwinked them, only to find that there was no such property or that the men who had taken money for



OLD SOUTH VIEW OF THE BOROUGH OF NORWALK

it had had no rights in it. In recouping on that sort of thing, Connecticut began making articles of convenience and sent forth the "Yankee peddler," who became a welcome institution.

It remained, however, that the Connecticut principles of free government and the spirit of the Constitution were being endangered. The French attempt, for a barbarous freedom, the attacks upon our shipping and the seditious conduct of her envoy, Genet, were unsettling; the Connecticut press and speakers were crying out against unconstitutionality of measures being taken but international conflict was squelched with one vigorous blow and John Marshall of Virginia, appointed by President Adams Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was to establish the solidity of that tribunal.

The impressions President Washington had recorded in his diary in 1789, on his sixth journey through the State, were being strengthened, and they should have

their place at this juncture. He was accompanied unostentatiously by two of his secretaries and four mounted attendants. He barely alludes to the great parades in New Haven and Hartford and the receptions, but does comment on the crops and productions, including the mulberry trees in Wallingford for the silk growers. The main points are these:

Norwalk: "To the lowere end of this town sea vessels come, and at the other end are mills, stores and an Episcopal and Presbyterian church." Fairfield: "The superb landscape which is to be seen from the meeting house is a rich regalia; farmers gathering large apple crop; wheat from fifteen to twenty-five bushels an acre; destructive evidences of British cruelty are yet visible in Norwalk and Fairfield; chimneys of many burned houses still standing; principal exports from these towns horses and cattle, salted beef and pork, lumber and Indian corn, to the West Indies, and in small degree, wheat and flour"—Stratford: Received with an effort of military parade; Senator William S. Johnson visited me here, where he formerly resided. New Haven—Had time to walk around the city before dinner; received addresses from the Congregational clergy; complimented by a visit from Governor Samuel Huntington, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver Wolcott and Mayor Roger Sherman. Sunday, attended Episcopal Church in forenoon and Congregational in afternoon, together with the State and city officials "all of whom dined with me (by invitation), as did General Jedediah Huntington, at the house of Mr. Brown where I lodged, and who keeps a good tavern. In the evening army officers called to pay their respects"; "by some it was said that the people of this state could, with more ease, pay an additional £100,000 tax this year than was laid last year."

Wallingford: Left New Haven at 6 o'clock, arrived at Wallingford (thirteen miles) by half-after eight; extensive marshes there now loaded with hay stacks. Ride very pleasant but road sandy—up to Wallingford—Middletown: Passing through Durham arrived at 1 o'clock. "I met three miles out by escort of the respectable citizens of the place." Walked around the town, from the heights of which the prospect is beautiful. About twenty sea vessels belong here, according to General Comfort Sage."

Hartford: Passing through Wethersfield, arrived at Hartford about sundown. Met in Wethersfield by a party of the Hartford Light Horse and a number of gentlemen from the same place with Colonel Wadsworth at their head and escorted to Frederick Bull's Tavern where we lodged. Tuesday—"Accompanied by Colonel Wadsworth, Mr. Ellsworth and Colonel Jesse Root, I viewed the Woolen Manufactory at this place. . . . I ordered a suit sent me at New York. Hartford is more compactly built than Middletown, and contains more souls; the computed number of which amounts to about double. Dined and drank at Colonel Wadsworth's and received from and answered the address of the town of Hartford."—Windsor: Spent an hour at Mr. Ellsworth's.—Springfield: At Hartford the river is crossed on scows set over with poles and is about eighty rods wide. Notwithstanding the falls above and below Springfield (accurately located) much use is made of the navigation for transportation in flats above five tons burden. Between Windsor and Suffield you pass through a level, barren and uncultivated plain for several

miles. Suffield stands high and pleasant—the land good. From hence you descend again into another plain, where lands being good are much better cultivated. The whole road from Hartford to Springfield is level and good, except being too sandy in places—and the fields enclosed with posts and rails generally, there not being much stone. The crops of corn, except on the interval lands on the river, are more indifferent (though not bad) in the eastern than we found them in the western part of the State.

“There is great equality in the people of this state [of Connecticut.] Few or no opulent men—and no poor—great multitude in their buildings—the general



OLD VIEW OF THE GREEN, NORWALK

fashion of which is a chimney (always of stone or brick) and door in the middle, with a staircase facing the latter, running up the side of the chimney—two flush stories with a very good show of sash and glass windows—the size is generally from 30 to 50 feet in length and from 20 to 30 feet in width, exclusive of a back shed which seems to be added as the family increases.

“The farms, by the contiguity of houses, are small, not averging more than 100 acres. These are worked chiefly by oxen (which have no other feed than hay) with a horse and sometimes two before them, both in plow and cart. In their light land in their sleighs, they work horses but find them much more expensive than oxen.”

From Springfield he went to Boston where officers of the French Squadron in the harbor joined in the reception accorded him; thence to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, October 31, returning by way of Thompson and Pomfret.

Pomfret: Roads in Massachusetts were intolerably bad. In Connecticut “the lands are better and more highly improved. . . . Knowing that General Putnam

(71 years old) lived in the township of Pomfret I had hopes of seeing him, and it was one of my inducements for coming this road; but on inquiry in the town I found that he lived five miles out of my road, and that without deranging my plan and delaying my journey, I could not do it." Ashford: "It being contrary to the law and disagreeable to the people of this state to travel on the Sabbath day"—and "my horses, after passing through such intolerable roads, wanting rest"—stayed at the tavern all day and attended the church services.—Mansfield and East Hartford: Passed through Mansfield, the town "in which they make the greatest quantity of silk of any in the state"; breakfasted in Coventry; stopped at Woodbridge in East Hartford. "I found by conversing with the farmers along this road that a medium crop of wheat to the acre is about fifteen bushels—of corn, twenty, of oats, the same." His journey from Hartford to New York was by the "middle road" instead of the one through Middletown; breakfasted in Worthington (Berlin), and in New Haven received from Mr. Gerry "the first certain account of the health of Mrs. Washington." Thence, he stopped in Milford, Fairfield and Stamford, reaching his house in New York November 13.

It was a sketchy picture of a diligent people doing their best. But not a few of them were quick to improve the opportunity to go to a "new Connecticut," encouraged thereto by the flaming signs and the bright-colored maps. Oxen and carts carried their household utensils and bedding, forerunners of the "prairie schooners," to maintain the State's reputation as settlers and of nation builders. For in the territory beyond those states they were to participate in the building of, there was to be still other soil to be broken, other foundations to be laid and the spreading of the vines on their State Seal was to prove significant.

A Connecticut man had been the first to tell the English-speaking world of the possibilities. Jonathan Carver, a native son and a veteran of the early wars, had made his expedition soon after the cession of the Canadas to England in 1713 and had brought in for printing in England the first data of the unknown land west of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River where he was convinced that mineral wealth abounded and gained the impression that the Mississippi emptied into the South Seas. His account filled two massive volumes but the interest in them was so slight that he died in poverty. England had no immediate concern beyond the territory that might be slipping from her hands.

Aside from the claims, based on discovery along the Pacific coast, De Soto had explored from New Orleans; Father Marquette had sailed down the Mississippi; LaSalle had taken possession for France, up to the headwaters of the Missouri and as far as the Rockies, naming the whole Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV; secretly it had been transferred to Spain, and, a pawn upon the board of battling Kings, had come back again to France when First Consul, Napoleon, conceived the idea, about 1800, to establish an empire there, checked in his first movement by the damage done to his army by the uprising in Haiti, and the next moment eager for funds to meet the threat of war with England. The term "Yankee" had spread since the days of Bunker Hill, being applied to New Englanders who were shrewd in bargains, but no one had a better right to it than President Thomas Jefferson when he improved

the opportunity to buy wide river and rich plains in to the Rockies, in 1803, for the paltry sum of \$15,000,000—one of the outstanding events in world history, what though good Connecticut men joined in the criticism at that time.

More vigorous had been the sentiment when England continued to hold Oswego, Niagara, Detroit and other forts along the northern line after the peace treaty had been signed at Versailles, on score of Loyalists who had not been reimbursed for confiscation of their property. Jay was sent to England and secured release in all particulars save that of impressing Americans into service on her vessels in her latest war. He thought that could be taken care of later—as it was to be, by the War of 1812. Connecticut's share in the building up of the new West is thus expressed at this moment of writing by the editor of a foremost newspaper in New York: "Some big sections of the Middle West—like Kansas, for instance—are more solidly of New England stock than Connecticut . . . and the conditions under which they have grown from pioneer settlements to great commonwealths have not tended to break their morale."

By this it must be seen that Connecticut's relationship to empire-building was not confined to the midwestern section. While General Wayne was subduing the Indians and \$1,200 was being paid them for the Western Reserve of 3,300,000 acres more or less, and Connecticut was taking over the sale of lands on easy terms under the direction of the committee of one from each Connecticut county, the section having been divided into 12,000 shares; and while the 500,000 acres in the western part of the Reserve had been set apart as the "Fire Lands," and Oliver Phelps had made his fame as a seller of lands and Moses Cleaveland of Canterbury with his party had founded the city of Cleveland, and Augustus Porter had gained eminence as a surveyor in the New York lands together with doing excellent work for the Connecticut people who had migrated in 1795-96, Moses Austin of Durham and his son, Stephen, were making homes for migrators in Texas after establishing St. Genevieve in Missouri; and Connecticut settlers were doing so well in Wisconsin that four of the early Governors were to be of their number; and James Kilburn of Granby was making a town at Worthington, Ohio, with a Worthington College of which he was to be president, besides going to Congress and fighting against slavery; and three Collins brothers from Litchfield were making a Collinsville in Illinois. Also the clergyman, physician, scientist and wise diplomat Manasseh Cutler of Killingly in Windham County was putting forth successful effort for the government's adoption of the history-making "northwest ordinance" to regulate the expansions.

CHAPTER LXI.

Political Development

Party Titles—Town Training for Officials—Inauguration Ceremonies—Negro Emulation in the “Wooden Nutmeg” State.

In a story of Connecticut, it is especially desirable to observe at the close of the eighteenth century that which Washington so tersely cited in his diary. Whatever the circumstances, whatever the people did in Colony building or defense, it was their instinct to take care of themselves in the most direct fashion, as had the founders in 1635, and with no one but themselves to depend upon. Within their boundaries they had selected the best town sites they could find, increasing their number by two in the greatest heat of the conflict, by five in 1785 and by thirteen the next year, when, with 202,000 they ranked sixth among the Colonies.

The financial status had been strained, indeed, after the war, but the returning soldiers had found their farm holdings, which averaged over one hundred and six acres to an owner, reasonably intact, thanks to the efforts of their women and children, to judicious legislation and, often, to the forbearance of the tax collector. In the language of the Yankee veteran, they “sprang to it” with an eye to exports, the freedom of the seas assured. What was lost by migration westward was to be atoned for, more or less, by immigration from sister states and from nations that saw here the door of opportunity opened by good governmental activities. The character of such opportunities was becoming more widely known.

Washington in his diary had noted their devotion to agriculture—had it not been his “Provision State”? He noted also the first woolen mill and the infant silk industry. When they could not be tilling fields, man and boy busied themselves in the “back room” with making nails out of iron from mines in Salisbury or from New Haven “works”; rakes, shoes, straw hats or whatever would find a ready market, and rode around the country to sell them. They were beginning to enrich vocabulary from the Atlantic to the Mississippi with the expressions “Yankee ingenuity” and “Yankee peddlers.” The inherited church was improved and passed on to future generations; slowly their school system was built up.

Resourcefulness, not wealth, characterized them in every town as it had characterized the Hooker-Ludlow-Haynes party; Cobbler Roger Sherman became a merchant and a statesman. The future preëminence as a State of inventors and industrialists was assured. In Texas or California practically every native American

knows what "wooden nutmegs" means and the story of spruce oats. Not that there really were such things—not that the Yankee did whittle out wooden nutmegs or oats to peddle in the South and West, for they would have invented machinery for that; rather it was a humorous American way of expressing "Yankee ingenuity," even after the word "Yankee" had come to cover all New Englanders—as when "Yankee Doodle Dandy" was first sung in siege-of-Boston days and eventually by all northerners. If there was a slur intended what time the Dutch settlers used the word "Jankin" as a substitute for "John" ("J" being pronounced as "Y") in referring to a Connecticut man, or when Confederates applied it to Federals in the War Between the States in 1861, the slur was outlived. The "story" of Connecticut means the telling how.

And here in this line of dictionary, for those of foreign birth who love to delve in Connecticut history, it may be well to relieve the complexity of political expression in referring to parties at different periods. Connecticut was Federalist in the days of the Constitutional Convention. So was Washington; Jefferson was an anti-Federalist. The Federalists were for centralization of government; the anti-Federalists for distinctive State sovereignty and rights of the people. Federalists sympathized with England in her war with Napoleon; the "republicans," under President Madison, when he declared war in 1812, against wishes of the then Federalists, were stigmatized as "democrats"—a jeering word borrowed from the French, but soon adopted by the Jefferson and Jackson party. The Federalists, when that name became unpopular in some sections because of their opposition to the War of 1812, took the name "national republicans" and somewhat later that of Whigs. In 1840 the Whigs repudiated Federalist names and principles and, following Jeffersonian ideas, called themselves Democratic-Whigs.

In 1856 and in 1860 the Whigs—deserted by conservative "old whigs," but reinforced by "free-soil" Democrats and Abolitionists—took the name Republican and were for a strongly centralized government as originally. Thus the "federalist," "national republican," "whig," and "republican" party has been essentially the same, representing New England and generally northern sentiment, while the once-called "Solid South" was holding in particular for strict construction of the Constitution—a limitation on the powers of central government, an independent treasury, specie currency and free trade or tariff for revenue only. Other parties have appeared but with no permanent existence.

Hartford, New Haven, New London and Middletown had been incorporated as cities in 1784, with no more till Bridgeport in 1836. Middlesex and Tolland counties came into being in 1785, following Windham and Litchfield with dates of 1726 and 1751 respectively. The four others, Hartford, New Haven, New London and Fairfield, had been established in 1666. The first borough was Stonington, as of 1801, followed by Guilford in 1815, and no other till Newtown and Colchester in 1824. And it may be well to insert here what there is statewide to command the interest of the political parties now increased to three by addition of the Socialist. In cities and towns consolidated, each has its respective officers. To the Lower House

of the General Assembly, election is by towns; to the Senate, by districts, on basis of population; to Congress, likewise, and to the United States Senate by popular vote instead of by the General Assembly as formerly. The vote for Congressman-at-large is taken the same way. The county sheriff is elected by the respective towns in each county. Women have the franchise and often are members of the Lower House of the Legislature and of town and school boards.

The State list of officers includes, with the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the secretary, treasurer, comptroller and attorney-general. There are seventy-one boards appointed by the Governor and seventeen others created by special acts of the General Assembly.

Part of the slow advancement from rural to urban status was due to reluctance to abandon the town system of management in agricultural circles with officers enough to satisfy any or all who had ambitions that way, headed by the (possible) seven selectmen, town clerk, treasurer and constables, and including surveyors of highways, fence-viewers, listers, collectors, leather sealers, grand jurors, tithing men, haywards, chimney-viewers, sealers of weights and measures, and more when deemed necessary. That was the essence of popular government. To be a selectman required judgment, not to say patience, and dignity. They could be autocrats, curbed, however, by the annual recurrence of the town meeting. As in no other office in the State, that of the selectman, so democratically chosen, carried the element of dictatorship—which, Professor Johnston said, “seems to lurk somewhere in democracy.” The constables carried the power and weight of the Commonwealth. In town government there was little clashing of National Federalists and Democratic parties; the word “copperheads” applied to anti-Abolitionists was significant of antipathy.

The town meeting—New England’s palladium—was as in the beginning an assemblage of citizens. Only natives of the town or those admitted by vote of the meeting after official approval could participate. All not thus qualifying and likely to become a burden must be sent by the selectmen back to their home town or State. Voters were those who, twenty-one years old or over, held a free-hold estate of annual value of \$7 or more, or a taxed estate of at least \$134, approved by the selectmen, and the applicant having taken the freeman’s oath. He attended election meetings twice a year—in September to vote on twenty candidates for membership in the Council (Upper House) of the General Assembly and in April to vote on twelve whom the Assembly had found to have received the highest number of votes in the towns; the twelve of this list who stood highest when the Assembly canvassed the ballots in May to be proclaimed councilmen. At the first of these elections the freemen also voted on the candidates for State offices, the successful ones to be announced in May. The choice of seven Congressmen in September out of eighteen nominated in April was in similar mode.

The occasion of the Assembly’s announcing the vote carried the old-time name of “general elections,” and through this period and up to 1836, or eighteen years after the new Constitution had been adopted, the day itself—usually a whole week of days—was given over to gay social as well as solemn observation, as previously

mentioned. The day after the Governor had been received by a clerical and military escort at the borders of the capital, the new Assembly was organized. The Governor, council, sheriffs, bearing white staves, and the ministers marched to the church where the selected clergyman delivered a long and learned address. The next march was to the State House where the results of the general election were announced and the Governor inaugurated. The day closed with a ball in the evening and further participation in the pies and cakes the Hartford ladies had prepared.

History would not be complete without inserting here something of a singular by-play in the matter of inauguration which incidentally throws light upon the status of the negro in Connecticut in those days when abolition principles were being advanced by two of the leading Southern states in the matter of opening up the new western territory. In Congress slavery long was to be a question of figuring population and amount of and value of property. There were comparatively few colored people in the Northern sections, and they servants in wealthier families. In Connecticut there was little place for them in the fields and nothing in the climate to induce them to come of their own free will; the sentiment was in accord with the suggestion, fathered by Virginia, that slavery be prohibited in the plans for developing the great "northwest."

The Connecticut negroes in general were orderly, respectful and certainly gregarious, with that mysterious kind of a "grape-vine telegraph," especially between Hartford, New Haven and Derby, which characterized the race prior to the Civil War. The special privilege they enjoyed was that of electing a Governor who, with his aids, pompously performed the duties of regulating the other colored folk and could wear a high hat. The Governor's insignia when riding his horse on public occasions was a flowing sash looped over the left shoulder and a large rosette on the breast. He was supposed to make occasional tours of inspection to Derby and New Haven and tradition is that there was once a New Haven Governor. The justices-of-the-peace whom he appointed performed the functions of local court and constable with intense rigor. Associated with him was a Lieutenant-Governor.

If the Governor had difficulty in enforcing the regulations prescribed by his electorate, he could appeal to the white authorities, a fact which generally rendered appeal unnecessary except in very special cases. The grave of one of them, Governor Boston, is in the Hartford Ancient Cemetery, not far from Hooker's tombstone. Peleg Nott, property of a West Hartford man, was among the foremost of these chief magistrates who were elected *viva voce* and "returns" forwarded to one of the two State (or Colony) Capitals, usually Hartford. John Anderson, slave of Governor Philip Skeene of Skeenesborough, Vermont, who was brought to West Hartford as a prisoner after the capture of Ticonderoga, was another. When Governor Wyllys's slave, Governor Cuff, resigned after ten years' service, he appointed the newcomer Anderson in his place, in 1776. This disregard of the franchise so astonished the colored population as to cause the white men to fear riotous happenings till Governor Trumbull and the Council, or Senate, sent a committee to search Governor Skeene's lodgings. Their conclusion happily was that Governor Cuff merely had intended to extend favor to the newcomer. Wounds to the feelings of

outlying groups of negroes were healed and the custom continued till 1820, the last ten years in Derby, where the first Governors were Quosh and his son, Roswell.

The great event of the year for the whole race was the inauguration of the Governor on a day set apart by the white people, which day was the Saturday following the white Governor's induction into office, the close of the week of general celebration. Negroes from all over the State came to march fantastically and to participate in the festivities which sometimes were ebulliently typical of those of the Caucasians.

The white man's custom, which was to be continued till 1818, had been adapted from that of the first days when the voter's voice was heard at election or the ballot cast, as indicated in the Fundamental Orders. But all proceeding began with the town, nor has the introduction of cities, boroughs and Senatorial districts changed that.

Johnston's terse comment is justified: "More than any other New England State, the original vigor of the Connecticut town has enabled it to keep pace with the growing power of the commonwealth."

